THE FIRST HISTORICAL PART

Antoninus of Florence

Summary of the First Volume of the Historical Part of Lord Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence

First Title: On the First and Second Ages of the World

Chapter One

On the first parents, Adam and Eve, in the state of innocence, and on their fall, upon the words, “Man, when he was in honor,” etc. It begins, “Man, when he was in honor,” etc. Folio 1.

On the excellence of the first parents with respect to sanctifying grace. Folio 1.

On his honor or excellence with respect to general justice. Folio 1.

On his excellence with respect to his knowledge in knowing God, the angels, and the other creatures. Folio 1.

On their excellence with respect to the immortality of the body, namely, the inability to die. Folio 2.

On their excellence with respect to impassibility, and how passions existed in them. Folio 2.

On their manner of generation in such a state. Folio 2.

On the pleasantness of the place of paradise in which he was placed. Folio 2.

On his excellence with respect to dominion over creatures. Folio 2.

On the manner of meriting in that state. Folio 3.

On the conditions of those begotten in such a state of innocence. Folio 3.

On their state in sin, which is indicated there by “he did not understand,” and is expounded in many ways. Folio 3.

On the manifold misery that he incurred from sin, in the words, “he was compared to beasts.” Folio 4.

On earthly paradise, which signifies the Church; on the fourfold river of paradise; and on what the tree of life and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil signify. Folio 4.

How, when the root of the human race--that is, the first parents--had been corrupted, original sin is transmitted to their descendants; and how at different times it is cleansed through different sacraments. Folio 5.

That the sleep of Adam in paradise signifies the Passion of Christ. Folio 5.

On the difference between the Hebrews and the seventy-two translators in the computation of the years of the first and second ages, and whence this arose. Folio 5.

That, according to the seventy-two translators, after five thousand one hundred and ninety-nine years from the creation of the world, on the same day--namely, Friday--and in the same month--namely, March--and at the same hour--namely, the sixth--at which the first man sinned, Christ was fixed to the cross, making satisfaction for that sin itself. Also on Cain and Abel, the first sons, and the killing of Abel by Cain. Folio 5.

On the descendants of Seth and Cain and their different occupations. Folio 6.

Chapter Two: On the Second Age of the World, Which Began with Noah

How God commanded Noah to build the ark; on its form and measurement, those to be brought into it, and the flood that covered the whole earth. It begins, “The second age.” Folio 6.

On the Lord’s saying, “My spirit shall not remain in man, because he is flesh”; and that this is the difference between the society of the elect and that of the reprobate: the wicked live according to the flesh, that is, according to their own will not subjected to God, but the elect according to the spirit, that is, according to reason subjected to the law of God. Folio 6.

That the ark made by Noah signifies the Church with respect to its material, form, measurement, and the things contained in it, and also Christ its head. Folio 7.

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On Noah's intoxication from wine, the mockery directed against him, and Ham, on account of which he was cursed; and what this signifies spiritually. Folio 7.

Chapter Three

On the descendants of Noah's sons, namely Shem, Ham, and Japheth; and that when they wished to build a tower reaching to heaven, God confounded their tongues, dividing the one tongue into seventy-two different languages. It begins, "From the descendants." Folio 8.

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On Asia: whence it is so called; on its provinces and names; and whence they had their origin. Folio 8.

On the second part of the world, namely Europe; on its provinces and names and their derivations; and there also on Italy and its cities. Folio 8, at the end.

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On the genealogy of those descending from Shem, the son of Noah, down to the third age of the world, namely Abraham. Folio 9, at the end.

That under Reu the kingdom of the Scythians and the kingdom of the Egyptians arose; and that under Nahor two kingdoms arose, namely those of the Assyrians and the Sicyonians. Folio 10.

That idolatry had its origin from Ninus, king of Nineveh; that the first idol was called Belus, who was the father of Ninus; and that afterward different nations imposed different names upon their idols. Folio 10.

Second Title: On the Third Age of the World, Which Begins with Abraham

Chapter One

It begins, "Because in Abraham." Folio 10.

On the commendation of Abraham, who is called the father of the faithful; how and in what things the faithful ought to imitate him, which is figured in Abraham's own sacrifice of a three-year-old cow, goat, and ram, a turtledove, and a dove, concerning which see Genesis 14. Folio 10.

On Abraham's departure from his land at the Lord's command, his arrival in the land of Canaan, his descent into Egypt because of famine, his return to Canaan, and his separation from Lot. Folio 11.

That, when Abraham returned from the slaughter of the four kings, Melchizedek met him, offering bread and wine; and on the sacrifice Abraham made to God, namely a cow, a goat, and a ram, a turtledove, and a dove. Folio 11.

That Abraham had a son by Hagar, namely Ishmael, from whom the Saracens descended; and how it was permitted to him and the other ancient patriarchs to have several wives. Folio 11.

That Abraham was given the commandment concerning the circumcision of males descending from his stock; that he received three angels as guests for a meal, who announced to him that a son would be born and that Sodom would be overthrown; on the overthrow of Sodom with four other cities by fire and sulfur; and on the escape of Lot, who afterward had sons by his daughters. Folios 11 and 12.

On the birth of Isaac and Ishmael's play with Isaac, on account of which he was cast out of the house with his mother Hagar. Folio 12.

That at the Lord's command Abraham wished to sacrifice his son Isaac; and that Abraham bought a field from Ephron, in which there was a cave for burying his wife Sarah. Folio 12.

How Abraham sent his steward Eliezer to obtain a bride for his son Isaac; how he betrothed Rebecca to him; and on Abraham's own death. Folio 12.

On Rebecca's conceiving by Isaac, namely Esau and Jacob; on their birth; on the sale of the birthright, which Esau made to Jacob for a dish of lentils; on Isaac's own descent into Egypt, where he took his wife, whom he said was his sister; on the wells dug by him; and on Jacob's obtaining Isaac's blessing under the name of Esau. Folio 12.

Chapter Two: On the Deeds of Jacob

That, in order to avoid the anger of his brother Esau, Jacob went into Mesopotamia; and on that very journey, namely at Bethel, he saw in a dream a ladder reaching to heaven. It begins, “The deeds of Jacob.” Folio 13.

That when Jacob came into Mesopotamia, he took as his bride Rachel, Laban’s daughter, for whom he served Laban seven years in keeping the sheep, and another seven years for her sister Leah. From Leah he received four sons; then two others from Bilhah, Rachel’s maidservant; and likewise two others from Zilpah, Leah’s maidservant. Afterward, from Leah herself he had Issachar and Zebulun and one female, namely Dinah; and finally from Rachel he had Joseph. Folio 13.

That Jacob departed secretly from Laban with his wives and sons; Laban himself pursued him with his own people; Jacob encountered angels of God on the journey; and he sent messengers ahead with gifts to reconcile his brother Esau to himself, and finally, when they met one another, they were reconciled. Folio 13.

That Dinah, Jacob’s daughter, was violated by force by Shechem, lord of the city; in vengeance for this Jacob’s sons killed him together with all the circumcised males. At last they came to their father Isaac, and finding him dead, buried him. There also is an account of the generations descending from Esau. Folio 13, at the end.

Chapter Three: On the Deeds of Joseph, Son of Jacob

That, when Joseph told his dream to his brothers concerning the sheaves and the sun, moon, and stars adoring him, he was hated by his brothers; and when sent by his father to visit his brothers, he was sold by them to Midianites passing that way. He was finally sold in Egypt to Potiphar, master of Pharaoh’s soldiery. There also is the account of Judah, Jacob’s son, and how he had sons by his daughter-in-law Tamar, namely Perez and Zerah. It begins, “On the deeds.” Folio 14.

That Joseph was made steward by his master over all that he possessed; and because he refused to consent to his master’s wife in adultery, he was accused by her and imprisoned by his master. While held in prison, he interpreted the dreams of Pharaoh’s cupbearer and baker, foretelling what befell them. Folio 14.

On Pharaoh’s dream of the seven cattle and seven ears of grain, which Joseph interpreted as seven years of fertility followed by years of barrenness; and how he was commended and exalted and made, as it were, lord of Egypt. Folio 14.

That when the years of barrenness came, Joseph’s brothers were sent by their father to obtain grain in Egypt. He recognized them but was not recognized by them. Speaking rather harshly to them, he granted them grain on the condition that on another occasion they bring with them their youngest brother, whom they had said they had, namely Benjamin; meanwhile he retained Simeon as a captive. When the grain they had carried away was consumed, compelled by the necessity of famine they returned to Egypt with their brother Benjamin. Joseph feasted them courteously and magnificently, and sent them away with grain, his cup having been secretly placed in Benjamin’s sack. He then caused them to be pursued as they departed; and when the cup was sought and found as though stolen, he compelled them to return to Joseph. Folio 14.

That at last Joseph himself, with tears, revealed that he was the very man whom they had sold. He comforted them so that they would not fear, but would return to their father and announce his condition, and that he should descend into Egypt with his whole household to be supported by him, since five years of famine still remained. Folio 14, at the end and the following folio.

That Jacob rejoiced greatly when he heard of the glory of his son Joseph; and descending into Egypt with his whole household and being presented to Pharaoh, he said when asked that he was one hundred and thirty years old. He was settled in Goshen with his whole household and received provisions from Joseph. Also, while the famine continued, the Egyptians, in order to obtain wheat, offered all their money, then their cattle, and finally their lands, except the priestly land. Folio 15.

That when Jacob was sick, Joseph visited him; and Jacob adopted Joseph’s two sons, namely Manasseh and Ephraim, as his own sons and wished them to be heads of two tribes. Blessing them with his hands crossed, he placed his right hand upon the head of the younger and his left upon the other. Finally, when his twelve sons had gathered, Jacob blessed them and foretold to each what would befall them in the last times; there also is the notable prophecy concerning the coming of the Messiah. As he was dying he commanded that his body be buried in Hebron. Folio 15.

That after much mourning Joseph and his brothers carried him there, namely into Canaan, for burial. His brothers, fearing that Joseph might avenge upon them the injury of his sale, asked on their father’s behalf that he forgive them that offense. Receiving them kindly with tears and freely granting pardon, he reassured them. Finally, he died in the one hundred and twentieth year of his life. Folio 15.

That Joseph was prince of Egypt under five kings, and that after Joseph died under the fifth, that Pharaoh who was called Mephres began maliciously to afflict the Hebrews; then began the servitude of the people of Israel in Egypt. Also, how Pharaoh afflicted that people in many ways. Folio 15.

Chapter Four: On Moses and His Deeds, in Which the Book of Exodus Begins

That, after Pharaoh issued an edict for the drowning of the males in the river, Moses at his birth was exposed upon the river in a little basket; and when he was taken up by Pharaoh's daughter, he was adopted by her as a son. There also is the account of how, when he was received as an infant in Pharaoh's arms, he threw Pharaoh's crown to the ground. When he became a young man and leader of the army of the Egyptians, he defeated the Ethiopians and took as wife an Ethiopian woman, the king's daughter, whom he afterward dismissed. It begins, "Moses." Folio 15.

That Moses then went out to see the Hebrews in Goshen, and perceiving an Egyptian injuring a certain Hebrew, killed him. On another occasion, when he rebuked a Hebrew who was injuring another, that man complained, disclosing the homicide committed by Moses. For this reason Moses fled in fear into Midian, where he took as his wife Zipporah, daughter of Jethro the priest, by whom he had two sons, namely Gershom and Eliezer. While he was leading the flock of his father-in-law Jethro into the interior of the desert, he saw from afar a bush burning and not consumed. When he approached the place of the bush, the Lord spoke to him from there, signifying the liberation of Israel from Egypt; when the children of Israel departed from it, they carried away with them the vessels of gold and silver lent to them by the Egyptians. When Moses asked the name of the one sending him, He answered, "I am who am." He also gave a threefold sign so that the children of Israel might believe him: the rod changed into a serpent and back again; his hand made leprous and cleansed; and the water of the river changed into blood. When Moses excused himself because his tongue was rather impeded, He gave him his brother Aaron as companion, to speak for him. Therefore, as Moses went into Egypt with his wife and sons, an angel wished to kill him because of the uncircumcision of his sons; therefore he circumcised them. Folio 15.

Moses and Aaron entered before Pharaoh and commanded him on God's behalf to release the people of Israel so that they might sacrifice to Him. He did not listen to them, but burdened Israel still more, not giving them straw for baking bricks as before. Thereafter Moses with Aaron sought a sign before Pharaoh for the release of the people, namely his rod changed into a serpent; Pharaoh's magicians did similar things by incantations. He also changed the water into blood, which was likewise done by the magicians. Innumerable frogs then came down throughout all Egypt, ranging through houses and beds; and the like was done by the magicians.

When Pharaoh promised to release the people if the frogs were removed, his heart was hardened after they had been removed, and he refused to release them. Afterward, when the dust of the earth was struck with the rod, innumerable gnats arose, which the magicians were unable to do. Then God sent a plague of flies that filled Egypt; afterward hail with thunder and lightning; afterward locusts and bruchus insects; then palpable darkness; and finally the death of all the firstborn of Egypt. Folio 16.

On the passage of the children of Israel through the Red Sea, in which Pharaoh, pursuing them with his armies, was drowned; on account of this the people of Israel gave thanks to the Lord, singing the words, "Let us sing to the Lord," etc. Then they came to Marah, where they found bitter waters, which were sweetened when wood was cast into them. Folio 16.

Thereafter they came to Elim and murmured, desiring to eat meat; God gave them quail. Moreover, He rained manna for them from heaven for forty years. Advancing into the desert of Sin, they murmured because of the lack of water, but when the rock was struck by Moses's rod, waters flowed abundantly. When the Amalekites made war against them and Joshua, Moses's disciple, fought them, Moses defeated them by raising his hands to the Lord in prayer. Jethro, Moses's father-in-law, also visited him and brought his wife and sons to him; he was graciously received by them and advised Moses to appoint different officials to lighten his labor. At last they came to Mount Sinai, upon which, when the Lord descended, the mountain began to smoke, lightning to appear, and thunder to be heard. Moses ascended it to receive the Law. Folio 16.

How the Lord gave His people the Law on Mount Sinai through Moses, distinguished into three kinds of precepts--namely moral, judicial, and ceremonial--and in what they consist. Folio 16.

On the construction of the Ark of the Covenant and the tabernacle and its arrangement; on the altar of burnt offerings; on the garments of the priests and ministers of the tabernacle; on the sacrifices made in the consecration of Aaron and his sons; and on the altar of incense and the bronze basin in which the priests washed themselves. Folios 16 and 17.

That while Moses remained on the mountain to receive the Law, the people made a golden calf for themselves and adored it as God. On this account, when the Lord wished to destroy that people, He was appeased when Moses prayed for them. When Moses descended from the mountain to the people, he with the Levites killed twenty-three thousand of the idolaters. Also on the familiarity that Moses had with the Lord and the vision of Him. And because Moses, in anger arising from zeal, had broken the stone tablets on which God had engraved the Ten Commandments on the mountain, he made two other tablets, ascended the mountain, and again received the law of the Decalogue, remaining there forty days without food or drink. Folio 17.

That when the people offered gifts--gold and silver and whatever else--the tabernacle with all its appurtenances was constructed by Bezalel and Oholiab; and fire descended from heaven upon the prepared animal sacrifices to consume them, and it was never extinguished down to the time of the Maccabees. All the foregoing is in the Book of Exodus. Folio 16.

On the Ten Commandments, with a brief exposition of them according to what is contained in the Decrees. Folios 17 and 18.

Throughout the Book of Leviticus there is an account of the ceremonial precepts, especially the various animal sacrifices; the foods to be distinguished, from which they had to abstain as unclean; the sacrifice of a woman after childbirth; the manifold leprosy to be discerned by the priests; the sacrifice to be offered by one cleansed of leprosy; the sacrifice of the two goats and of the red heifer at the Feast of Atonement; the degrees of consanguinity and affinity in contracting marriage; the solemn observances to be kept by them, namely Passover, Pentecost, and the Feast of Tabernacles; the observance of the jubilee; the obligation of vows and oaths; certain moral precepts; and the death of Nadab and Abihu, sons of Aaron, because they put strange fire--that is, fire not taken from the altar--into their censers. Folio 18 at the end and folio 19 at the beginning.

In the Book of Numbers it is related that the Lord caused all the males twenty years old and above who were fit for war to be numbered, and six hundred thousand five hundred and fifty were found, excluding the tribe of Levi, in which there were twenty-two thousand; and twelve princes of the tribes were designated. The Lord gave the order in which the Levites were to encamp all around the tabernacle, and then the people around the Levites, on every side--namely east, west, south, and north--and specified which of the Levites were to carry the furnishings of the tabernacle. It treats of the sacrifice of jealousy; the vow of the Nazirites; the offering made by the twelve princes of the tribes on the day the tabernacle was erected; the lamps of the lampstand; the two silver trumpets made for different uses; the seventy elders chosen to assist Moses; and the fire that descended from heaven and consumed many of those who murmured while desiring the foods of Egypt. It also relates that Miriam, Aaron's sister, murmured against Moses, was made leprous, and after eight days was cleansed by God. When they advanced from Paran into Kadesh-barnea, twelve spies--one from each tribe--were sent to examine the land of promise. Returning after forty days, they reported to the people that the land was excellent but impregnable and could not be obtained by them, except for two of those twelve spies, Caleb and Joshua, who comforted and encouraged the people to go and take it. At this the people murmured, as though it were impossible to obtain. On account of the fault of this murmuring, the Lord commanded that they wander through the desert for forty years before entering that land of promise, and that all who had been numbered above should die in the desert, except Caleb and Joshua. Folio 19.

On the sedition of Dathan and Abiram against the leadership of Moses, whom the earth swallowed; the murmuring of Korah with two hundred and fifty Levites against the priesthood of Aaron, whom fire going forth from the Lord consumed; and the murmuring of the people against Moses and Aaron because of the death of the foregoing, on account of which fire consumed many of the people. But when Aaron, holding a censer and offering incense among them, intervened, the plague ceased. To quiet the murmuring of the people, the twelve princes of the tribes brought their rods to Moses at the Lord's command. When these were placed with Aaron's rod in the tabernacle, Aaron's rod alone was found to have budded and produced flowers and fruit, as a sign of Aaron's legitimate priesthood. Folio 19.

On the tithes and first fruits to be given to the Levites; the portions they were to have from the sacrifices; and the tithe of the tithe to be given to the high priest. On the sacrifice of the red heifer that was to be burned, from whose ashes the water of expiation was made; the death of Miriam, Aaron's sister; the lack of water at Horeb and the murmuring of the people, on account of which Moses and Aaron, disturbed and made distrustful concerning the Lord's promise, were commanded to strike the rock with the rod so that water would come forth; and how both were punished for this by being deprived of entry into the land of promise. On Aaron's death, in whose place his son Eleazar was made high priest. On the victory won against Sihon, king of the Amorites, and Og, king of Bashan, who came against him in war to impede him. Moreover, on the murmuring of the people because of the labor and weariness of the journey, on account of which many wounded by serpents perished, but afterward those who were wounded were healed at the sight of the bronze serpent. Folio 19.

That when the people of Israel encamped on the plains of Moab, the king of the Moabites sent for Balaam the soothsayer to come to him and curse the people of Israel. While Balaam was traveling on the road, the she-ass upon which he sat spoke. When he came to the king of the Moabites and intended to curse the people of Israel, he instead blessed them, by the Lord's ordering. He did this three times in different places from which he could see the people of Israel; and among other things, he also prophesied more exaltedly concerning Christ. When the children of Israel fornicated with the Moabites and adored their idols, twenty-three thousand of Israel were killed, and the Lord commanded that the twelve princes of the tribes be hanged. Phinehas, in zeal, pierced through both an Israelite who was fornicating and the Midianite woman with him, and appeased the Lord's anger. Again the Lord commanded that all males from twenty years old and above be numbered, and six hundred and one thousand seven hundred and thirty were found who had not been numbered at the departure from Egypt, because all those former men had died in the desert, except Joshua and Caleb. When the five daughters of Zelophehad--who had been stoned because he had been found gathering wood on the Sabbath--sought their father's inheritance, the Lord commanded it to be given to them, establishing a rule for the order of succession to an inheritance when someone died without a male heir. On the death of Moses and the appointment of Joshua as leader in his place; the sacrifices to be offered and their observances; the daily burnt offerings and those at the kalends and their solemnities; the vows and oaths of men and women, whether they are in their parents' house, married, or widowed. That when they went out to war against the Midianites or Moabites, they killed everyone except the virgins, and with them Balaam the soothsayer. That the tribe of Reuben, the tribe of Gad, and half the tribe of Manasseh asked to be given as a possession the lands acquired around the Jordan; Moses did this, yet on the condition that they go to war with the others until they possessed the land of promise. On the forty stations made in the desert over forty years; the boundaries of the land of promise that they were to possess

and those who were to divide it; the cities, towns, and suburbs to be given to the Levites; the three cities of refuge; and marriage not to be contracted except with those who were of the same tribe. Folio 19.

[Running head: Third Title]

The Book of Deuteronomy, which is the fifth in the Pentateuch, is called the Second Law because it is a repetition of the foregoing law, but with many additions and explanations concerning the moral, judicial, and ceremonial precepts. It also contains Moses's ordinance that six of the tribes should ascend Mount Gerizim, where the Levites, crying aloud, should call down the many curses contained there upon transgressors of the Law; and, conversely, that the other six tribes should ascend Mount Ebal, where the Levites, crying aloud, should call down the many blessings contained there upon observers of the Law. There also is contained the canticle of Moses, "Hear, O heavens"; how Moses gave a blessing to each of the tribes; and how, when he ascended Mount Nebo and the land of promise had been shown to him, he was gathered to his fathers, and his tomb was not found. Folio 20.

On certain other deeds among other nations; that in the time of Moses there was the first Hercules; and that Deucalion began to reign, in whose time the second flood occurred in Thessaly. Folio 20.

Chapter Five: Deeds Among the People of Israel under the Leadership of Joshua and in the Time of the Judges, Together with Certain Other Matters Concerning Other Nations

First, how Joshua himself was appointed leader of the people and strengthened by the Lord to bring the people into the land of promise, and was exhorted to follow in Moses's footsteps. It begins in the Book of Joshua. Folio 20.

That Joshua sent spies to explore Jericho; Rahab received them in her house, hid them, and secretly sent them away. That the people of Israel crossed the Jordan, a way being miraculously made for them through it. That at Gilgal the circumcision was performed upon those who had been born in the desert; and after Passover was celebrated, they ate of the produce of the land and the manna ceased. That Joshua saw an angel with drawn sword coming to the aid of the people. That when they had gone around the city of Jericho for seven days with trumpets sounding, and seven times on the seventh day, the walls fell utterly; entering, they killed everyone except Rahab and her people. That when they went out to battle against Ai, they were put to flight and some were killed; this was because of Achan's theft, and when he was discovered he was stoned. That they took Ai through an ambush, pretending to flee. Folio 20.

On the Gibeonites: how they deceived Joshua and the other elders, pretending that they came from distant regions to enter a covenant of peace with them. When they had obtained this, confirmed by an oath, their pious deception was discovered--namely, that they had done it to escape death. Because of the oath made to them, the Israelites spared them, though they subjected them to a certain servitude. That five kings came against the Gibeonites because of the covenant made with Israel; when Joshua was summoned by those Gibeonites, he fought against those kings. When the sun was approaching its setting, at Joshua's prayer the sun was fixed in the sky until he hanged those captured kings upon something. Folio 20.

That Joshua captured many cities and killed their nations and kings in the land of Canaan promised to them, giving their places over to fire. That he fought and killed thirty-one kings who reigned there in different places, seizing their cities. That Joshua and Eleazar the high priest, with the twelve princes of the tribes, divided the land of promise among the nine tribes of Israel and the half-tribe of Manasseh, assigning to each its share of cities and places. That Achsah, Caleb's daughter, received from her father the upper and lower well-watered land. Then the cities of refuge were designated, to which someone who had killed another by accident and without guile could flee. Cities with their suburbs, but no other possessions, were assigned to the Levites, because they were to receive tithes, first fruits, and offerings from the people. That the two and a half tribes which had already received a possession from Moses beyond the Jordan were permitted by Joshua to return to their possession; they also made an altar of wondrous size beside the Jordan as a sign that they were of the people of Israel. That when Joshua had grown old, he gathered the people and encouraged them to observe the Law. After ruling the people for twenty-six years, he died. Folio 20.

That after the deaths of Moses and Joshua, leaders succeeded among the people of Israel who were called judges. They did not rule as lords, but in their tribulations the people made use of their counsel and prudence, as is evident throughout the Book of Judges, from which the matters that follow are taken. There also are accounts of certain singular men of other nations. Folio 20.

The first of the judges named in that book is Othniel, Caleb's brother. Before him, however, the story is told of King Adoni-bezek, who, when captured by the children of Israel and the extremities of his hands and feet had been cut off, said that this had been justly done to him, because he himself had held seventy captured kings beneath his table after cutting off the extremities of their hands and feet. That an angel appeared to the people of Israel, rebuked them for transgressing the Law, on account of which they were afflicted by neighboring nations, and brought them to weeping and penitence. That the aforesaid Othniel freed them from the hand of Cushan-rishathaim, king of Mesopotamia, whom they had served for eight years. That after they were delivered because of their sins into the hands of Eglon, king of the Moabites, and into the hands of the Ammonites for eighteen years, they cried to the Lord, who freed them by the hand of Ehud, who killed that king. That Shamgar, the third judge, killed six hundred of the Philistines. That when they returned to their former evils and were delivered into the hands of Jabin, king of Canaan, whose

commander of the army was Sisera, God freed them by the hand of Barak and Deborah the prophetess, Sisera himself being killed while he slept by the woman Jael. There also is Deborah's canticle. Folio 20.

On Gideon the judge, who freed Israel from the hands of the Midianites, whom they had served for seven years while afflicted by them because of their sins; and on the marvelous victory he had with only three hundred men, with trumpets sounding, earthen vessels being broken against one another, and lamps being kindled, one hundred and twenty thousand of the enemy being killed by them. Also on Abimelech, Gideon's illegitimate son, who caused his seventy legitimate brothers to be killed by the men of Shechem so that he alone might rule them, and who at last was killed by a woman with a fragment of a millstone. Folio 21.

On Jephthah, the son of a harlot and a judge, who freed the people from the Ammonites and killed his virgin daughter as he had vowed in order to obtain victory; and on the contention and strife between Ephraim and the Gileadites, from which forty-two thousand Ephraimites were killed. Folio 21.

On Samson, judge of Israel, who freed them from the Philistines by causing their crops to be burned by foxes sent among them with fire at their tails; who also killed a thousand of them with an ass's jawbone; and who, after his head had been shaved and his strength thereby lost, was captured and blinded by the Philistines, yet in the ruin of the temple that he caused, while killing himself, he killed very many. Folio 21.

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On Micah, who made an idol at his mother's insistence and caused a Levite to serve it; at last, certain men from the tribe of Dan who lodged there took the idol away for themselves together with the Levite. Folio 21.

On the adultery perpetrated at Gibeah against a Levite's wife, on account of which the eleven tribes, gathered against the tribe of Benjamin to avenge the crime, were twice defeated in battle; finally, however, they destroyed the tribe of Benjamin, killing twenty-five thousand of them and burning their cities. Folio 21.

On Ruth the Moabitess and her mother-in-law Naomi; Boaz took Ruth as his wife, as is related throughout the Book of Ruth. Folio 21.

On the war of the Greeks against the Trojans and the destruction of Troy because of the abduction of Helen, wife of Menelaus, by Paris, son of Priam, in the time of the judge Jephthah discussed above; on the companions of Ulysses changed into beasts by magic art; and on those reigning among the Latins. Folios 21 and 22.

Chapter Six: On the History of the Book of Kings

First, on Elkanah, who had two wives, one of whom, namely Hannah, was barren. Conceiving a son, Samuel, by reason of a vow, she offered him in the temple to serve there and made the canticle, "My heart has rejoiced," etc. Also on the sons of Eli, given over to gluttony and wantonness; on the rebuke made to Eli by a prophet and afterward by Samuel because of his negligence in correcting his sons. It begins, "Returning to sacred history." Folio 22.

On the war begun by the Philistines against Israel, in which, after Eli's sons were killed and the people of Israel defeated, the Ark of the Lord was captured by the Philistines; and how, wherever it was brought among their cities, it brought upon them a plague of ulcers in their buttocks, on account of which they sent it back to Israel. Folio 22.

On the victory won by the people of Israel against the Philistines through the prayer of Samuel, who was the last of Israel's judges. When he had grown old, he appointed his sons to judge in his place, but because they judged perversely through avarice, the people asked Samuel to appoint a king for them. Folio 22.

On Saul, to whom, while he was searching for his father's asses, Samuel foretold that he would be king, giving him several signs of this. This also came to pass, although Saul hid himself to avoid it. Afterward he went to war against the Ammonites and defeated them. Folio 22.

On Samuel the prophet, who declared to the people his innocence in judging and rebuked them for having made a king for themselves; and who thereafter rebuked King Saul because he had not obeyed his ordinance, on account of which he would be deprived of the kingdom. Also on the victory won by Jonathan, Saul's son, against the Philistines. Folio 22, near the end.

On Saul's going at God's command against the Amalekites to destroy them together with their king. Because he did not fulfill this entirely, Samuel rebuked him and announced that his kingdom was given to another. Also on Samuel's being sent by the Lord to anoint David as king, which he did. Folio 23.

On the killing of the giant Goliath by the young David with a stone cast into his forehead; and on the celebration held for this victory, when choirs of maidens came to meet him singing, "Saul has struck down a thousand, and David ten thousand," etc. Provoked to envy by this praise, Saul sought David's death, and for this reason gave him his daughter Michal as wife. Also how many times and in different ways he sought to capture and kill him, but Jonathan, Saul's son, who loved David greatly, disclosed his father's malice to him. Folio 23.

On David, who asked for and received the bread of the Presence to eat from Ahimelech the priest, together with Goliath's sword; and who pretended to be a fool before the king of Gath. Also on Saul, who caused Ahimelech to be killed with eighty-five priests because he had given bread to David; and on Saul himself, who went with many men first into Keilah, then into the desert of Maon, and thereafter into Engedi, so as to capture and kill David. Folio 23.

On Samuel's death and on Abigail, Nabal's wife, who by her words and gifts reconciled David, when he was ready to kill Nabal because of the insult offered to his men. Also on David himself entering Saul's tent with a companion while Saul slept: he took Saul's spear and cup but did him no injury at all, although Saul himself had gone out to kill him. On David's going to dwell with Achish, king of Gath, and also making slaughters among the Philistines. Folio 23.

On the war begun by the Philistines against Israel; and on Saul's consulting a pythoness so that she might raise Samuel. In this battle, because David was with the Philistines and they did not trust him, he was sent back to his own place. Returning to Ziklag and finding that the Amalekites had taken his wives and sons, those of his companions, and their property, he went against them, defeated them, and recovered everything. In the battle with the Philistines itself, Saul was wounded and killed himself; his sons also were killed, and his army was defeated by the Philistines. Folio 23.

On the poet Homer, who flourished in those times; and on two kingdoms that had their beginning, namely those of the Lacedaemonians and the Corinthians. Folio 23.

Third Title: On the Fourth Age of the World, Which Begins with David

It begins, "The fourth age." Beyond those matters concerning David that were related from the First Book of Kings, the entire Second Book treats of his deeds. First, that upon hearing of Saul's death he mourned and fasted with his men, and caused the messenger who had finished killing Saul to be put to death. That thereafter, ascending to Hebron, he was anointed king over the tribe of Judah, while Ish-bosheth, Saul's son, reigned over the eleven tribes; and on the war between David's people, whose commander was Joab, and Ish-bosheth's army, whose commander was Abner. Folio 23, at the end.

On the long contest between the house of Saul and the house of David; the treacherous killing of Abner; and King Ish-bosheth's own killing as he slept by two men who reported the deed to David and were themselves put to death by him. Folio 24.

On David's third anointing as king over all Israel; his capture of Jerusalem; his wives and sons; and the victory won against the Philistines. On his bringing the Ark back into Jerusalem with great solemnity, when Uzzah was struck and died while holding the Ark as it tilted because the oxen stumbled. And that David's wife Michal, seeing him dance before the Ark, despised him. Also on the order David gave to the Levites in serving the tabernacle in the divine praises. When he wished to build a temple, the Lord forbade him through Nathan the prophet, declaring that his son would do so, and confirming his kingdom. Folio 24.

On David's going out to battle: he defeated the Philistines, Moabites, Ammonites, and Edomites, and made Syria tributary, while administering justice to all. He also made Mephibosheth, Jonathan's lame son, his table-companion and caused Saul's possessions to be restored to him. Folio 24.

That David sent ambassadors to Hanun, king of the Ammonites, to console him upon the death of his father, David's friend. Because Hanun dishonored them by cutting their garments up to the buttocks, David made war against him. Also on the adultery David perpetrated with Bathsheba; he sent Uriah to be killed while Joab, commander of his army, was besieging the city of the Ammonites. Rebuked by Nathan concerning this under a parable, David confessed his sin and received pardon, but the son conceived through the adultery died. Finally, when the city of the Ammonites was captured, very many were killed. Folio 24.

On Amnon, David's firstborn, who violated his sister Tamar, on account of which her brother Absalom killed him at a banquet. For this Absalom was sent into exile by his father, but through Joab's entreaties and the speech of the woman of Tekoa, David reconciled him to himself. Folio 24.

On Absalom, David's son, most beautiful in body but most ambitious: after making a conspiracy against his father David, he took away his kingdom and sought his death by Ahithophel's counsel. Finally, when David's army engaged Absalom's army in battle, Absalom's army was put to flight. As Absalom himself fled, he remained hanging by his hair in the branches of an oak and was killed by Joab. David mourned this deed most bitterly. Folio 24.

On David himself being restored to the kingdom and forgiving injuries. Amasa, however, who had been commander of Absalom's army, was treacherously killed by Joab against David's will. When a contention arose between the tribe of Judah and the other tribes, and a most wicked man named Sheba caused Israel to separate from Judah, he fled into Abel, where he was beheaded, and the sedition was quieted. Folio 24.

On the famine that arose in Israel for three years because Saul had caused the Gibeonites to be killed contrary to the oath given to them by Joshua. It could not cease unless satisfaction were made for the injury done them, and this was accomplished by delivering descendants of Saul into the hands of the Gibeonites, who crucified them, Mephibosheth excepted. Folio 24.

On the thirty-seven mightiest men at arms who were with David; and on the pestilence infecting the people, from which seventy thousand died, because the people had been numbered at David's command so that he might glory in their multitude. Also on David's preparation of material for the construction of the temple and on the ordering of the singers and the other ministers of the temple. Folio 24.

Chapter Two: On the Deeds of Solomon

First, how at the exhortation of Bathsheba and Nathan the prophet, Solomon was declared by David to be king over Israel and was anointed by Zadok, while his brother Adonijah, who sought to succeed to the kingdom, was rejected. It begins, "On the reign of Solomon." Folio 25.

On the admonitions David made to Solomon at the end of his life; the killing of Adonijah at Solomon's command because he asked that Abishag be given to him as wife; and the killing of Joab and also of Shimei. On the prayer Solomon made after many sacrifices, in which he asked for wisdom to rule the people; and on the first judgment he made between two harlots contending over a son. Folio 25.

On the glory of Solomon, his princes, the magnificent provision of his court, and his wisdom. Folio 25.

On the marvelous temple built by Solomon in Jerusalem and the parts of the building itself. Folio 25.

On the bringing of the Ark into the Holy of Holies in the completed temple; the dedication of the temple; and Solomon's prayer for those praying in it for different causes to be heard, concerning which it was revealed to him that he had been heard. Folio 26.

On the queen of Sheba, who came from the ends of the earth to hear Solomon's wisdom, was exceedingly astonished, and commended it wonderfully. Also on Solomon's ivory throne, the amount of his revenues, and the abundance of horses. Folio 26.

On his wantonness in having very many wives and concubines, including foreign women, on account of which God stirred up wars against him in his old age; and whether Solomon is saved or condemned. Folio 26.

Chapter Three: On the Other Kings Who Reigned after Solomon in Judah and Israel

When the kingdom over all Israel was received by Rehoboam, Solomon's son, because he answered more harshly when the people of Israel asked that his father's burdens be lightened, a schism resulted from the division of the one kingdom into two: Rehoboam reigned over Judah and Benjamin, and Jeroboam over the rest of Israel, that is, the ten tribes. It begins, "In the twelfth." Folio 26.

On a prophet sent by God from Judah into Samaria to rebuke Jeroboam, king of Israel, because he had made golden calves for the people to adore. After rebuking Jeroboam, because that prophet ate there contrary to the Lord's command, he was strangled by a lion on the road. Also on Rehoboam, Solomon's son, who because of idolatry was attacked by the king of Egypt, who carried away the treasures of the temple and of his house. Folio 26.

On Abijah, Rehoboam's son, who succeeded him in the kingdom after his death. Jeroboam, king of Israel, came against him; although Abijah was wicked, because he devoutly commended himself to the Lord, Jeroboam was defeated, fifty thousand of his army being slain. Folio 26.

On Asa, Abijah's son, who succeeded him in the kingdom and removed idolatry from the land; and on Nadab, Jeroboam's son, who reigned over Israel after him. Asa, king of Judah, won a victory against the Ethiopians who came against him.

[Running head: Title XVII]

On another occasion, when Baasha, king of Israel, came to war against him, he was freed with the aid of the king of Syria. Folio 26.

When Baasha died, his son Elah reigned in Israel; after him Zimri reigned seven days, and when besieged by Omri in Tirzah he burned himself together with the palace. Omri then reigned, and after him his son Ahab, a most wicked idolater together with his wife Jezebel. Folio 26.

On Jehoshaphat, king of Judah and son of Asa, an excellent man, against whom the Philistines and Arabs came in war; one million one hundred and sixty thousand were defeated. Folio 26.

On Elijah the prophet, who by prayer obtained that no rain should fall upon the earth for three and a half years. He was fed by a raven at the brook and thereafter by the widow of Zarephath from a handful of flour that did not fail; he raised her son. In the presence of the people of Israel gathered on Mount Carmel, he caused fire to descend from heaven upon the sacrifice. Because the four hundred priests of the idols could not do this, he caused them to be killed; and because Jezebel threatened him with death on that account, he went into the desert. While he slept there beneath a juniper tree, an angel appeared, roused him to eat bread baked under the ashes that had been brought to him, and exhorted him to eat. In the strength of this food, he walked fasting for forty days as far as Mount Horeb. Folio 26.

On Ahab, king of Israel, who twice won victory against Ben-hadad, king of Syria, when he came against him in war with thirty-two kings, just as a certain prophet had foretold to him. Also on Naboth, falsely accused of blasphemy and stoned because he refused to sell his vineyard to King Ahab; on account of this Ahab, rebuked by Elijah, humbled himself. And on the war planned against Ramoth, a city taken away by the king of Syria, to which Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, also went with Ahab. The prophets of Baal foretold victory for him, but Micaiah, the Lord's prophet, foretold his death and defeat, just as it happened. Folio 26.

On Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, rebuked by a prophet for the aid given to Ahab; on his great diligence in bringing the people to observance of the Law, sending priests everywhere to instruct them; and on the very great victory he won against many nations that came against him in war, and this by prayers and fasts. Folio 27.

On the Fourth Book of Kings, and first on Ahaziah, who reigned in Israel in place of his father Ahab, killed in battle. When Ahaziah was sick, Elijah the prophet foretold his death. Ahaziah first sent three captains of fifty to summon Elijah; the first two, with their men, were consumed by fire at Elijah's prayer. Also on Elijah's assumption or translation into heaven in a fiery chariot. Folio 27.

On Elisha, Elijah's disciple, who, after receiving the spirit of prophecy, divided the waters of the Jordan by the touch of Elijah's cloak; made the waters drinkable at Jericho; and cursed the boys who mocked him, whereupon they were devoured by bears. When the kings of Israel, Judah, and Edom gathered together against Moab and lacked water, Elisha prophesied when a psaltery was played and provided them water from God. Folio 27.

The same Elisha multiplied oil for a widow to pay her debt and raised the dead son of the Shunammite woman whom he had obtained for her by prayer. He sweetened extremely bitter and poisoned food by putting flour upon it. He multiplied bread. He cleansed Naaman the Syrian of leprosy when he washed in the Jordan. He condemned his disciple Gehazi to leprosy because, without Elisha's knowledge, he asked for gifts from those men. He caused iron that had flown from its handle and sunk into the water to return to that handle. When the same Elisha, who was revealing the ambushes of the king of Syria to the king of Israel, was approached by an army of Syria coming to capture him, he struck them with blindness and led them into the midst of their enemies, yet commanded the king of Israel not to harm them at all. When a severe famine invaded Samaria because the king of Syria besieged it, Elisha foretold abundance to the king of Israel on the following day. This came to pass when the Syrian king's army fled and left everything there. To Hazael, who came to ask whether the sick Ben-hadad, king of Syria, would recover, Elisha foretold that Hazael would be king of Syria and would do many evils. The same Elisha commanded one of the sons of the prophets to go and anoint Jehu king of Israel so that he might destroy all Ahab's seed, which was done. Jehu himself, anointed king, killed Joram, king of Israel and son of Ahab; caused the wounded Ahaziah, king of Judah, to be killed; caused Jezebel, mother of the said Joram, to be thrown from the window of her house; caused the seventy sons of Ahab to be beheaded by the Samaritans; and killed all the prophets of Baal gathered under the pretext that he would worship him. Yet Jehu himself turned aside to idolatry. Folio 27.

On Athaliah, mother of Ahaziah, who, when she heard that her son was killed, caused all the royal seed to be killed so that she herself might reign. Yet one, namely Joash, was hidden. When he was seven years old he was revealed and declared king over Judah, Athaliah being killed; all this was procured by Jehoiada the high priest. King Joash caused Zechariah the prophet, son of the aforesaid Jehoiada, to be stoned beside the temple when Zechariah rebuked him for his vices. On account of this, after Joash himself was defeated by the king of Syria and great spoil was taken, he was killed by his own men. Folio 27, at the end.

On the kingdom of Israel, in which, after Jehu, his son Jehoahaz reigned, and after him his son Joash. When Joash visited Elisha in his final illness, Elisha foretold that he would strike Syria three times. A certain dead man, cast upon the bones of the already dead Elisha, was raised. In the kingdom of Judah, Amaziah reigned in place of his father Joash. When Amaziah went to war against Edom, he won victory; becoming proud because of it, he went to war against Joash, king of Israel, was captured by him, and was led into Jerusalem after the treasures of the temple and royal house had been taken. When Joash, king of Israel, died, his son Jeroboam reigned, and after him his son Azariah. Folio 28.

On Uzziah, who reigned in Judah after his father Amaziah was killed by his own men. He did many good things, magnified the city in riches, and obtained many victories against different nations. At last, lifted up in pride because he entered the temple to offer incense before the Lord, he contracted leprosy, in which he remained until death, while his son Jotham governed the kingdom. In Israel, however, Azariah reigned; Shallum killed him and reigned in his place; Menahem killed Shallum and assumed the kingdom; when he died, his son Pekahiah reigned; another Pekah, son of Remaliah, killed him and reigned in his place. In his time Tiglath-pileser, king of the Assyrians, came against Israel, took a great part captive, and transferred them among the Assyrians. Hoshea killed the aforesaid Pekah and reigned in Israel.

[Running head: Second Title]

In Judah, after Uzziah, his son Jotham reigned; he also made the Ammonites tributary. Folio 28.

On Ahaz, who reigned in Judah after the death of his father Jotham. He was most wicked and given to idolatry. Pekah the king came against him in battle and on one day killed one hundred and twenty thousand fighting men of Judah; they led away two

hundred thousand boys, girls, and women captive. Yet, at a prophet's counsel, they refreshed and released them. In his time Rome was founded. Folio 28.

On his son Hezekiah, who reigned in Judah and was an excellent man, bringing the people back to the worship of God. In his time the kingdom of Israel--that is, of the ten tribes--failed, when they were transferred by Shalmaneser, king of the Assyrians. In Hezekiah's time, when Sennacherib, king of the Assyrians, came against Hezekiah and his kingdom and besieged Jerusalem, in one night an angel of the Lord, through Hezekiah's and Isaiah's prayers and humiliations, killed one hundred and eighty-five thousand of Sennacherib's army; thus he was delivered. Hezekiah himself, however, whether because of pride or ingratitude, became sick unto death, but, repenting, he was healed; as a sign, the sun returned through ten lines. He showed all his treasures to the ambassadors of Babylon, and Isaiah foretold to him that everything would be carried away by the Babylonians. He also caused Passover to be celebrated most solemnly by the people. Folio 28.

On Manasseh, Hezekiah's son, who after him reigned in Judah for fifty-five years. He was most wicked, given to idolatry and auguries, and killed the prophets, especially Isaiah, whom he caused to be cut with a wooden saw. Yet when he was led captive into Babylon, he repented and, greatly humbled in that captivity, obtained pardon and was restored to his kingdom. His son Amon succeeded him, imitating his father in vices but not in repentance; he also was killed by his own men. Folio 28.

On his son Josiah, who received the kingdom when he was eight years old. He ruled excellently, persecuted idolaters, brought the priests to restore the temple, led the people back to observance of the Law and fear of God, and caused Passover to be solemnly celebrated. At last, because he went to fight the king of Egypt contrary to the Lord's will, he was gravely wounded, taken to Jerusalem, and passed to the Lord. Jeremiah composed laments upon his death. Folio 28, at the end.

On Necho, king of Egypt, who entered Jerusalem and led Jotham, Josiah's son whom the people had appointed king, bound into Egypt; he appointed Jotham's brother Jehoiakim king in his place. The king of Babylon came against Jehoiakim and made him tributary. When he rebelled, the king of Babylon came again and killed him. Fearing that Jehoiakim's son Jehoiachin would rebel, he led him captive into Babylon with many of the more eminent men, especially Daniel, Hananiah, Azariah, Mishael, Ezekiel, and Mordecai. The king of Babylon appointed Zedekiah, Josiah's son and the aforesaid Jehoiachin's uncle, king of Judah. When Zedekiah rebelled, Nebuchadnezzar came, captured the city of Jerusalem, killed the king's sons in his presence, deprived him of his eyes, and led him bound into Babylon, carrying away the vessels of the temple and all precious things, burning the city, and transferring many thousands of Jews into Babylon. He left a certain man named Gedaliah as governor over those who remained, but Ishmael and his men killed him. At last Johanan, with those of the people who remained in Judea, descended into Egypt for fear of the Chaldeans. In that time Jeremiah prophesied. He had earlier foretold Jerusalem's future captivity so as to bring them to repentance; finally, taken with them into Egypt, he was stoned there by them. Folio 19 throughout.

Chapter Four: On the Prophets Whose Prophecies Are Contained in the Old Testament

Of these, Moses was greatest without qualification, but David in a certain respect, namely with respect to the mysteries of Christ. It begins, "Although of the saints." Folio 29.

On David's prophecy in the Psalms concerning all the articles of faith. Folio 29, at the end.

On Solomon's prophecy and doctrine in his three books--namely Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs--and on the Book of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus. Folio 30.

Chapter Five: On the Prophet Isaiah

On his royal stock, his style in writing, and his cruel death, namely his being cut with a wooden saw. It begins, "Among the four prophets." Folio 30.

On his prophetic announcement concerning the destruction of the kingdoms of Israel, Judah, Syria, Moab, Egypt, Tyre, Edom, the Assyrians, and the Babylonians, which are called burdens. Folio 30.

On the prophecy of the Incarnation in the words, "Behold, a virgin shall conceive," etc. Folio 30.

On the prophecy of Christ's Nativity and divinity and the fruits of the Incarnation, in the words, "A little child is born to us." Folio 31.

On the most manifest prophecy of Christ's Passion. Folio 32.

On the prophecy of the Church to be gathered from the gentiles. Folio 33.

On the different mysteries of Christ. Folio 33.

On the prophecy of the Ascension and the angels' question. Folio 33.

Chapter Six: On Jeremiah the Prophet

On Jeremiah, a priest sanctified in the womb, and his death by stoning. It begins, “Jeremiah.” Folio 33.

On his prophecy with respect to the Incarnation and Passion. Folio 33, at the end.

On the prophecy of the Messiah promised in the Law and His divinity through the name Tetragrammaton. Folio 34.

On the evangelical law to be given to the people. Folio 35.

Chapter Seven: On the Prophet Ezekiel

He prophesied in Babylon and at last was killed there by the Jews. It begins, “Ezekiel.” Folio 35.

On his first vision, namely of the four living creatures, signifying the elect of the Church; the unity of the Church itself; and its one shepherd. Folio 35.

On the mystery of the final resurrection of bodies, shown to him through the bones restored to life. Folio 35.

On God’s immense mercy, which receives every penitent sinner to pardon, and His justice, which punishes a just man who turns aside to evil. Folio 35.

On Lucifer’s fall and his marvelous perfection in which he was created. Folio 36.

On Ezekiel’s final and most difficult vision, namely the marvelous city built upon a mountain and shown to him, and how it can be understood according to the letter. Folio 36.

On the mystical or moral exposition of that city, which signifies the Church militant with respect to all its states. Folio 37.

Chapter Eight: On the Prophet Daniel

To him was revealed the time of the future Incarnation in the seventy shortened weeks of which he speaks in chapter nine. It begins, “Although all.” Folio 37.

That Daniel himself, of the royal stock of Judah, was led captive in his youth into Babylon with Hananiah, Azariah, and Mishael. Nebuchadnezzar caused them to be taught the wisdom and learning of the Babylonians; because of their abstinence, since they did not use the foods of the gentiles but vegetables and water, God gave them understanding of all visions. Folio 38.

On Daniel’s ten visions in different chapters of his prophecy. Folio 38.

On Michael the archangel fighting for the people of God; the final resurrection; and the history of Susanna, Bel, and the dragon. Folio 38.

Chapter Nine: On the Twelve Minor Prophets

They prophesied at different times in Judah or Israel, and their manifold prophecy concerning different mysteries is treated successively in twelve sections. It begins, “Twelve.” Folios 30 and 38.

On Job the gentile, who prophesied more openly and cautiously than the other prophets concerning the final resurrection of bodies, in the words, “I know that my Redeemer lives,” etc. Who Job himself was, of what lineage, and who wrote his book are noted there. In that book it is proved in many ways that divine providence has care for human acts, as blessed Thomas explains. Folio 40.

On the history of Tobit, who was transferred to Nineveh by the king of the Assyrians with the others of the people of Israel; and there on his perfection and life, his almsgiving, his blindness and enlightenment, the angel Raphael leading him and bringing him back, and his prophecy concerning the Church. Folio 40, at the end.

On the Sibyls, prophetesses of the gentiles, whom the wise relate to have been ten; and that they prophesied marvelously concerning the mysteries of Christ, such as the Incarnation, His virgin mother and His name, His miracles, disciples, and teaching, His Passion and Resurrection, and the Last Judgment, in twenty-six verses. Folio 41.

On Lycurgus, who composed laws for the Lacedaemonians, and on his laws full of morality; and on Sardanapalus, the last king of the Assyrians, who, wholly effeminate and given to wantonness, after losing his kingdom burned himself with his riches. Folio 42.

On certain distinguished men, namely Gyges, Archilochus, Simonides, Seleucus, Phalaris, Zeno the philosopher, Arion the musician, Thales of Miletus, and Milo. Folio 42.

Fourth Title: On Deeds in the Fifth Age of the World

This age had its origin from the captivity or transmigration of the Jews into Babylon and extends to Christ's Nativity. It begins, "The fifth age." There also is an account of the kingdom of Nebuchadnezzar and his sons who reigned after him. Folio 42.

On Cyrus, king of the Persians, who, after overthrowing the kingdom of the Medes and also the kingdom of the Babylonians by killing its king Belshazzar, transferred the monarchy, which was previously among the Assyrians, to the Persians and Medes. It remained there for two hundred and six years through the succession of twelve Persian kings, down to Alexander the Great. This Cyrus was the nephew of Darius through his sister and came to the kingdom marvelously. In his time Aesop, who composed fables, flourished. Folio 43.

On the capture and siege of Babylon by Cyrus; the marvelous strength of the city; and how Cyrus entered it by way of the Euphrates River. Folio 43.

On the seven sages of the world who flourished in those times. Folio 43.

On the permission Cyrus gave the Jews to return to Jerusalem to rebuild the temple under Ezra's leadership, the vessels of the temple being returned. Folio 44.

On King Croesus, captured by Cyrus, and his riches. Folio 44.

On Cambyses, son of Cyrus, who succeeded him in the Persian monarchy, defeated Egypt, and added it to his empire. He was so severe that he caused a certain unjust judge to be flayed and made that judge's son sit in judgment upon a chair covered with his skin. In his time occurred what is read in the history of Judith, when he was called Nebuchadnezzar. Folio 44, at the end.

On Holofernes, commander of the army of the said Nebuchadnezzar, sent by him to subjugate all lands and destroy their gods so that he alone might be adored as God. Devastating with an innumerable army everything that met him, he finally came into Judea to destroy it, but was killed after being piously deceived by Judith the widow; and on how she may be excused in that dissimulation. Folio 45, at the beginning.

On Polycrates and certain others. Folio 45.

On Pythagoras the natural philosopher, who was renowned at that time and regarded as the head of the philosophers of Italy. He was the first to profess that he was a philosopher, that is, a lover of wisdom. He traversed many parts of the world to drink in wisdom; by his wisdom he led both men and women to modesty and a moral life. He also was the first among the Greeks to discover that souls are immortal, but in this he erred shamefully, saying that they pass from body to body. Folio 45.

On the two Magi who obtained the kingdom of the Persians after Cambyses; and on how, after them, Darius Hystaspes received the kingdom of the Persians in a marvelous manner. Folio 45, at the end.

On Darius himself, a friend of Zerubbabel, who also gave permission to restore the temple, which Cambyses had forbidden; and on the question proposed between Zerubbabel and the other chamberlains of Darius, namely concerning wine, the king, women, and truth. Zerubbabel proved that truth was stronger than all; when this had been approved by everyone, he obtained from Darius himself the rebuilding of the temple. Folio 46.

On the philosophers Democritus and Heraclitus, as well as Anaxagoras, Archelaus, and Aeschylus; and on Themistocles fighting manfully. Folio 46.

On Xerxes, son of Darius, who reigned in Persia after him. When a contention arose between him and his brothers concerning the kingdom, they remained at peace by their uncle's judgment. This Xerxes was very wanton and self-willed. Making war with an innumerable army and one thousand two hundred ships, he was defeated by Leonidas, king of the Spartans, with only four thousand men. Folio 46.

[Running head: Fourth Title]

On certain illustrious gentile men, namely Themistocles, Pindar, Sophocles, Euripides, and Herodotus the historian. Folio 47.

On Artabanus, who obtained the kingdom of the Persians in a marvelous manner; Artaxerxes succeeded him. Folio 47.

On Empedocles and Parmenides, who flourished in philosophy, and many other sages of the world. Folio 47.

On Nehemiah, cupbearer of the said King Artaxerxes, who in the twentieth year of his reign obtained permission to go to Jerusalem to rebuild the walls of the city with many others. When they arrived, they were attacked in many ways by neighboring nations. Also on Ezra teaching the people. Folio 47, at the end.

On Hippocrates the physician and Gorgias the rhetor, who were held in distinction at that time. Folio 48.

On Socrates the philosopher, who gave himself entirely to moral matters; his notable sayings; and his disciples Aristippus and Antisthenes. Folio 48.

On Xerxes, who reigned in Persia after Artaxerxes; after him Sogdianus reigned, and Darius surnamed Nothus succeeded him. In his time the philosopher Plato was born and Socrates perished by poison. Folio 48.

On Alcibiades, Socrates's disciple, who was unfortunate; and on Eudoxus the astrologer and Euripides. Folio 49.

On Artaxerxes, who succeeded Darius in Persia, namely his son who is called Ahasuerus in the Book of Esther. After repudiating Queen Vashti, he took as wife Queen Esther, from the stock of the Jews and Mordecai's niece. When Haman, first after the king, procured the extermination of the Jews, Queen Esther, after first offering prayer, obtained from Ahasuerus the death of Haman himself and of all the enemies of her people, and the revocation of his sentence against that people. Folio 49.

On Xenophon, Socrates's disciple; Diogenes, who was head of the sect of Cynic philosophers, his austere life and poverty; and Eusebius the philosopher. Folio 49.

On Dionysius, tyrant of Sicily. Folio 50.

On the philosopher Plato, who embraced both branches of philosophy, dividing it into moral, natural, and rational philosophy; and on how marvelously he spoke about God, and on his errors. Folio 50.

On Archytas of Tarentum and his sayings. Folio 51.

On the renowned orators Demosthenes and Aeschines. Folio 51 at the end and folio 52 at the beginning.

Chapter Two: On Alexander the Great

He was born while Ochus, king of the Persians, reigned, from Philip, king of the Macedonians, and his wife Olympias. Some, however, say that he was illegitimate, conceived by Olympias not from Philip but from Nectanebus the astrologer, who pretended to be the god Ammon. It begins, "In the year, therefore." Folio 52.

On Alexander the Great, his appearance, and his tutor Leonidas, whom he exposed to be devoured by lions; and how he cast his father Nectanebus into a pit, from which he died. Folio 52, near the end.

On Alexander himself, who at the age of fifteen defeated Nicolas, king of the Athenians; and on Philip's murder. Folio 52 at the end and folio 53 at the beginning.

On the character of Philip, king of Macedonia. Folio 53.

On Arsanias, son of Ochus, who succeeded him in the Persian monarchy, and whom his son Darius succeeded. Alexander fought many battles with Darius, finally defeated him, and transferred the Persian monarchy to the Greeks. Folio 53.

On the letters sent by Darius to Alexander and Alexander's replies. Folio 54.

On Alexander himself hastening to capture Jerusalem. When he saw Jaddua the high priest coming to meet him in pontifical dress, he descended from his horse and venerated him, as he had been admonished in a dream. Folio 54, in the last column.

On Darius, who wished to give Alexander a very great quantity of money, a portion of the kingdom, and his daughter in marriage so that Alexander would desist from the war undertaken against him; but Alexander did not acquiesce. Also on Alexander himself, who, with his appearance transformed, came to Darius's banquet without being recognized by him. Folio 55.

That after Darius was finally killed, Alexander obtained Babylon, yet caused Darius's killers to be crucified. Folio 55.

On Alexander's character, his pomp, his wantonness, and the fury by which he killed several of his dearest friends. Folio 56.

On Alexander himself: how he subjected different and many princes to himself, subjugated very many nations, and defeated Porus, a most powerful and wealthy king. Folio 56.

On Alexander himself: that in a certain battle he was wounded, yet did not withdraw from the battle until he killed the man who had wounded him; and that he made peace with Candace, a most wealthy queen. Folio 56.

On Alexander preparing for war against the Brahmans; the letter sent to him by them, in which their marvelous customs are described; and Alexander's notable reply to them. Folio 57, at the beginning.

On Alexander himself: after he had obtained many regions, and those he had not yet obtained had sent embassies offering themselves as subjects, he finally perished at Babylon by poison prepared by his physician Thessalus, in the thirtieth year of his life. Others, however, say that poison was prepared for him by his sister. Folio 57 at the end and folio 58 at the beginning.

Chapter Three: On the Sages of the World Who Flourished at That Time

First on Aristotle, greatest of the philosophers. It begins, “On the philosophers.” Folio 58.

On the books Aristotle produced and certain of his moral sayings. Folio 58.

On the philosopher Apuleius and certain of his sayings. Folio 59.

On Hermes the philosopher, who is also called Mercury Trismegistus, and certain of his moral sayings concerning God. Folio 59.

On Plotinus the Platonic philosopher and his sayings; he posited four kinds of virtues, namely political virtues, purgative virtues, virtues of the purified soul, and exemplar virtues. Folio 59.

On Epicurus, a most wicked philosopher, and his errors. Folio 59, at the end.

Chapter Four

That after the death of Alexander the Great, the monarchy of the Greeks was divided into many parts, and chiefly among four kings: Ptolemy in Egypt, Philip the brother of Alexander in Macedonia, Lysimachus in Lydia, Thrace, and the Hellespont, and another who began to reign in Babylon after the death of Alexander. Folio 60.

On Menander and Philemon, comic poets, and Polemon the philosopher. Folio 60, in the last column.

On the kingdom of Syria, whose first king was Seleucus. Folio 61.

On Ptolemy Philadelphus, who reigned in Egypt. He caused the scriptures of the Old Testament to be translated from Hebrew into Greek by the seventy translators and gathered fifty thousand volumes of books in his library. Folio 61.

On the seventy-two translators skilled in the Greek and Hebrew languages and sent from among the Jews into Egypt to interpret the Hebrew scriptures; and on the different opinion among the doctors concerning that translation. This Ptolemy also composed canons of the stars and wrote several books. Folio 61, in the third column.

On Brennus, leader of the Gauls, who broke into Macedonia with a very great army, was defeated by Sosthenes with a small army, and afterward killed himself out of shame. Folio 62, at the beginning.

On the philosophers Arcesilaus and Crates, who flourished at that time; certain of their moral sayings; and certain other sages and their sayings. Folio 62.

On the opinions and doctrines of the Stoic philosophers. Folio 62, at the end.

On Erasistratus the physician and Antiochus reigning in Syria. Folio 63, in the second column.

On Ptolemy Euergetes, who reigned in Egypt after his brother Philadelphus; on Jesus son of Sirach, who composed the Book of Ecclesiasticus, which is placed in sacred scripture after the Book of Wisdom; and on several Ptolemies reigning successively in Egypt. In that time Ennius the philosopher and Statius Caecilius, a Gaul by nation, flourished; he produced the metrical books *Achilleid* and *Thebaid*. Folio 63.

On Antiochus the Great, who subjected Judea to himself. Because he attacked the neighboring regions, he was compelled by the Roman consuls Scipio Africanus and Scipio Nasica to cease from the said attack under oath, his son Seleucus being given as a hostage. This Antiochus was finally killed in Persia. Folio 63.

On Seleucus, son of Antiochus, who sent Heliodorus to despoil the temple, but Heliodorus was beaten by angels and scarcely escaped. This Antiochus was also called Epiphanes. Folio 64.

Under this Antiochus called Epiphanes began the deeds contained in the Books of Maccabees. Many perverse men from among the Jews went to this Antiochus and asked that observance of the Mosaic law be taken away from them and the rites of the gentiles introduced among the people. The deeds of the Maccabees themselves, from the First and Second Books, are contained in the several chapters indicated. Folio 64.

After those three noble Maccabean brothers, namely Judas, Jonathan, and Simon, who successively were leaders of the Jewish people and also had great victories over the various nations that were their enemies in the many wars they waged for the observance and defense of the divine laws and the recovery of their liberty taken away by the gentiles--of whom the first, Judas, died in battle, while Jonathan and Simon were treacherously captured and killed--after treaties of peace were entered with the Romans, who were then pagans, nothing more is contained in sacred scripture concerning either Jews or gentiles down to Christ. Folios 64 and 65.

On John Hyrcanus, son of the aforesaid Simon, who succeeded him in the leadership and high priesthood and is much commended by Josephus. He went to war against his kinsman Ptolemy, because Ptolemy had treacherously captured and killed his father, who

was Ptolemy's father-in-law, and had captured his mother and brothers. But because the jubilee intervened, he ceased to pursue him. Folio 67.

When John died, because his five sons were of tender age, John himself placed his most eloquent wife over the people and his sons in government. But the firstborn, namely Aristobulus, impatient of this, bound his mother with his three younger brothers and finally killed his mother by starvation. Aristobulus himself received the kingdom, but, becoming ill, reigned for only one year. When by the deceit of his wife he heard that his brother Hyrcanus, second in birth, had been killed, he died of grief. Aristobulus's wife, having no sons, freed the other three brothers of Aristobulus from their chains and caused the eldest of them, namely Alexander, the elder by birth, to reign. He was called Jannaeus; he was most wicked and killed one of his brothers. Folio 67.

This Alexander killed fifty thousand of the people because they detested his vices. By his wife Alexandra he left two sons. Alexandra began to reign, but afterward declared Hyrcanus high priest and future king; she compelled her other son, namely Aristobulus, to live as a private man. Folio 67.

Afterward there was a great contest between the brothers Hyrcanus and Aristobulus concerning the kingdom, and they fought many battles. Pompey, consul of the Romans, intervened between them. Having declared Hyrcanus high priest, he took Aristobulus bound with his two sons, namely Alexander and Antigonus, with him to Rome. After a long contest concerning the kingdom of Judea among Hyrcanus, Aristobulus's sons Alexander and Antigonus, and many battles, Hyrcanus finally gave his granddaughter Mariamne as wife to the first Herod, namely the Ascalonite, who was a gentile from Idumea. After Herod was circumcised, the kingdom of the Jews was transferred to foreigners, namely to Herod, under whom Christ was born. Herod was made king of Judea by Octavian. Folios 67, 68, and 69.

Chapter Five: On the Monarchy of the Romans

The Romans first governed themselves through kings beginning with Romulus, who built Rome. This manner of governing began in the time of Hezekiah, king of Judah, and ended with Tarquin the Proud, seven kings succeeding one another. Afterward they were governed by two consuls changed annually, and finally by emperors down to the present time, of whom Julius Caesar was the first. It begins, "After the manner." Folio 69.

On Romulus, who founded Rome, was conceived in rape, and was nourished by a she-wolf; he caused his brother Remus to be killed so that he alone might reign. Folio 54, almost at the end.

[Running head: Fourth Title]

After Romulus constructed the city, he built a temple, promising impunity to everyone who fled to it. Hence Rome was filled with robbers and fugitives. Also how the Romans took wives from among the Sabine women whom they abducted when they came to a festival; on account of this a hard war was waged between the Sabines and the Romans. And on the unknown death of Romulus, who was translated by them into a god. Folio 69 at the end and folio 70.

On Numa Pompilius, who succeeded Romulus in the kingdom. Having made peace with the neighboring peoples, he established a temple to the god Janus, which remained closed in time of peace and open in time of war; he devoted himself wholly to framing laws and instituting sacred rites. Folio 70, in the third column.

On Tullus Hostilius, third king of the Romans. He was devoted to military affairs, and therefore caused the temple of Janus to be opened, disdaining peace. He subjected the neighboring city of the Albans to himself and was struck and consumed by lightning. Folio 70, in the last column.

On Ancus Marcius, fourth king of the Romans, who founded Ostia; Tarquin the Elder, fifth king; Servius Tullius, sixth; and Tarquin the Proud, seventh king. Folio 71.

On the adultery perpetrated against Lucretia, a most noble Roman woman, by Tarquin, son of King Tarquin, on account of which the kingdom was taken from him and he was driven from the city. Folio 71.

On the first two consuls created, namely Brutus and Collatinus, kinsman of Lucretia. Brutus killed his own sons because of a conspiracy made to bring Tarquin back into the city; when Tarquin made war against them, both fell dead from many wounds. Folio 71.

On the commendation Sallust makes of the Roman republic in the time of the earlier consuls, which Augustine refutes with manifold reasoning. Folio 72, at the beginning.

On Tarquin the Proud, who was driven from the kingdom and the city. Betaking himself to Porsenna, king of the city of Clusium, he received aid from him. Porsenna with his strong army and that of the Etruscans afflicted the city with a long siege. Also on Mucius Scaevola, who went as far as Porsenna's royal seat and killed the scribe sitting beside him. When captured, he said that he had come there to kill the king, reporting that three hundred men had conspired together to kill him. Therefore the king, considering their boldness and his own danger, made peace with the Romans. Folio 72.

On the contention and sedition that arose between the fathers and the Roman plebeians, when the plebs complained of the very harsh oppression of the nobles; to quiet it, the office of tribunes was created. Folio 72.

On another dissension that arose between the consuls and the tribunes of the plebs. To settle it they sent ambassadors into Greece to receive laws; and on the laws and ten tables of the Athenians brought to the city. Folio 72.

On the most severe famine that greatly afflicted the city; and on a certain Lucius Aemilius, who brought into the city a great quantity of grain bought with his own money and distributed it to the plebs. Because of this benefit the consulship was promised to him, but when he also sought royal dignity with great effort because of the people's favor, he was killed. Folio 72, in the last column.

On the death of many of the nobles from a similar disease, which by the disclosure of a certain maidservant was found to have come from poisons treacherously prepared by matrons. Folio 72, at the end.

On the Veientes defeated by the Romans; and on the Senonian Gauls who captured and burned the city. When they began to ascend the Capitol by night, the guards were awakened by the cry of a goose that was there and drove them back; therefore the Romans worshiped the goose as a god. Folio 73, at the beginning.

On the affliction of the city by a great plague; and on the chasm or opening made in the midst of the earth, which was closed when Curtius cast himself into it armed. Folio 73.

On the two Decii, father and son, consuls, who devoted themselves for the obtaining of victory and exposed themselves to death. Folio 73.

On the war of the Romans with the Samnites, who are between Picenum and Campania. In it the Romans were defeated with great disgrace and compelled to pass under the yoke, that is, beneath the forks. But the Romans did not keep the pact made with them, and by again making war against them defeated the Samnites, killed twenty-four thousand of them and their king, and utterly overthrew their city. Folio 73.

On the Tarentines attacking the fleet of the Romans as it passed upon the sea. They dragged the ships to their port and killed all who were fit for war. Aemilius the consul went against them with a multitude of Romans, came there, and devastated with fire and sword everything he occupied. Pyrrhus, king of the Epirotes, who are Greeks, came to aid the Tarentines with a great army. In the first battle the Romans succumbed. In the second battle the Romans prevailed, although many were killed on both sides. In the third battle Pyrrhus was put to flight; having returned to Greece, he was killed. Folio 74.

On the very great plague that invaded Rome and continued for three years. When the Sibylline books were consulted to remove it, it was found as a remedy that Aesculapius, who is called the god of medicine, had to be brought to Rome from Epidaurus, namely a certain city. This Aesculapius was a certain serpent that by the devil's work was marvelously conducted to Rome. Also on another marvelous work wrought by the art of demons. Folio 74.

On Manlius Torquatus, consul of the Romans. When he was at war against the Latins, he issued an edict that no one should fight outside the order. His son, provoked by the insults of one of the adversaries, joined battle with him in single combat and killed him. Returning to his father with victory, he was killed by his father because he had violated the edict. Folio 74.

On the battles of the Romans with the Carthaginians. In the first war, which lasted twenty-two years, Hannibal the Elder, commander of the Carthaginians, devastated the maritime coast of Italy with a fleet of seventy ships. The Romans, with one hundred and thirty ships newly made in a short time, prevailed in a naval battle, capturing thirty-one of Hannibal's ships and sinking thirteen. Thereafter in other wars, with four hundred and thirty ships, the Romans obtained Sicily, which belonged to the Carthaginians. Afterward, when they went into Africa, they had a notable victory in a land battle under the consul Marcus Regulus. In the following battle, however, Marcus Regulus was captured by the Carthaginians. The Carthaginians sent him as an ambassador to the Senate to persuade it to make an exchange of Carthaginian captives for Regulus himself. He urged the contrary; therefore, returning as he had promised by oath, he was killed by a cruel death. Folios 74 and 75.

On the Second Punic War, which brought the greatest destruction to both sides. It lasted eighteen years, and in it Hannibal the Younger, commander of the Carthaginians and the Romans' greatest enemy, sought to pass from Africa into Italy. In Spain he besieged Saguntum, a city allied with the Romans, seeking from this an occasion to fight the Romans without seeming to violate the peace made with them. The Saguntines, however, were so faithful to the Romans that all of them exposed themselves and their riches to fire and were consumed rather than surrender themselves to Hannibal. Folio 75.

On the battle fought at Cannae in Apulia after Hannibal entered Italy with the greatest difficulty. So great a slaughter of the Romans was made in that battle that Hannibal sent to Carthage three modii of gold rings taken from the slain Romans. After the slaughter, as Hannibal advanced to capture the city, he was hindered by exceedingly heavy rain and hail. Folio 75, at the end.

On the several Scipios who were renowned at Rome, and especially in commendation of Scipio Africanus. When the Romans who had survived the great slaughter deliberated about abandoning the city and transferring themselves elsewhere, this Scipio

encouraged them all to remain. Taking what army he could gather, he crossed into Africa and besieged Carthage; because of this Hannibal was recalled to defend the city and left Italy. Folio 76.

On the Third Punic War, in which the Carthaginians were defeated and their city captured, entirely burned, and destroyed. Folio 76.

On the First Macedonian War against Philip, king of Macedonia; the second war against Perseus, Philip's son; the Syrian War against Antiochus, king of Syria; and other wars in which the Romans were victorious. Folio 76, at the end.

On the two Gracchi brothers, who were tribunes and were killed in a popular tumult, an event from which great discord arose in the city. Folio 77, at the beginning.

On the great sedition that arose in the city upon the killing of Saturninus. On the Romans' three wars called the Servile Wars: the first was at Capua, the second in Macedonia, and the third in Sicily. Folio 77.

On the war of the Romans against Philip, king of Macedonia, and his son. Folio 77, at the end and on the following folio.

On another war, called the Social War, which the Romans waged against the Latins, who were not Roman citizens but allies.

On Terence, writer of comedies, and certain of his moral sayings. Folio 78.

On the envoys sent by Judas Maccabeus to the Senate to obtain peace and friendship with the Romans, where he is greatly commended. Folio 78.

On the war against King Jugurtha. Folio 78.

On the Mithridatic War against the Romans, which was exceedingly harsh. Folio 78, in the last column.

On the Romans' civil wars, the first of which was between Marius and Sulla; and on the ambition of Marius, from which followed many killings of his rivals. Folio 79.

On Sulla, the adversary of Marius, and his cruelty. Returning from Asia to the city, he fought against the party of Marius and killed innumerable people. Folio 80.

On the civil wars of Sertorius and Catiline, of whom Sertorius belonged to the Marian party and Catiline to the Sullan. Folio 80.

On Catiline and his most wicked character. Folio 81.

On the battles between Pompey, who belonged to the Sullan party, and Julius Caesar, who belonged to the Marian party. Pompey was Julius Caesar's son-in-law. Folio 81.

On Cato, who supported Pompey's party and, hearing that Pompey had been defeated and beheaded while Julius Caesar prospered in everything, killed himself; and on several others called by the name Cato. Folio 81.

On Julius Caesar, his character, his glorious battles, and his assassination. Folio 82, at the beginning.

On the origin of the city of Florence, by whom it was built, and at what time. Folio 82, in the last column and on the following folio.

Chapter Six: On Emperor Octavian and the Sages Who Flourished Then

First, on the five wars he waged: the first against Mark Antony; the second against Brutus and Cassius; the third against the consul Lucius Antony; the fourth against Sextus, son of Pompey the Great; and the fifth against the same Mark Antony. Antony had repudiated Octavian's sister, whom he had as his wife, and taken Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, as wife in her place. Octavian defeated them in naval and land warfare, and they killed themselves, namely Antony and Cleopatra. It begins, "Although." Folio 83, in the third column.

On Octavian's exceedingly handsome appearance and his character. Folio 84.

On his liberality and humility. Folio 84.

On his piety and fairness toward his subjects. Folio 84.

On his frugality and eloquence. Folio 84.

On the vices and wantonness of Octavian himself. Folio 84.

On the sages who flourished at that time, and first on Marcus Varro, who proposed three kinds of theology; and on his moral sayings. Folio 84.

On Valerius Maximus, who produced a book on virtues and vices; and on his notable sayings. Folio 85.

On Marcus Tullius Cicero, the most eloquent of the Latins, who was killed at Gaeta; and on his moral sayings in various books. Folio 85, in the last column and on the following folio.

On Sallust, a Roman citizen, and certain of his sayings from the *Jugurthine War* and the *Catilinarian War*, as well as his invectives against Cicero and Cicero's against him. Folio 87.

On Virgil, a most noble poet, and his books, namely the *Bucolics*, *Georgics*, and *Aeneid*; on notable sayings from those books; and on his errors and wantonness. Folio 87.

On the poet Ovid and certain notable sayings from his books. Folio 88.

On the poet Horace and his notable sayings. Folio 88.

That in the time of Octavian, namely in the forty-second year of his rule, Christ was born. Octavian survived Him by twelve years, and on the day of the Nativity the Sibyl showed Octavian the child Jesus, born in His mother's lap within the sphere of the sun. Folio 89, at the beginning.

On the birth of Christ's mother and how Christ descends from the Levitical and royal tribes. Folio 89.

[Running head: Fifth Title]

On the genealogy of the Virgin and her Son, which Matthew describes through forty-two generations beginning from Abraham, but Luke through seventy-seven beginning from Adam. Folio 89.

On the life of Anne and Joachim, the Virgin's parents. Folio 90.

Very briefly, on the life and character of the Virgin. Folio 90.

Fifth Title: On Christ Jesus Our Savior

In it the sixth age of the world begins. It has extended to the present time for one thousand four hundred and seventy-three years and, according to some, lasts until Antichrist, but according to others until the end of the world. It begins from Christ's baptism according to some, and from His Passion according to others; but according to the computation commonly observed, from the Incarnation or Nativity. First, on certain authorities of scripture and the doctors. It begins, "The sixth age of the world." Folio 90.

On the foretelling of the conception of John the Baptist. Folio 91.

On the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, her Visitation to Elizabeth, the birth of John the Baptist, and the apparition of the angel to Joseph revealing to him the mystery of the Incarnation. Folio 91.

On the birth and circumcision of Christ. Folio 91.

On the adoration of the Magi and the offering of Christ in the temple. Folio 92.

On Herod's slaughter of the Innocents. Folio 92.

On Christ's remaining in the temple when He was twelve years old. Folio 92.

On the preaching of John the Baptist. Folio 92.

On the baptism received by Christ. Folio 92.

On the threefold calling of the apostles by Christ. Folio 93.

On the Lord's sermon on the mountain delivered to the apostles, which Matthew relates in three chapters. Folio 93.

On His healing of a leper, the cure of the centurion's paralyzed servant, and certain other healings by Him. Folio 94.

On the first expulsion He made of those who were selling in the temple; and on Nicodemus's question and Christ's answer to him. Folio 94.

On the conversion of the Samaritan woman, the healing from fever of the ruler's son, and the invalid who remained at the pool. Folio 94.

On the sending of the apostles to preach with certain rules. Folio 95.

On the bread and fishes multiplied twice. Folio 95.

On His walking upon the waters and the calming of the storm. Folio 96.

On the commendation of grace and the necessity of receiving the Eucharist. Folio 96.

On the disciples whom the imprisoned John sent to Christ, Christ's commendation of John, and John's beheading. Folio 97.

On Christ's institution of the Church's sacraments. Folio 96.

On miracles Christ worked by expelling demons from the possessed, namely from the one who had a legion of demons, from the daughter of the Canaanite woman, and from the lunatic. Folio 97.

On a mute and deaf demoniac healed by Christ and the exposition of that Gospel passage. Folio 98.

On a mute and deaf man, but one who was not a demoniac, healed by Christ. Folio 98.

On the blind Bartimaeus, who cried out on the road and was given sight by Him. Folio 99.

On the man blind from birth who was given sight. Folio 99.

On the daughter of the ruler of the synagogue raised by Christ. Folio 100.

On the widow's son raised from the dead. Folio 100.

On Lazarus raised from the dead. Folio 100, at the end and on the following folio.

On several other miracles worked by Him, such as the cleansing of the ten lepers, the straightening of the bent woman, the withering of the fig tree, the stater found in the fish's mouth, and the changing of water into wine at the wedding. Folio 101 and the following folio.

Chapter Two: On Christ's Teaching through Parables

First, on seed cast upon stony and thorny ground, beside the road, and upon good ground, and its exposition. It begins, "On Christ's teaching." Folio 102.

On the parable of the good seed and the tares, and its exposition. Folio 102.

On the parable of seed cast that produces first the blade, then the ear, and then the full grain; and on the mustard seed. Folio 103.

On the parable of the vineyard to which many were called to work at different hours. Folio 104.

On the parable of the vineyard planted, surrounded with a hedge, and leased to tenants, and its exposition. Folio 105.

On two other parables concerning a vineyard. Folio 105, at the end.

On three other parables in which the kingdom of heaven is likened to a treasure, a pearl, and a net. Folio 106.

On the parables in which Christ shows God's mercy in receiving converted sinners, as in the one sheep lost from a hundred and the drachma lost by a woman. Folio 106.

On the parable of the prodigal received into pardon by his father, and its lengthy exposition. Folio 107.

On the parable of a king making a wedding feast for his son, with its lengthy exposition. Folio 108, at the end and on the following folio.

On the parable of the talents granted by a lord to his servants, namely five to one, two to another, and one to another, and its lengthy exposition. Folio 110.

On the parable of the ten wise and foolish virgins. Folio 111, at the end and on the following folio.

On the vigilance to be maintained in expectation of the Lord. Folio 113.

On the debtor of ten thousand talents. Folio 113, in the third column.

On the conversion of Mary Magdalene. Folio 114.

On Zacchaeus, who received Christ in his house. Folio 115, at the end.

On having one's loins girded and lamps burning. Folio 116.

On the rich banqueter and Lazarus the beggar, and its exposition. Folio 116, in the last column.

On the parable of the steward brought into disrepute and his squandering of his lord's goods. Folio 118.

On Christ's temptation in the desert and its lengthy exposition. Folio 119 and the following two folios.

Chapter Three: On Christ's Teaching in Rebuking the Various Vices of Men

It begins, "On teaching." Folio 121.

On His teaching concerning the virtues necessary for salvation. Folio 122.

On His teaching concerning the counsels. Folio 123.

On Christ's answers to questions the Jews asked in order to tempt Him. Folio 123.

On Christ's answer to a question concerning the adulteress; whether it is lawful to put away one's wife; the tribute to be paid to Caesar; and the woman with seven husbands. Folio 124, at the end and on the following folio.

On the answer made to the young man seeking the way of perfection; and on the answer made to the Jews' question whether He was the Christ. Folio 126.

On Christ's teaching concerning the answers made to Jews who were insulting Him in word and deed. Folio 126.

On His teaching in which He shows Himself to be God. Folio 127 and the following folio.

On Christ's exhortation to perseverance and His harsh rebuke of the Jews for their faithlessness. Folio 129.

On the persecutions and plots of the Jews against Christ in order to capture Him. Folio 130 throughout.

Chapter Four: On Christ's Teaching in His Answers to the Pious Questions of His Disciples

First, on Peter's question, "Behold, we have left all things." It begins, "On Jesus's teaching." Folio 131.

On the answer made to Peter when he asked, "How often shall my brother sin against me," etc. Folio 131.

On the answer made to the disciples when they asked, "Who, do you think, is greatest in the kingdom of heaven?" Folio 132, at the beginning.

On the answer made to James and John when their mother said, "Command that these two sons of mine may sit," etc. Folio 132.

On the explanation of certain sayings of Christ in the discourse at the Last Supper that are very obscure. Folio 132 and the following two folios.

On the exposition of the Lord's Prayer, which Christ gave. Folio 134, in the last column and on the following folio.

On matters pertaining to the Last Judgment and its signs. Folio 135.

Chapter Five: On the Keys of the Church Conferred by Christ upon Peter

Folio 136.

On the governance of the Church conferred upon Peter. Folio 137.

On the hardness and rejection of the Jews and the conversion of the gentiles that was to follow. Folio 138.

On Christ's Transfiguration on Mount Tabor. Folio 139 throughout.

On the counsel taken by the Jews concerning Christ's death. Folio 140.

On the supper made for Christ in Bethany and the ointment poured out by Mary Magdalene. Folio 140.

On Christ's entry into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday with great glory. Folio 141.

On His entry into the temple and the expulsion of those selling there. Folio 142.

On the gentiles who wished to speak with Christ and the voice made from heaven, "I have glorified," etc. Folio 142, in the last column.

Chapter Six: On Christ's Passion and How It Was Prophesied

It begins, "The Passion." Folio 143.

On the counsel of the Jews concerning Christ's death and Judas's receipt of money for betraying Him. Folio 143.

On the Last Supper and the disclosure of the betrayer. Folio 144 and the following folio.

On Christ's capture and the prayer He first made in the garden. Folio 145 and the following folio.

On Christ's being led before the different judges, namely Annas, Caiaphas, Herod, and Pilate. Folio 146 and the following folio.

On the examination of His case before Pilate and the sentence of death. Folio 147 and the following folio.

On His crucifixion upon the cross. Folio 148 and the following folio.

On the seven words Christ spoke upon the cross. Folio 149.

On His death upon the cross. Folio 150.

Chapter Seven: On the Lord's Resurrection and Its Prefiguration

And why He rose on the third day. It begins, "On the Resurrection." Folio 151.

On the hour at which He rose and how "in the evening of the Sabbath," etc., is to be understood. Folio 151.

On His first apparition, made to Magdalene, but earlier to His mother. Folio 152.

On the second apparition, made to the women when they held His feet; the third apparition, made to Peter; and the apparition made to James the Less. Folio 152.

On the fourth apparition, namely to the two going to Emmaus. Folio 152.

On the men who rose with Christ and whether they ascended with Him. Folio 153.

On the fifth apparition, made to ten disciples enclosed in the upper room. Folio 153, at the end.

On the apparition made eight days later to Thomas with the others. Folio 154.

On another apparition made at the Sea of Tiberias, and on the disciples' fishing. Folio 151.

On the eighth apparition, made to the disciples in Galilee. Folio 156, at the beginning.

On the ninth apparition and the tenth, made on the day of the Ascension. Folio 156.

On the necessity of Christ's Passion and the several senses in which He rose. Folio 157, in the third column.

On the testimony that Josephus, historian of the Jews, gives. Folio 158.

On the letter that either Pilate or another person wrote to Emperor Tiberius and the Senate concerning Christ; the Sibyl's testimony concerning His death and Resurrection; and Christ's image. Folio 158.

Chapter Eight: On the Exposition of That Gospel of John Which Is Said Daily at the End of Mass

Namely, "In the beginning was the Word." It treats Christ's threefold nativity: the divine from the Father, the spiritual in the mind of a creature, and the temporal from His mother. It begins, "That disciple." Folio 158.

On the explanation of the term "Word." Folio 159.

On the explanation of the word "was." Folio 159.

On the explanation of the words "In the beginning." Folio 160.

On the clause "And the Word was with God." Folio 160.

On the clause "And the Word was God." Folio 160, at the end.

On the clause "The same was in the beginning with God." Folio 160.

On the clause "All things were made by Him." Folio 161.

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On the clause "Without Him was made nothing." Folio 162.

On the clause "What was made in Him was life." Folio 162.

On the words "And the life was the light of men." Folio 163.

On the second nativity of Christ, namely that by which He is born through grace in the mind of a person, upon the words "The light shines in darkness." Folio 163.

On the preparation of a person for this nativity through grace, in the words “There was a man sent.” Folio 164.

On grace itself, which is born in the mind and has its diffusion among the elect, in the words “He was the true light.” Folio 165.

On ingratitude and the rejection of grace among the wicked, in the words “He was in the world,” etc. Folio 165.

On Christ’s third nativity, namely the temporal from the Virgin; and first, the truth of our humanity in Him is noted in the words “He came unto His own.” Folio 165.

Second, the fruitfulness of His nativity is noted in the words “But as many as.” Folio 165.

Third, His dwelling among us is noted in the words “The Word was made flesh and dwelt among us.” Folio 166.

Fourth, the perfect happiness attained in us is noted in the words “And we saw His glory.” Folio 167.

On the manifold vision of God. Folio 167 and the following folio.

Sixth Title: On the Church, Which Is the Mystical Body of Christ, and Its First Pastors and Preachers, Namely the Apostles

It begins, “Christ Himself.” Folio 168.

It should be known that the condition of the Church in its course and development under different times, from the age of the primitive Church to the end of the world, was revealed to John the Evangelist, exiled on the island of Patmos on a certain Lord’s Day, through imaginary visions. He relates these throughout his Book of the Apocalypse, but very obscurely, whence different people have expounded them in different ways. Here the exposition according to Nicholas of Lyra is given. First, in John’s salutation at the beginning on behalf of God and the seven spirits who are before His throne, the seven offices of the angels that they exercise toward us are signified. Folio 168, at the end and on the following folio.

In the one whom John saw in the midst of the seven candlesticks, like the Son of Man, seven qualities are described that signify the seven virtues that were in Christ and are in every saint. Folio 169.

Then, in the throne in heaven that John saw and the one sitting upon it, is signified the majesty of the most holy Trinity governing the Church. Folio 170, at the beginning.

Then, in the book sealed with seven seals, is signified knowledge then hidden from men concerning seven ministries, namely the seven successive persecutions of the Church under gentile emperors down to Constantine. Folio 170 and the following folio.

Then, in the seven angels sounding trumpets, are signified seven other persecutions succeeding those already mentioned, especially those of the heretics. Folio 172.

On the consolation given to the Church in its persecutions and the fruit of devotion arising from it. Folio 173.

In the woman who appeared in heaven clothed with the sun and with the moon beneath her feet is signified the deliverance of the Church by Emperor Heraclius against certain persons. In Michael’s fight against the dragon is signified Michael’s aid to the Church against the devil and his persecutors, while the dragon’s seven heads are the seven capital vices. Folio 174.

In the beast ascending from the earth is signified the persecution under Muhammad. Folio 175.

In the seven angels having seven plagues are signified seven other tribulations of the Church at different times, in the time of Charlemagne and other successors. Folio 176.

In the angel holding the key of the abyss and seizing the dragon is signified Pope Innocent III, under whom the mendicant orders arose. Folio 178.

Afterward, and also earlier in different places, are signified the persecution of Antichrist, the punishments of the reprobate, and the glory of the blessed. Folio 178.

Chapter Two: On the Primitive Church from the Matters Contained in the Acts of the Apostles, Principally Concerning Peter and Paul

First, on the election of Matthias in Judas’s place. It begins, “Jerome in the prologue.” Folio 178.

On the sending of the Holy Spirit upon the disciples on the day of Pentecost, and Peter’s preaching, through which three thousand were baptized. Folio 179, at the beginning.

On the lame man remaining at the gate of the temple, healed by Peter; Peter’s subsequent preaching, through which five thousand were converted; and the threats made by magistrates and priests that the apostles should not preach. Folio 179.

On Ananias and Sapphira committing fraud concerning the price of their sold field and their punishment; the apostles' arrest for preaching and their scourging; the counsel taken by the Pharisees concerning what they should do to the apostles; and Gamaliel's speech on their behalf. Folio 179.

On the murmur that arose between the Greek and Hebrew converts, on account of which seven deacons were appointed, the first of whom was Stephen, who was stoned after disputing against the Jews. Folio 179, at the end.

On Simon Magus, who after being baptized offered Peter money to obtain the grace of conferring the Holy Spirit; and on the eunuch reading Isaiah on the road, converted by Philip the deacon. Folio 180.

On Paul's persecution of the Church and his conversion; the healing of the paralytic Aeneas by Peter; and the raising of Tabitha by him. Folio 180.

On the centurion Cornelius, baptized by Peter with his household; the future famine throughout the whole world foretold by the prophet Agabus; the beheading of the apostle James; and Peter's imprisonment by Herod, who at last was struck by an angel and died. Folio 180, at the end and on the following folio.

On Paul and Barnabas being commissioned by the apostles, at the Holy Spirit's command, to preach to the gentiles; their expulsion from the city because of their preaching at the instigation of the Jews; and the healing of a lame man by Paul, on account of which the bystanders adored Paul and Barnabas as gods, which they refused. Folio 181.

On the question that arose among converts from Judaism concerning whether circumcision must be observed as necessary, Paul and Barnabas contradicting them. To settle it, the apostles gathered at Jerusalem and determined and commanded that circumcision should not be imposed upon the gentiles. This was the first council. Folio 181.

On the separation between Paul and Barnabas over the reception of Mark, Barnabas's cousin; and on Paul afterward taking Timothy, whom he also circumcised to remove scandal. On the deliverance from the devil of a girl who had a divining spirit; because her masters lost their profit and her divination ceased, they seized Paul and Silas and caused them to be beaten and imprisoned. When they heard that Paul and Silas were Roman citizens, they permitted them to depart free. Folio 182, at the beginning.

On the persecution stirred up against Paul while he preached at Thessalonica; and afterward on his preaching or disputation at Athens with Epicurean and Stoic philosophers, and Paul's inquiry at the Areopagus upon the altar of the unknown God, through which Dionysius the Areopagite was converted. Folio 181.

On Paul's journey through different places to preach, the persecution of the Jews against him, and Apollos, who, having been baptized only with John's baptism, was afterward baptized with Christ's baptism. Folio 182.

On certain disciples baptized only with John's baptism who, after being baptized with Christ's baptism, visibly received the Holy Spirit; on the many miracles worked by Paul; on the sons of a priest, exorcists who adjured those possessed by demons in Paul's name and were attacked by them; on Demetrius the silversmith, who stirred up a sedition against Paul because the worship of Diana was being brought to nothing; and on the raising of Eutychus, who fell from the window of the upper room while listening to Paul's preaching. Folio 182.

On Paul, concerning whom Agabus bound himself with a belt and prophesied that Paul would be bound in the same way. Paul nevertheless did not, at the urging of the faithful, withdraw from going to Jerusalem. There, at the counsel of James the Less and others, he entered the temple as if to fulfill a vow, and because of this a great tumult of Jews arose against him, crying out for his death. When a very great crowd had gathered and he related his conversion, the sedition against him increased still more, on account of which the tribune caused him to be led into his headquarters and scourged; but when Paul declared that he was a Roman citizen, the tribune ceased to scourge him. Led on the following day before the council of the Jews, Paul defended himself, but, when he was not heard, cried out that he was a Pharisee. This produced a division among those present, with the Pharisees defending him as innocent and the others accusing him. When Paul had been returned to the barracks, certain men vowed not to eat unless they first killed him. Paul's nephew heard this and revealed it to Paul and then to the tribune, whereupon the tribune sent Paul under armed escort to the governor Felix. Folio 183.

The Jews came to Caesarea before Felix, to whom Paul had been sent, and accused him of many things as a pestilent man. Paul, answering each charge, showed their falsehood; hence he was neither absolved nor condemned. After Governor Festus came to Caesarea, the Jews accused Paul before him and asked that Paul be sent to Jerusalem to be judged there, intending to kill him on the road. When Festus attempted this and asked whether Paul would consent, Paul perceived the danger and appealed to Caesar. Later, when Agrippa came to Caesarea to visit Festus, Paul was summoned and examined before them. He spoke so excellently in his own defense that Agrippa said he could have been released if he had not appealed. Folio 183, at the end.

On Paul being sent by sea to Caesar, to whom he had appealed; his voyage; and the shipwreck from which all escaped through Paul's merits. After they had disembarked, the broken ship was submerged. On the island of Mytilene they gathered wood and made a fire. When Paul placed a bundle upon the fire, a viper came out of the wood and bit him; when it did him no harm, the

crowd standing by worshiped him as a god. There also Paul healed the father of Publius, the leading man of that island, from fevers and dysentery, and healed many others. At last they arrived at Rome. Having summoned the Jews, Paul cleared himself of the charges and explained the reason for his arrival; afterward he preached publicly at Rome. Folio 184.

Here ends the Acts of the Apostles.

Chapter Three: On the Blessed Virgin Mary and Her Life after Christ's Ascension

It begins, "If it is asked." Folio 184.

On her passing, or Assumption. Folio 185.

Chapter Four: On the Apostle Peter

But first, on Peter and Paul together. It begins, "Afterward." Folio 185.

On Peter's calling and the period in which he remained at Jerusalem, afterward sat at Antioch, and finally at Rome for twenty-five years; and on his daughter Petronilla. Folio 185, at the end and on the following folio.

On the long contest Peter had against Simon Magus to expose his magical works. At last, when Simon attempted to ascend into heaven, he fell at Peter's prayer and was shattered; because of this Peter was arrested by Nero. Folio 186.

That Peter, foreknowing his martyrdom, designated Clement as pope in the presence of the faithful; and on his epistles. Folio 186, in the last column.

On Peter's martyrdom upon the cross. Folio 187.

Chapter Five: On the Blessed Apostle Paul

On his name, whence it is derived; his activity; and his wisdom. It begins, "Paul, although." Folio 187.

On the raising of Patroclus, Nero's cupbearer; the sentence given against Paul; his beheading; and the praises of Paul by John Chrysostom. Folio 187.

On the teaching of Paul's epistles, and especially the Epistle to the Romans. At its beginning, because the converts from Judaism preferred themselves to the converts from the gentiles, the apostle humbles both by different arguments, showing that all have sinned and need the grace of God, since good works are not sufficient for salvation without grace. Folio 188.

That original sin is transmitted from Adam to all, from which arises the battle in us between sensuality and reason, a battle not conquered except through grace. Folio 188.

On foreknowledge and predestination in chapter eight; the rejection of the Jews; and the election of the gentiles, the reason for which is known to God alone, just as is the foreknowledge or predestination of any person, down to chapter twelve. Folio 188, at the end.

Thereafter he exhorts them to virtuous works, to serve one another through the gifts bestowed upon them, and to show obedience to superiors; and he treats things offered to idols. Folio 189.

On the epistles he sent to the Corinthians. At the beginning he praises them magnificently, namely with respect to those among them who were perfect. Then he rebukes the contentions they created concerning those who baptized them, as though they understood the effect of baptism to come from the baptizer and not from Christ. Folio 189.

On the foundation of the spiritual building, which is living faith in Christ; the different kinds of building upon it; the ministers of sacred things, who are to be regarded not as their authors but as stewards; and not judging others. Folio 189.

On the incestuous man whom Paul excommunicated for abusing his stepmother; and on avoiding the excommunicated, but not other unbelievers or wicked Christians. Folio 190, at the beginning.

On avoiding fornication and other carnal vices; the marriage of believers and unbelievers; and the mutual service of spouses. Folio 190.

On abstinence from things offered to idols; and how temporal things may be received from laypeople by those who sow spiritual things. The apostle himself, however, abstained from these and sought his livelihood through the labor of his hands. Folio 190.

On the sacraments of the New Law prefigured in the old; and his admonition to abstain from several vices for whose perpetration certain people in the Old Testament were gravely punished. Folio 190.

On the distribution of graces, which are given differently to different persons, and the different offices in the Church through which some serve others after the example of the members of the human body. Folio 190.

On the marvelous commendation of charity, how in many respects it surpasses all the virtues; and that the gift of prophecy is greater than that of tongues. Folio 190.

On the final resurrection of bodies, which is proved from Christ's Resurrection; the four endowments of the glorified body; and the collections to be made, namely alms for those who were in Jerusalem. Folio 190, at the end.

He wrote one epistle to the Hebrews, in which he shows Christ's dignity above the angels and also above Moses, the lawgiver of the Old Law, showing that Jesus was truly the great pontiff and a priest according to the order of Melchizedek. Folio 191.

He then shows that the law of the Gospel and the New Testament succeed the Old Law; that the things promised through the prophets, the tabernacle, and afterward Solomon's temple were figures of the Church; and that the ancient sacrifices of animals and other ceremonies cease through Christ's Passion. Folio 191.

On the definition of faith and its manifold commendation, showing that from Abel down to that time all great deeds were done through faith. Folio 191.

He exhorts to patience from the knowledge of Christ's Passion and to other virtues. Folio 191.

Chapter Six: On John the Apostle and Evangelist

That for three reasons he was a beloved intimate of Christ; and there, whether he or Peter loved Christ more. It begins, "John, the brother." Folio 191, at the end.

On certain of his moral deeds. Folio 192.

On his miracles and the raising of the dead. Folio 192.

On John's body and the several opinions concerning where it is. Folio 192.

Chapter Seven: On James the Greater

That, going to Spain to preach, he converted only two persons, or according to others nine. Returning from there to Jerusalem, he preached and confirmed his teaching with miracles. He converted Philetus, who had been sent by Hermogenes to refute his teaching, and at last also Hermogenes himself, who was bound by demons and led before James; and on James's martyrdom. It begins, "James." Folio 192.

On his burial, the devotion of the faithful in visiting his shrine, and a certain miracle. Folio 193.

Chapter Eight: On James the Less

Because of his exceptional holiness he was made archbishop at Jerusalem to govern the primitive Church gathered there; why he is called the brother of the Lord; and why he was called the Just because of his exceeding holiness. Christ also appeared to him in a singular manner after rising. It begins, "James the Less." Folio 193, at the end.

On his preaching concerning Christ and his martyrdom. Folio 194.

Chapter Nine: On the Apostle Andrew

On his preaching in Achaia, his disputation with the unbelieving proconsul Aegeas, and his martyrdom upon a cross. Folio 194.

On his miracles in life; and how after death he freed a certain most devout bishop from peril to his soul. Folio 194.

Chapter Ten: On the Apostle Thomas

When he had raised from the dead the brother of the king who had imprisoned him to be burned, through that brother he disclosed a marvelous palace constructed in heaven from the treasure of the king himself that had been distributed to the poor. It begins, "Thomas." Folio 195.

On his martyrdom, because he was pierced by a lance. Folio 195.

Chapter Eleven: On the Blessed Apostle Philip

After raising the dead, he was at last fastened to a cross. It begins, "Philip." Folio 195.

Chapter Twelve: On the Holy Apostle Bartholomew

Through the idol Berith the devil gave several signs by which Bartholomew might be recognized among others; and Bartholomew baptized King Polemius with his wife and children. Folio 195.

On the martyrdom inflicted upon him by King Astyages, brother of the said Polemius: he was flayed and afterward crucified or beheaded, according to different opinions. Folio 196.

Chapter Thirteen: On the Blessed Apostle and Evangelist Matthew

Going to Ethiopia, he exposed the deceit of the magicians Zaroes and Arphaxat and caused them to be expelled from there; and he converted Egippus, king of those peoples, with his entire household to the faith. It begins, “Matthew.” Folio 196.

On his martyrdom by King Hirtacus, successor of Egippus, because Matthew publicly rebuked him for seeking to have as wife Iphigenia, the daughter of King Egippus, who had been dedicated to God with the sacred veil. Folio 196.

Chapter Fourteen: On the Apostles Simon and Jude, or Thaddeus

At last they went together into Persia and preached that the war being prepared against the Indians would end through the reconciliation of the two peoples, as happened. The magicians Zaroes and Arphaxat were confounded, and the apostles were held in great veneration. It begins, “Simon.” Folio 196, at the end.

On their martyrdom and the deliverance of a certain deacon from an accusation of fornication made against him, through the speech of an infant born that day. Folio 197.

Chapter Fifteen: On the Apostle Matthias

Elected in Judas’s place, he was struck in the head with an axe. It begins, “Matthias.” Folio 197.

Chapter Sixteen: On Mark the Evangelist

He was Peter’s disciple and journeyed with him to Rome. At Rome he wrote for the faithful a Gospel from the things Peter preached. It begins, “After those twelve.” Folio 197.

On his martyrdom: a rope was placed around his neck, and he was dragged through the city of Alexandria and torn apart. Folio 198.

Chapter Seventeen: On Luke the Evangelist

He was a disciple of the apostles and Paul’s inseparable companion in his travels, and he remained a virgin. He died in Bithynia in the eighty-third year of his life. It begins, “Luke.” Folio 198.

Chapter Eighteen: On the Apostle Barnabas

He was given to Paul as a companion in preaching to the gentiles, and he was excellently governed with respect to himself, God, and his neighbor. It begins, “Barnabas.” Folio 198.

On his martyrdom by fire. Folio 198.

Chapter Nineteen: On Blessed Mary Magdalene, Martha, and Lazarus

It begins, “Among Christ’s.” Folio 198, at the end.

On Mary Magdalene’s arrival at Marseille with several others and her later raising of the duke’s wife, who had died in childbirth aboard ship. Folio 199.

On her penitence and passing. Folio 199.

Chapter Twenty: On Martha, Her Sister, and the Austerity of Her Life

It begins, “Martha.” Folio 199.

On her passing. Frontonius, summoned by Christ to her burial, buried her with the Lord Himself. Folio 199.

Chapter Twenty-One: On the Roman Emperors of Those Times

It begins, “After the foundation.” Folio 199, at the end and on the following folio.

On Emperor Tiberius, who succeeded Octavian Augustus, and his praiseworthy character. Folio 200.

On his vices, especially gluttony and drunkenness. Folio 200.

On the famous deception of Paulina carried out in the temple of Isis at Rome. Folio 200.

On Herod, who was imprisoned by Tiberius because he wished for Tiberius’s death so that Gaius might succeed him in the empire. Folio 201.

On Gaius being made emperor by Tiberius and the elevation of Herod Agrippa. Folio 201.

On the most wicked character of the aforesaid Gaius, although he was educated in the liberal disciplines. Folio 201.

On Philo the historian. Folio 202.

Chapter Twenty-Two

After the death of Gaius, who was killed, Claudius received the empire. Folio 202.

On Claudius’s wicked character and his death, and on Herod’s death. Folio 203, at the beginning.

Chapter Twenty-Three: On Emperor Nero

He was the husband of Octavia, daughter of Emperor Claudius, and through the persuasions of Agrippina, Claudius’s wife, he was designated emperor by Claudius in place of Claudius’s own son. For five years he was very modest and, while almost still a boy, acquired nearly all the liberal disciplines; but afterward he was most wicked and was greatly devoted to music. When the apostle Paul had appealed and been brought to Rome, Nero had already ruled for two years. Disdaining the contention between the Jews and Christians concerning the Law, he permitted Paul to move freely through the city with only one guard. Folio 203.

On his most wicked character, wantonness, pomp, and cruelty. Folio 203, at the end.

On his death. Folio 204.

Chapter Twenty-Four: On the Sages of the World Who Flourished at That Time

First, on Seneca. It begins, “In these times.” Folio 204.

On his notable sayings from different books. Folio 204.

On moral maxims from his epistles to Lucilius. Folio 204, at the end and throughout the following three folios.

On Seneca’s death and his error concerning the worship of idols. Folio 206.

On choice passages from Persius, the satirical poet. Folio 206.

On choice passages from the poet Juvenal. Folio 206.

On choice passages from Quintilian. Folio 206, at the end.

On his choice passages in the *Book of Causes*. Folio 208.

Chapter Twenty-Five: On Those Who Suffered Martyrdom under Nero

First, on Vitalis, his wife Valeria, and their sons Gervasius and Protasius. Folio 207.

On Martial, kinsman of blessed Stephen. Folio 208.

On Savinianus and two others from the number of Christ’s seventy-two disciples. Folio 208, at the end.

On four saints under the name Saint Julian. Folio 209.

On three saints named Saturninus. Folio 209.

On the first seven deacons and Lazarus, bishop of Marseille. Folio 209.

On Longinus, who pierced Christ’s side. Folio 209, at the end.

Chapter Twenty-Six: On the Disciples of the Apostle Peter

First, on Clement, who was the paternal uncle of Saint Clement the pope. It begins, “Concerning certain.” Folio 210, at the beginning.

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On Fronton, first bishop of the city of Périgueux, who gathered several disciples and led a religious life with them in the desert. Folio 210.

On Saint Apollinaris, first bishop of Ravenna. Folio 210.

On Saint Lucian and his great abstinence. Folio 210.

On Saint Romulus, first bishop of Fiesole. Folio 211, at the beginning.

Chapter Twenty-Seven: On Saint Nazarius

He was the son of blessed Perpetua; and on his martyrdom. Blessed Ambrose found his body. Folio 210.

On Saint Mennius, bishop of the city of Châlons. Folio 211.

Chapter Twenty-Eight: On the Disciples of Paul

The foremost of them was Dionysius the Areopagite, the first doctor of the Church. Folio 211, at the end.

On his conversion to the faith when he was a philosopher, and his martyrdom. Folio 212, at the beginning.

On the companions of Dionysius, namely Sanctinus, Antoninus, Caureanus, Regulus, and Ionius. Folio 212.

On Saint Eutropius, fellow companion of Dionysius, whose passion Dionysius himself wrote; and on his companions Eugenius and Taurinus. Folio 212.

On Saint Thecla, disciple of Paul. Folio 213.

On several other disciples of Paul, such as Timothy, bishop of the Ephesians, Trophimus, Titus, and the virgins Potentiana and Praxedes, as well as others. Folio 214.

Seventh Title

It begins with the reign of Vespasian, who was made emperor while he was at the siege of Jerusalem. Folio 213, in the last column.

On the destruction of Jerusalem accomplished by his son Titus, who had fought there on the Romans’ behalf. Folio 214.

On the most bitter famine that oppressed those under siege. Folio 214.

On the widow who ate her son because of the famine during that siege. Folio 214.

On the capture of the city and the extermination that occurred on account of Christ’s death. Folio 215.

On Josephus, the Jewish historian. Folio 215.

On the reign of Titus, who succeeded his father Vespasian, and his excellent character. Folio 215.

On Domitian, brother of Titus, who succeeded him in the empire, and his most wicked character. Folio 215.

On the second persecution of the Church, stirred up by Domitian himself. He exiled John the Evangelist to Patmos, and under him Nereus and Achilleus, chamberlains of the virgin Domitilla, Domitian’s niece, suffered martyrdom, as did Domitilla herself. Folio 216.

On Domitian’s assassination; he had also commanded that descendants of the family of David be killed. Folio 216.

On Nerva, who succeeded Domitian in the empire. Under him certain people suffered martyrdom, and he governed well enough for one year and three months. Folio 216.

On Trajan, the tenth emperor, whom Nerva had adopted as a son. He subdued many nations and subjected them to the Roman Empire, governing excellently and caring for the republic. Folio 216.

On the philosopher Plutarch, Trajan’s teacher, and the letters sent to Trajan to instruct him. Folio 216.

On blessed Ignatius the martyr, his epistle to the glorious Virgin, and his martyrdom under Trajan. Folio 217, at the beginning.

Chapter Two: On the Supreme Pontiffs from Peter to the Time of Trajan

The first of them was Linus, the second Cletus, the third Clement, and the fourth Anacletus. It begins, “Because.” Folio 217.

On Pope Clement and the marvelous rediscovery of his father, mother, and brothers. Folio 217.

On his exile and martyrdom. After Anacletus, Pope Evaristus succeeded him. Folio 218.

Chapter Three: On Phocas, Bishop and Martyr

He suffered under Trajan. It begins, “Under Trajan.” Folio 218 and the following folio.

On the atrocity of the persecution against Christians and Pliny the Younger, who wrote a letter to Trajan in praise of the Christians. Folio 219.

On notable sayings of Pliny excerpted from his *Natural History* and his epistles. Folio 219.

On Trajan’s death; because of his excellent rule, he was elevated among the gods by the Romans. Folio 219.

Chapter Four: On Emperor Hadrian, the Twelfth Emperor

He was very learned and rebuilt Jerusalem, calling it Aelia from his own name, for he was called Aelius. In his time Aquila flourished, the second translator of the Old Law after the Seventy. It begins, “Hadrian.” Folio 219, at the end.

On the philosopher Secundus, who kept silence at all times because he had been the cause of his mother’s death; and how this happened, as may be seen there. Folio 220.

On the notable maxims of this philosopher Secundus, given in writing as answers to Emperor Hadrian’s questions. Not even threats of death could bend him to speak. Folio 220.

On Quadratus, a bishop who suffered martyrdom, and Aristides. Each presented Hadrian with a book written in defense of the Christian religion. Folio 220.

Chapter Five: On Pope Alexander

He succeeded Evaristus and converted many illustrious Romans, especially Hermes and Quirinus; and on their martyrdom. It begins, “Alexander.” Folio 220, at the end.

On Saint Sixtus I, who succeeded Alexander and was the seventh after Peter; and on the martyrs Peregrinus and Taurinus. Folio 221.

On Eustace, commander of the soldiers, and how he marvelously found again his lost wife Theospita and his sons Agapitus and Theospitus, all of whom were crowned with martyrdom. Folio 221.

On the ten thousand crucified upon Mount Ararat and their marvelous conversion. Folio 222.

On Saint Sophia and her three daughters Faith, Hope, and Charity, who were crowned with martyrdom. Folio 222.

On the virgin Serapia; Sabina, a most noble Roman widow; Mary; Faustinus; and Jobitta, who suffered under Emperor Hadrian. Folio 223.

Chapter Six: On the Supreme Pontiffs Who Governed the Church in Those Times

Namely Telesphorus, who succeeded Sixtus; after him Hyginus; Pius succeeding Hyginus; then Anicetus; after him Soter; and after Soter, Eleutherius. It begins, “In the papacy.” Folio 223.

On Polycarp, bishop and martyr, bishop of the Smyrnaeans in the time of Emperor Antoninus. Folio 222.

On Papias, bishop in Asia and heresiarch of the millenarians. Irenaeus, Apollinaris, Tertullian, Victorinus, and Lactantius followed that heresy; all of them were crowned with martyrdom, and how they may be excused from that error is treated. Folio 223, at the end.

On Justin the philosopher and historian, who produced several books in defense of the faith. A book on the Christian religion that he produced rendered Antoninus Pius benevolent to the Christians. Justin was crowned with martyrdom. Folio 224.

On several martyrs, namely Bishop Photinus, the woman Blandina, and Saint Sanctus the deacon, and their marvelous endurance. Folio 224.

On Saint Felicity, who suffered with her seven sons under Emperor Antoninus. Folio 224, at the end.

On Antoninus Pius, who succeeded Hadrian in the empire as his adopted son through marriage. Under him flourished Apollonius, Basilides, the philosopher Taurus, the physician Galen, and the astrologer Ptolemy. Folio 225.

On Marcus Antoninus Verus and Lucius Aurelius Commodus, the two sons of Antoninus who succeeded him in the empire. Folio 225.

On the martyrs Victor, the woman Corona, Concordius, Marcellus, and Valerius. Folio 225.

On Hegesippus, who wrote histories of ecclesiastical deeds; and on Dionysius, Theophilus, and Apollinaris, most learned men. Folio 226, at the beginning.

On the deaths of the emperors Aurelius and Marcus. Under them flourished Theodotion, the second translator of the Old Testament after the Seventy, the philosopher Atticus, and the orator Fronto. Folio 226.

On the marvelous history of the most noble virgin Eugenia. Learned in the liberal arts and pretending to be male, she took up the monastic habit with Protus and Hyacinthus. On Melantia's false accusation against her before Eugenia's father Philip, then governor of Alexandria; the exposure of Melantia's falsehood; Eugenia's recognition by her father and brothers; their conversion to the faith; their return to the city; and their martyrdom. Folio 226 and the following folio.

On the senator Julius, Antoninus, and Vincent, martyred under Emperor Commodus. Folio 227.

On Helvius Pertinax, who succeeded in the empire. After Helvius, the jurist Julian, Helvius's killer, succeeded and usurped the empire for himself; but Severus killed Julian and received the empire. Severus ruled well and was succeeded by his most wicked son Antoninus Caracalla. Folio 227.

On Narcissus, bishop of Jerusalem. Three men who falsely accused him were most gravely punished through their own perjury. Folio 228.

On Saint Cecilia and Valerian, her husband, and Tiburtius, his kinsman, who were converted by her and crowned with martyrdom. Folio 228 throughout.

On the marvelous martyrdom of the virgin Martina. Folio 229.

On Pope Callistus and his martyrdom under Alexander. Folio 229.

On Pope Urban and his martyrdom under the prefect Almachius. Folio 230.

On the martyrs Quirinus and his mother Julitta; and on the jurist Ulpian. Folio 230.

On Ulpian's origin, austere life, eloquence, many errors, and the different opinions concerning him. Folio 230.

On his notable sayings. Folio 230.

Chapter Seven: On the Emperors after Emperor Alexander

Emperor Alexander was killed through the treachery of Maximinus, who then seized the Roman Empire. Maximinus himself was killed by Pupienus. Pupienus and Balbinus then seized the Roman Empire; after they were immediately killed, Gordian succeeded. Many matters concerning them are treated there. It begins, "To the history." Folio 231.

On Emperor Gordian and his son Gordian, who governed excellently; he subjected many nations rebelling against the empire; and on his death and Pope Pontian. Folio 232.

On Emperor Philip, who reigned after procuring Gordian's death and made his son Philip a partner in the empire. Folio 233.

On Emperor Decius, who killed Philip and usurped the empire for himself. He held it for one year and three months; in his time Saint Agatha was martyred in Sicily by the prefect Quintian. Folio 233.

On the Seven Sleepers enclosed in a cave at Ephesus. Folio 234.

On the martyrs Peter, Dionysia, and Tryphon. Folio 234.

On Saint Reparata the martyr; Abdon and Sennen under the rulers; Permenius and Secundianus; and the brothers Pergentinus and Laurentinus at the city of Arezzo. Folio 234.

On Gallus Hostilianus and his son Volusian ruling after the death of Decius; and the question that arose concerning the rebaptism of heretics. Folio 235.

On the supreme pontiffs: Pope Fabian, who succeeded Pontian, and Cornelius, who succeeded Fabian. In Cornelius's time a schism arose between him and the antipope Novatian, who became a heresiarch. Concerning this schism there are epistles of Cyprian to Cornelius and of Dionysius of Alexandria to Novatian. On Pope Lucius after Cornelius; after Lucius was crowned with martyrdom, Stephen ascended Peter's chair and was himself a martyr; Sixtus II followed him in the papacy. Folio 235, at the end and on the following folio.

Chapter Eight: On Valerian and His Son Gallienus

They ruled after the killing of Gallus and Volusian. Valerian was at first benevolent to Christians, but afterward became a persecutor. It begins, "After the killing." Folio 236.

On the aforesaid Gallienus, son of Valerian, who according to some was called Decius. Under him Sixtus and Lawrence suffered. Valerian, however, was captured by the king of the Persians and held in shameful servitude. Folio 237.

[Running head: Eighth Title]

On Macrinus receiving the empire and advancing against Gallienus; Odaenathus reigning in the East, whose wife Zenobia stirred up many battles against the Romans; Maximus being made emperor in Gaul; and the great fragmentation of the empire. Folio 237.

On those crowned with martyrdom under Valerian and Gallienus; and on Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, crowned with martyrdom. Folio 238.

On his short works and certain notable sayings from his books. Folio 238.

On Dionysius, bishop and martyr of Alexandria, who also wrote many works. Folio 238.

On Gregory, bishop of Neocaesarea, who was greatly feared by demons. Folio 238.

On the martyrdom of Sixtus and Lawrence. Folio 239.

On the martyrs Hippolytus, Concordia, Tryphonia, and Cyrillus. Folio 239.

On the great veneration of blessed Lawrence and his miracles. Folio 239, at the end and on the following folio.

On the many martyrs under the most cruel persecution of Decius, especially Julian the martyr, the virgin Apollonia, Marinus, Minias at Florence, and certain others. Folio 240.

On Emperor Claudius fighting and defeating Aureolus, who had usurped the empire for himself; and on Claudius's brother Quintillus, who succeeded him and was killed after a few days. Folio 240.

On Emperor Aurelian, who defeated the nation of the Goths in hard battles, crushed the Franks, and checked other nations in their insolence. Folio 241.

On the hard war Aurelian waged against Zenobia, who ruled in the East with great armies and riches. Aurelian captured her and, while triumphing at Rome, compelled her to walk before him. Folio 241 and the following folio.

On Emperor Tacitus, created after Aurelian. When Tacitus was killed, his brother Florian succeeded him and was himself killed by the soldiers. Folio 242.

On Probus, who received the empire after Florian as if compelled. He governed excellently and brought under the empire many regions that had rebelled against it. When he was killed, Carus succeeded in the empire; Carus was succeeded by his son Numerian; after Numerian was killed, Carinus received the empire. Folio 242 throughout.

On the supreme pontiffs who held Peter's chair from the time of Valerian and Gallienus to the time of Diocletian. Sixtus II was succeeded by Felix I; when Felix completed his martyrdom, Eutychian received Peter's chair; after Eutychian's martyrdom, Gaius governed the Church; after Gaius was martyred, Pope Marcellinus succeeded. Although Marcellinus erred for a time by offering incense to idols, he exposed his error in a council, repented, and offered himself to martyrdom. After him Marcellus was created supreme pontiff; when Marcellus was martyred, he left the Church to Eusebius; when Eusebius was removed from their midst through martyrdom, Melchiades was created pope. Folio 243.

Chapter Nine: On the Many Who Suffered in Different Places in the Time of the Aforesaid Emperors

First, on Marius and Martha with their two sons. It begins, "On the martyrs." Folio 243.

On Caesarius and Julian, who suffered at Terracina, and Leontius. Folio 243.

On the martyr Favinus; the brothers Speusippus, Eleusippus, and Meleusippus; and the martyrs Jonilla, Leonilla, and Benignus. Folio 244.

On the martyr Symphorian, Andochius, and the others. Folio 244.

On the martyr Agapitus and certain others. Folio 244.

On the martyr Maurus and Saint Babylas with three boys. Folio 244, at the end.

On Chrysanthus and Daria, concerning whom beautiful things are related. Folio 245 throughout.

On Saint Pelagia, a prostitute converted by the prayers of a bishop; and on Mani the heresiarch. Folio 246.

Eighth Title: On the Persecution of Diocletian and Maximian against the Church

Diocletian commanded that he be adored as a god and was the first to order gems set into his garments. He made Maximian Herculius Caesar, sent him into Gaul, and afterward made him Augustus. It begins, “Therefore, of the Romans.” Folio 246.

On Mauritius and his six thousand six hundred and sixty-six companions, crowned with martyrdom by Maximian. Folio 246, at the end.

On the greatest cruelty against Christians and the edict issued by Diocletian that churches should be razed to their foundations and sacred scriptures burned with fire. Folio 247.

On Saint Victor the martyr. Folio 247.

On the Four Crowned Martyrs. Folio 247.

On Saints Sebastian, Mark, and Marcellian; Chromatius, prefect of the city; and his son Tiburtius. Folio 247, at the end and on the following folio.

On Saint Erasmus, bishop and martyr. Folio 249.

On Saint Boniface the martyr, who formerly persisted in adultery with Aglae, a noble Roman woman. Folio 249.

On Saint Juliana the martyr. Folio 250.

On Saints Cosmas and Damian. Folio 250.

On Saint Blaise, bishop and martyr. Folio 250.

On Saint Dorothy. Folio 251.

On Saints Agricola and Vitalis at Bologna. Folio 251.

On Sabinus, bishop and martyr, and Januarius, bishop and martyr at Naples. Folio 251.

On the martyrs Saints Anastasia and Chrysogonus and the letters sent between them; and on Agape, Chionia, and Irene, servants of Anastasia. Folio 251, at the end and on the following folio.

On Saint Barbara, a martyr at Nicomedia; and on the martyrs Saint Eulalia and Saint Euphemia. Folio 252.

On Saint Christina the martyr. Folio 253.

On Bishop Narcissus, who entered the house of a famous prostitute named Afra and converted her. Folio 253.

On Genesius, a martyr in the city. Folio 254.

On Julian and Basilissa. Folio 254.

On Celsus, son of the governor. Folio 255.

On the seven sons of Carinus. Folio 255.

On the completion of the martyrdom of the aforesaid Julian. Folio 255.

On Saint Cyprian, formerly a magician, and the virgin Justina, who converted him. Folio 256.

On blessed Vincent the martyr under Dacian at the city of Caesaraugusta. Folio 256.

On blessed George the martyr. Folio 257.

On Faith, a woman, virgin, and martyr; and on the martyrs Caprasius, Felix, Justus, and Pastor. Folio 257.

On the blessed martyrs Theodore and Pantaleon the physician. Folio 258.

On the martyrs Cucuphas, Donatian, Novatian, and Pancratius. Folio 258 and the following folio.

On Saint Adrian the martyr and his wife Natalia. Folio 259.

On Saints Cyriacus, Largus, and Smaragdus. Folio 259, at the end.

On the martyrs Saints Marcellinus, Peter, Artemius, Sergius, and Bacchus. Folio 260.

On Saints Primus and Felicianus, and Vitus, Modestus, and Crescentia. Folio 259, in the last column and on the following folio.

On the martyrs Dorotheus and Gorgonius. Folio 261.

On many martyrs who suffered together at Nicomedia. Folio 261.

On Saint Lucy, a martyr who suffered at Syracuse in Sicily. Folio 261, at the end.

On Saints Lucy the widow and Geminian, and on Lucia, virgin and martyr. Folio 262.

On Saint Catherine, virgin and martyr, who suffered at Alexandria under Maxentius, son of Maximian. Folio 262.

On Saint Agnes, virgin and martyr, in the city of Rome. Folio 263.

On blessed Margaret of Antioch, virgin and martyr, who suffered under Olybrius. Folio 273.

On blessed Christopher the martyr and Nicetas and Aquilina, converted by him. Folio 264.

On Saint Antoninus the martyr. Folio 265.

On Saint Romanus the martyr. Folio 265.

On Saint Marinus, boy and martyr. Folio 265.

On Saint Lucian the martyr and a certain matron with two daughters, who immersed themselves in water to avoid rape. Folio 265.

On Peter, bishop and martyr of the city of Alexandria, to whom the schism of the Church caused by the heresiarch Arius was revealed; he excommunicated Arius. Folio 266.

On the forty martyrs sent into a most frigid pond. One of them, failing in faith, withdrew; but in his place the jailer immersed himself in the water and became a martyr. Folio 266.

Chapter Two: On the Cruelty of the Emperors Diocletian and Maximian

At last they were compelled to relinquish the empire while still living; and on Galerius Maximinus and Constantius, father of Constantine, who were made Caesars; and on Licinius, a kinsman of Constantine. It begins, “After the narrative.” Folio 266.

On the tyranny of Maxentius, son of Maximian. Constantine the Great went to war against him when he usurped the empire, defeated him, and killed him. Folio 266.

On the most cruel Galerius Maximinus, wholly given to lust. When God corrected him with a horrible disease and intolerable stench, and he was told that this had happened to him because of the persecution he had inflicted upon the Christians, he began to behave more mildly toward them; but a little later he returned to the frenzy of persecution. Folio 267.

On the impious edicts of the aforesaid Galerius Maximinus against the Christians; and on the piety and mercy of the Christians toward their persecutors when those persecutors were afflicted by want and sickness. Folio 267.

On Constantine’s victory against Emperor Maxentius, promised to him in the sign of the cross that was shown to him. Folio 268.

On Licinius’s victory against Maximinus. Folio 268.

On Licinius’s envy of Constantine’s glory, on account of which Licinius also stirred up a persecution against the Christians. Although he was Constantine’s kinsman, friend, and partner in the empire, Licinius made war against Constantine, but was defeated and killed by him. Folio 268.

On the contradictions or doubts that appear concerning Constantine’s deeds, namely whether he was faithful or a heretic. Folio 269.

On doubts concerning the finding of the Holy Cross and the donation Constantine made to the Church. Folio 269.

On Pamphilus, presbyter and martyr of Caesarea, who wrote many works; and on Eusebius of Caesarea. In addition to producing several books, Eusebius wrote a chronicle from the time of Abraham down to the three-hundredth year of the Lord, which Jerome translated from Greek into Latin. He also composed an ecclesiastical history, which Rufinus translated from Greek into Latin. On Lactantius Firmianus, who flourished around that time and produced several books. At that time there was also Porphyry, an

exceptional philosopher but the Christians' greatest enemy, who became a Christian from being a gentile and afterward apostatized. Folio 269, at the end.

The end. Praise be to God.

Prologue

The First Historical Part of Brother Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence, of the Order of Preachers. The prologue begins.

“I will speak propositions from the beginning. The things that we have heard and known, and that our fathers have declared to us, recounting the praises of the Lord, His powers, and His wondrous works that He has done; so that they might place their hope in God, not forget the works of the Lord, and seek His commandments.” Psalm 77.

As Augustine says upon the Psalm, propositions, which in Greek are called *problemata*, are questions containing something that must be resolved through disputation. Although historical assertions do not contain the difficulties and subtleties found in speculative questions, they nevertheless are not without doubts and superficial contradictions, especially those contained in the Law of Moses, the prophets and Psalms, the Gospels, and the opinions of both Catholic and gentile doctors. Histories themselves also vary, at least in their chronology, and a reader must be diligent in bringing them into agreement.

As I am about to treat historical propositions, I shall speak from the beginning--not only from the time when God chose that Jewish people for Himself from among all nations and led them out of Egypt, but from the beginning when God founded and created the earth and placed the first man, Adam, upon it so that through obedience he might pass from earth to heaven. Through the fall of his disobedience, however, heaven was closed to him and all his posterity. Filled here with countless miseries of soul and body, one who departed was received by hell, until the second Adam, heavenly and from heaven, redeemed him by the price of His blood and led him back to possess heaven in sanctification from the punishment of the first transgression. From that transgression follow all the evils in the world. “Adam,” says the prophet, “is my example from my youth.”

I shall speak propositions concerning as many and as great things as we have heard from God inspiring and the incarnate Word preaching; as many things as we have heard from His angels revealing them to the prophets, as to Moses on Mount Sinai and visibly to John the Evangelist on the island of Patmos, and to others in many portions and many ways; as many things as we have heard from the apostles and the doctors of the Church, whose sayings were approved by her as founded upon truth; and as many moral teachings as we have heard even from gentile philosophers and poets. Although they did not possess the Holy Spirit unto grace, they were not therefore wholly without Him, namely with respect to knowing and intimating certain truths. For, according to Ambrose, truth, by whomever it is spoken, is from the Holy Spirit.

Hence Paul himself, the vessel of election and doctor of the gentiles, uses the words of poets in his epistles, such as that saying of Epimenides to Titus: “The Cretans are always liars, evil beasts, slothful bellies”; and what I think is Terence’s saying: “Evil communications corrupt good manners.” Preaching in the Acts of the Apostles, he also introduces that saying of the philosopher Aratus: “For we are the offspring of God; in Him we live, move, and have our being.” As Augustine says in the Decrees, distinction 37, whatever truth the Sibyl, Orpheus, the other seers of the gentiles, or their philosophers said concerning God is indeed useful for refuting the vanity of the pagans.

Jerome also says in the same distinction, chapter “Who from the table”: “If we are sometimes compelled to recall secular literature and say something from it, it is not by our will but, so to speak, from the gravest necessity, so that we may prove that the things foretold by the holy prophets many ages before are contained in the writings of the Greeks, the Latins, and other nations.” Thus far Jerome. What is more powerful in a contest of refutation than the testimony of enemies? We have heard many and great things, if not from their mouths, then from their writings, from generation to generation.

“And we have known them.” Augustine expounds this as “we have seen.” There is a twofold knowledge or vision, namely sensory and intellectual. Because sight is preeminent among the external senses, making known more differences and properties of things, it sometimes gives its name to all the other sensations. Certainly, many historical events were seen and touched by many people of those times. Although all our knowledge is judged to have its origin in sense, knowledge of the things of faith, which cannot be demonstrated by natural reason, does not begin from the external senses but from divine illumination. We know these hidden things by faith, a knowledge that possesses greater firmness and certainty than natural knowledge because it rests upon divine revelation, which cannot be deceived; human judgment concerning things both deceives and is deceived.

Thus even philosophers who possessed great knowledge of natural things fell away from the truth in many matters, especially concerning divine things and those pertaining to human salvation, as will become evident. Catholic doctors, however, knew the truth in those things that pertain to faith and are necessary for salvation, and did not err in them. Although they sometimes appear to contradict not only others but themselves, if the matter is diligently investigated they walk together in agreement in the house of God, that is, the Church, thinking the same thing among themselves.

“Our fathers have declared to us.” The fathers of the faithful in the Old Testament were the patriarchs and prophets. Hence the apostle says to the Corinthians, “All our fathers were under the cloud,” etc. They announced to us the things that were to come in the New Testament. For, as Augustine says, not only the words of those fathers but all their deeds were a certain prophecy of the state of the New Testament. Therefore the apostle says to the Corinthians, “All things happened to them in a figure, but they were done for our sake.”

The first fathers of the New Testament were the apostles and evangelists, as Augustine says in treating the words, “In place of your fathers, sons are born to you”--that is, to you, the Church--their successors being bishops and prelates. These announced to us that the things foretold in the Old Testament had been fulfilled, and that the things remaining concerning the varied state of the Church, the end of the world, the glory of the good, and the punishment of the reprobate are to be fulfilled in the next life, most especially as told by John in the Apocalypse.

According to Gregory in distinction 96, chapter “Who doubts,” the doctors and prelates of the Church are called fathers of the faithful because by their teaching and example they begot many in the spirit. “For in Christ Jesus I have begotten you through the Gospel,” says the apostle. They announced to us the things that were obscure in sacred oracles, expanded moral teachings, and set down in their books those things that conduce to eternal life.

What they announced he explains by adding after one verse: “Recounting the praises of the Lord, His powers, and His wondrous works that He has done.” The aforesaid fathers recount the praises of the Lord, that is, the things for which God is praised. Nothing is worthy of praise except the good, which all things desire; and the greater the good, the more worthy it is of praise. Because God is supremely good, the highest good, and the source of every good, He is therefore supremely to be praised. Hence the wise man in Ecclesiasticus says, “Exalt God as much as you can, for He is greater than all praise.” If every creature praises God in its own manner--the heavens, the earth, the seas, and the things within them--much more must man, for whose sake all these things were made, praise Him.

God does not seek praise from man so that something may thereby be added to Him who lacks nothing, but for the benefit of the one praising. “The sacrifice of praise,” He says through the Psalmist, “shall glorify Me, and there is the way by which I shall show him the salvation of God,” that is, God the Savior. For if you truly praise God as good and the highest good, you love Him above all things and with intense affection. This is that more excellent way which the apostle shows to the faithful, the way that leads to heaven: charity itself. Therefore the fathers recount the praises of God.

The fathers also recount His powers--not one, but several. First, they recount the power of God in the creation of things, by which they relate that He created all things from nothing, an act of infinite power. They recount His power in giving, taking away, and transferring dominions and kingdoms, so that all may know that the Most High rules in the kingdom of men, gives it to whomever He wills, and sets the lowliest man over it, as is said in Daniel 4; and that by His own power He has trodden upon the necks of the proud and exalted, as will be shown when governments in different periods and their terrible wars are treated.

They also recount the power of His might in giving the martyrs marvelous constancy to endure every kind of torment for His name, and in giving patience to all the elect in every prolonged adversity. As Augustine says, that we endure evils with equanimity belongs to God and is not our own patience. For the Psalmist says, “You are my strength, O Lord, and my patience,” namely by causing it. They also recount the power of His might to punish the wicked here or in the future.

The fathers recount the power of God’s wisdom in governing the world by an everlasting plan. For God’s wisdom disposes all things sweetly, giving to each what is fitting, establishing and ordering all things by weight, measure, and number so that every single thing holds its proper place. The fathers recount the powers of His wisdom, which transfers itself into holy souls and establishes friends of God and prophets. It opened the mouths of the mute and made the tongues of infants eloquent in the apostles, illuminating by wisdom not only Catholic doctors but gentiles as well to teach peoples; certain sayings of theirs will be included. “For all wisdom is from the Lord God,” Ecclesiasticus 1.

They recount His wisdom accompanying the Church. Just as Moses’s serpent made from a rod devoured the serpents of the magicians, so the wisdom of the Church swallowed up all the errors of philosophers, magicians, astrologers, rhetoricians, and heretics by refuting them, and reduced them to nothing by converting or confounding them--and rightly, because wisdom conquers malice.

The fathers recount the power of God’s goodness and clemency: He deigned to put on our form of a servant and endure the shameful death of the cross to rescue us from the yoke of diabolical servitude. “Above all,” says Bernard, “the cup Jesus drank for us renders Him lovable to us.” The fathers also recount the power of His clemency in waiting long for sinners to repent, and sometimes restoring to those converted, even if late, their first robe, namely the grace and virtues they had lost. “God’s moderation and loving-kindness seek only our return, and by His long goodness He desires us to be saved,” says Jerome.

They also recount the power of His goodness, because according to Augustine He is so good and powerful that He would permit no evil to exist in His works unless He were so powerful that He could draw a greater good from every evil. He makes even the falls of the elect turn to their good so that they rise more cautious, more fervent, and more humble, and instill fear in others so that they may beware.

The fathers recount the virtues He bestowed upon His saints: great faith, most firm hope, most ardent charity, most discerning prudence in action, most constant endurance in adversity, most upright justice in exchanging or distributing things, the most sparing sobriety in food and clothing, most uncorrupted chastity, and most profound humility. These virtues shone especially in the holy anchorites, cenobites or monks, and other religious, as will become evident. “All our works,” that is, our good works, “You

have worked in us, O Lord," says Isaiah. For it is He who works in us both to will and to accomplish according to His good will, according to the apostle, since we are not sufficient to think anything from ourselves as if from ourselves. From these saints let us take examples for living.

The fathers also recount His wondrous works, in which His glory and magnificence are shown, according to the words, "God is glorious in His saints," that is, He is shown from their works to be wondrous in majesty, working marvels. Certain of these wondrous things are merely from nature, but are nevertheless called wondrous because they are rare and unusual, such as earthquakes, pestilences, famines, monstrous births, the greatest bodily strength, and the like. Certain wondrous things are not done by men but are enacted or procured by demons, such as things done by magicians and answers given through idols. The third kind of wondrous things are those done by saints through divine power above the power of nature, so that the entire power of nature could not do them of itself, such as giving sight to a blind person, raising a dead person, and the like.

Although mention is made in these histories of every one of these three kinds of wondrous things--for they treat earthquakes, plagues, monstrous people, answers of demons foretelling the future, and healings through demons--the principal intention is nevertheless to recount the true miracles worked by saints in both Testaments through divine power, and incomparably more abundantly in the New. By these true miracles, as by probable judgments while God worked, the world, turned away from God through idolatry and various vices, was converted.

Indeed, the Church is said to have begun with righteous Abel, whose righteousness the Lord showed by setting fire to his sacrifice offered from animals, sending fire from heaven to kindle it. Then miracles began to be worked, and they have never ceased in the Church, although at times interrupted. They were performed most abundantly in the primitive Church to spread and confirm the faith of Christ. Hence it is said in the final chapter of Matthew concerning Christ's disciples after His Ascension: "But they went forth and preached everywhere, the Lord working with them and confirming the word by the signs that followed," that is, miracles.

Just as a tree whose root is well established and expanded is no longer watered once it has grown enough not to be cast down by winds or withered by the sun's ray, but remains unshaken and produces fruit, so after faith had been established by miracles, spread abroad, strengthened by the sufferings of the martyrs, and watered by the teachings of holy doctors, it was no longer necessary for miracles to be worked so frequently, so that the merit of faith might grow stronger. Yet the most loving God has never left the Church without true miracles, even in modern times, for the consolation of the faithful. The countless miracles worked by God through His saints will appear in their proper places. Concerning these true miracles the Psalmist says, "You are the God who works wonders." Although they occur through the saints, they occur only by God's power. These are what our fathers recount.

For what purpose these things were done--so that the fathers, announcing them to their sons, should recount His praises, powers, and wondrous works--the Psalmist himself assigns the reason, saying, "That they might place their hope in God," not presuming upon their own strength and virtue, for He humbles those who glory in themselves and their own virtue, but placing hope in God, from whom comes every best gift and every perfect gift.

They are not to place their hope in men, for "Cursed is the man who trusts in man and makes flesh," that is, man, "his arm." Rather, they are to place their hope in God in their actions, awaiting aid and counsel from Him, and in distress and necessity awaiting from Him such relief as will be expedient for salvation. "Consider the generations of men, children, and see that no one has hoped in the Lord and been forsaken, remained in His commandments and been confounded." Ecclesiasticus 2.

In repenting of sins, they are to place their hope in God and not in their own tears and penances to obtain pardon. In rewards and glory they are to place their hope in God, because the Lord alone, not the world or another, will give grace and glory. But lest they hope in vain, or rather presume, people are not to forget the Lord's works, which He has done in benefiting them, lest they be found ungrateful. For, as Seneca says, the most ungrateful person is the one who has forgotten a benefit. Ingratitude is a wind that dries up the fountain of divine loving-kindness, the streams of grace, and the dew of mercy, says Bernard. According to Augustine, what God gave freely He took away from the ungrateful.

They are not only to refrain from forgetting, but also to repay Him through good works performed for God's honor. This is what follows: "And let them seek His commandments," so that they may know and observe them. "If you know these things," Christ says to His disciples, "you will be blessed if you do them," not if you merely know them. From this arises true hope of attaining heavenly beatitude, not only from grace as its principal cause but also, consequently, from the merits of good works. This is the entire intention of this work: that from the things recounted in histories, people may learn through knowledge to live well in the world, so that they may hope in the Lord and attain beatitude.

The fathers who recount these writings are Moses in the Pentateuch, who by prophecy and foretelling related the creation of the world and the first two ages--things hidden from men but revealed to him--as well as many other things done in his own time; and all the canonical scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, so authoritatively confirmed by the Church that it is not lawful to doubt even one iota. After these are the many deeds and sayings of the supreme pontiffs excerpted from the Decrees by Gratian.

Other fathers who announced these things to us in books are Eusebius of Caesarea in the *Ecclesiastical History*, which Rufinus translated from Greek into Latin and to which he added two books; the same Eusebius in his *Chronicles*, which Jerome translated

into Latin, adding the deeds done afterward down to his own time; Paul Orosius in his book *On the Misery of the World*; Justin Martyr, epitomizer of Trogus Pompeius; Suetonius in his book *On the Twelve Caesars*; Augustine in *The City of God*, with the explanation of Master Thomas the Englishman; Helinand in his compilation of histories; Eutropius; Master Peter Comestor in the *Scholastic History*; Josephus in the books of *Antiquities*; Sigebert in his *Chronicles*; the *Tripartite History*; Leonardo of Arezzo in the *History of Florence*; Gregory in the *Dialogues*; Vincent in the *Historical Mirror*; and John of Colonna, both brothers of the Order of Preachers; as well as many legends of the saints.

There are also the moral sayings of philosophers and poets, such as Socrates, Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, Tully, Seneca, Virgil, Ovid, and several others. Their writings and sayings are related here, with little or nothing of my own. Because of its length, the work is divided into three parts. The first extends to Emperor Constantine the Great and Pope Sylvester; the second to the times of Emperor Henry VI and Pope Innocent IV; the third from there to such time as life shall accompany me.

First Title: On the First Age of the World

Chapter One

How Adam and Eve were exalted in the state of innocence, corrupted after the fall, and finally condemned to death, according to the words of the Psalm: “Man, when he was in honor, did not understand; he was compared to senseless beasts and became like them,” under its own sections.

Chapter Two

On the second age of the world, which begins in the time of Noah; the construction of the ark; the flood; the monstrous races of men; the drunkenness of Noah; and the curse of Ham, under their own sections.

Chapter Three

On the sons of Noah who wished to build a tower, how after their languages were confounded they ceased, and how they were dispersed into Asia, Africa, and Europe under different languages, under their own sections.

Second Title: On the Third Age of the World

Chapter One

On the deeds of Abraham.

Chapter Two

On the deeds of Jacob.

Chapter Three

On the deeds of Joseph.

Chapter Four

On the deeds of Moses and his books.

Chapter Five

On the deeds of Joshua and the other judges of the children of Israel.

Chapter Six

On the deeds of Eli, Samuel, and Saul according to the sequence of the First Book of Kings.

Third Title: On the Fourth Age of the World

Chapter One

On the deeds of David according to the sequence of the Second Book of Kings.

Chapter Two

On the deeds of Solomon and his glory shown to the queen of Sheba.

Chapter Three

On the kings who followed, according to the sequence of the Books of Kings and Chronicles.

Chapter Four

On the prophecies of David and Solomon.

Chapter Five

On the prophecy of Isaiah.

Chapter Six

On the prophecy of Jeremiah.

Chapter Seven

On the prophecy of Ezekiel.

Chapter Eight

On the prophecy of Daniel.

Chapter Nine

On the twelve minor prophets and their sayings.

Fourth Title: On the Fifth Age of the World

Chapter One

On the kingdom of Nebuchadnezzar, Cyrus king of the Persians, and the others who followed.

Chapter Two

On Alexander the Great.

Chapter Three

On the sages of those times, namely Aristotle and others.

Chapter Four

On the division of the Greek monarchy into several parts.

Chapter Five

On the monarchy of the Romans: Romulus, Numa Pompilius, etc.; and the Punic, Macedonian, Social, and Civil Wars.

Chapter Six

On Octavian and his wars; the sages who flourished in those times, namely Virgil, Ovid, etc.; and the genealogy of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter One

On Christ's Incarnation, life, and miracles.

Chapter Two

On Christ's teaching through parables.

Chapter Three

On Christ's teaching in rebuking the various vices of men.

Chapter Four

On Christ's answer to questions asked for the sake of knowing the truth.

Chapter Five

On the keys of the Church conferred by Christ upon Peter: "Whatsoever you shall bind," etc.

Chapter Six

On the Lord's Passion.

Chapter Seven

On Christ's Resurrection and Ascension and the testimony of the gentiles.

Chapter Eight

On the beginning of John's Gospel: "In the beginning was the Word."

Sixth Title: On the Church Militant

Chapter One

On the mystical body of Christ insofar as Christ is the head of the Church and Christians are the members, according to blessed John’s representation in the Apocalypse.

Chapter Two

On the primitive Church and its deeds, as gathered from the Acts of the Apostles.

Chapter Three

On the life of the Blessed Virgin Mary after Christ’s Ascension.

Chapter Four

On the life and martyrdom of the blessed apostle Peter.

Chapter Five

On the life and martyrdom of the blessed apostle Paul.

Chapter Six

On the life and martyrdom of the blessed apostle and evangelist John.

Chapter Seven

On the life and martyrdom of blessed James the Greater.

Chapter Eight

On the life and martyrdom of blessed James the Less, the Lord’s brother.

Chapter Nine

On the life and martyrdom of the blessed apostle Andrew.

Chapter Ten

On the life and martyrdom of the blessed apostle Thomas.

Chapter Eleven

On the life and martyrdom of the blessed apostle Philip.

Chapter Twelve

On the life and martyrdom of the blessed apostle Bartholomew.

Chapter Thirteen

On the life and martyrdom of the blessed evangelist Matthew.

Chapter Fourteen

On the life and martyrdom of blessed Simon and Jude.

Chapter Fifteen

On the life and martyrdom of the blessed apostle Matthias.

Chapter Sixteen

On the life and martyrdom of the blessed evangelist Mark.

Chapter Seventeen

On the life and martyrdom of the blessed evangelist Luke.

Chapter Eighteen

On the life and martyrdom of the blessed apostle Barnabas.

Chapter Nineteen

On the life of blessed Mary Magdalene.

Chapter Twenty

On the life of blessed Martha.

Chapter Twenty-One

On the emperors reigning in Christ's time, namely Octavian and Tiberius.

Chapter Twenty-Two

On Claudius, emperor of the Romans.

Chapter Twenty-Three

On Emperor Nero and his wicked deeds.

Chapter Twenty-Four

On the sages of that time, namely Seneca, Juvenal, Persius, and Quintilian, and their writings.

Chapter Twenty-Five

On certain saints who suffered martyrdom under Nero, namely Vitalis, Martial, Savianus, Julian, Saturninus, Lazarus, and the first seven deacons.

Chapter Twenty-Six

On various disciples of blessed Peter who suffered under Nero, namely Fronton, Apollinaris, Lucian, and Romulus.

Chapter Twenty-Seven

On the martyrdom of blessed Nazarius, son of blessed Perpetua, and Saint Menno.

Chapter Twenty-Eight

On the disciples of blessed Paul, namely Dionysius the Areopagite and his companions, Saint Thecla, Timothy, Titus, Praxedes, and Potentiana.

Seventh Title: On the Reign of Vespasian

Chapter One

When and how he obtained the Roman Empire; the destruction of Jerusalem; the reign of his son Titus; Domitian's persecution; and the benevolence of Emperor Nerva.

Chapter Two

On the supreme pontiffs of those times, namely Linus, Cletus, and Clement.

Chapter Three

On Trajan's persecution and death, and the sayings of Pliny.

Chapter Four

On Emperor Hadrian Aelius and the philosopher Secundus and his sayings.

Chapter Five

On Pope Alexander, Sixtus, and the martyrs who suffered in that time, namely Eustace, the ten thousand crucified, Saint Sophia and her daughters, the virgin Serapia, the widow Sabina, and others who suffered under Hadrian.

Chapter Six

On Pope Telesphorus, Hyginus, and his successor Pius; the martyrs who then suffered, Polycarp, Justin, Photinus, Felicity with her sons; the marvelous history of the virgin Eugenia; Cecilia; Martina; Quirinus; Popes Callistus and Urban; and the writings of Origen.

Chapter Seven

On Maximinus's treachery, through which, after Alexander was killed, he seized the Roman Empire; Emperor Philip; the tyrant Decius; and certain martyrs who suffered under him, namely the Seven Sleepers, etc.

Chapter Eight

On Valerian obtaining the Roman Empire with his son Gallienus; Cyprian's martyrdom and writings; Sixtus; Lawrence; Hippolytus; Apollonia; and Popes Felix, Eutychian, Gaius, Marcellinus, and Marcellus following blessed Sixtus.

Chapter Nine

On the martyrs who suffered under Claudius and Numerian, namely Caesarius, Julian, Savinus, Speusippus, Jonilla, Agapitus, Babylas, Chrysanthus, Daria, Pelagia the prostitute; and on Mani the heretic.

Eighth Title: On the Persecution of Diocletian and Maximian

Chapter One

On the martyrdom of Mauritius with his companions, Victor, the Four Crowned Martyrs, Sebastian, Erasmus, Boniface, Juliana, Cosmas and Damian, Blaise, Dorothy, Januarius, Anastasia, Barbara, Euphemia, Christina, Afra, Julian, Celsus, Cyprian the magician, Vincent, George, Theodore, Cyriacus, Marcellinus, Lucy, Catherine, Agnes, Margaret, Christopher, and others.

Chapter Two

On the cruelty of Galerius and Maximinus and the divine vengeance inflicted upon them for the strengthening of our faith through the triumph of Constantine the Great; and on the historians Pamphilus, Eusebius, and Rufinus, and on Lactantius.

First Title: On the First Age of the World

Chapter One: On Adam and Eve in the State of Innocence and Their Fall

How Adam and Eve were in the state of innocence and on their fall, according to the words of the Psalm: “Man, when he was in honor, did not understand; he was compared to senseless beasts and became like them.”

Folio 1.

“Man, when he was in honor, did not understand; he was compared to senseless beasts and became like them.” Psalm 48. This prophetic word is most fittingly expounded above all concerning the first transgressor, namely Adam, although it is also most truly understood concerning every sinner who turns himself away from God. Three things are noted in these words. First, the excellence by which he was exalted: “Man, when he was in honor,” etc. Second, his failure by which he was corrupted: “did not understand.” Third, his misery to which he was condemned: “he was compared to beasts.”

§ I

As to the first, the excellence with which Adam was honored in the state of innocence is evident in three respects: first with regard to his soul, second with regard to his body, and third with regard to dominion over things.

His soul was exalted in great grace, wondrous justice, and exceptional knowledge. God bestowed sanctifying grace, through which a person merits, upon both parents, namely Adam and Eve. Augustine likewise says in Book XII of *The City of God*, concerning the angels, that God was at once creating nature in them and bestowing grace.

There is, however, a difference of opinion on this point, according to Thomas in the First Part, question 95, article 1. Some say that the first man was not created in grace, but that grace was afterward bestowed upon him before he sinned. Others say that he was created with grace, for Ecclesiastes 7 says, “God made man upright.” It appears to pertain to the uprightness of the first state in which God made man that reason was subject to God, the lower powers to reason, and the body to the soul. The first subjection was the cause of the second and the third. For as long as reason remained subject to God, the lower things were subject to it, as Augustine says.

It is evident, however, that the subjection of the body to the soul and of the lower powers to reason was not natural; otherwise it would have remained after sin. It is thus evident that the subjection by which reason was subordinated to God was not according to nature alone, but according to the gift of supernatural grace. Hence Augustine says in Book XIII of *The City of God* that after the commandment was transgressed, as soon as divine grace abandoned them they were ashamed of the nakedness of their bodies. They felt the movement of their disobedient flesh as though it were the reciprocal punishment of their disobedience.

With respect to justice, insofar as justice is a general virtue, the first man was exalted by the honor of every virtue. Hence Augustine also says in a certain homily, as is contained in *On Penance*, distinction 2, that when the prince of vices, namely the devil, saw Adam made from the slime of the earth in the image of God, adorned with chastity, composed by temperance, and splendid with charity, he envied all these things and stripped Adam of all those goods.

To explain this, Thomas says in the First Part, question 95, article 3, that the uprightness of the first human state required that man possess all the virtues in some manner. Yet it must be considered that certain virtues by their nature imply no imperfection, such as charity and justice. Virtues of this kind were in the state of innocence without qualification, both as habit and as act.

Others, however, imply imperfection by their nature, either on the part of their act or on the part of their matter. If such imperfection does not conflict with the perfection of the first state, virtues of this kind could nevertheless exist in the state of innocence. Examples are faith, which concerns things not seen, and hope, which concerns things not possessed. The perfection of the first state did not extend so far that man saw God in His essence or possessed God through final enjoyment; thus faith and hope could be present in the first state both as act and as habit.

If, however, a perfection belonging to the nature of a virtue conflicts with the perfection of the first state, such a virtue could be present there as a habit but not as an act. This is evident concerning penance, which is sorrow for a sin committed, and mercy, which is sorrow for another’s misery. Both sorrow and guilt or misery conflict with the perfection of the first state. Therefore virtues of this kind were in the first man as habits, but not as acts. The first man was so disposed that, if sin had occurred, he would have grieved, and if he had seen misery in another, he would have relieved it as far as he could.

With respect to knowledge, man was exalted in honor by knowing God, the angels, and the other creatures. According to Thomas in the First Part, question 94, article 1, the first man did not see God in His essence, unless perhaps it is said that he saw Him in rapture when God sent sleep upon Adam, as is said in Genesis 2. The reason he did not see God in His essence is that no one who sees God in His essence can turn away from God by an act of will, which is to sin. All who see God in His essence, while they see

Him in this way, are so established in the love of God that they cannot fail to love Him, since He is the highest good; hence they cannot sin.

Since Adam sinned, therefore, it is evident that he did not see God in His essence. Nevertheless, he saw or knew God by a clearer knowledge than we now possess, and thus his knowledge was in a certain manner intermediate between the knowledge of the present state and the knowledge of the heavenly homeland. For the higher and more like God a creature is, the more clearly God is seen through it, just as a person is seen more perfectly through a mirror in which his image is reflected more distinctly. Hence God is seen far more eminently through intelligible effects than through sensible and bodily ones.

In the present state, however, a person is hindered from the full and lucid consideration of intelligible effects because he is distracted and occupied by sensible things. But Ecclesiastes 7 says, "God made man upright." This divinely established uprightness consisted in lower things being subject to higher, and higher things not being hindered by lower. Hence the first man was not hindered by external things from the clear and firm contemplation of intelligible effects, which arose from the irradiation of the first truth perceived by him either through his natural condition or through grace.

When Damascene says that the first man, dwelling in paradise, possessed a blessed life, and Augustine in Book XIV of *The City of God* says that the first human beings were blessed in that memorable place of beatitude, namely paradise, this must not be understood of the perfect beatitude that consists in the vision of the divine essence. Rather, they possessed a blessed life according to a certain natural mode.

Likewise, when the Master of the Sentences says in Book IV, distinction 1, that in the state of innocence man saw God without a medium, this is understood of a medium through whose knowledge we arrive at something unknown, such as the middle term of a demonstration. The first man did not need to reach knowledge of God through a demonstration taken from some effect, as is necessary for us. Instead, in the effects themselves--especially intelligible effects--he knew God in his own manner. Yet he saw God through a certain medium that was seen at the same time; this is called seeing through a medium, as when a person is seen through a mirror and is seen simultaneously with the mirror.

The first man's soul likewise could not see the angels in their essence, but it nevertheless possessed a more excellent knowledge of them than we do, because its knowledge of interior intelligible things was more certain and fixed than ours. On account of such eminence of knowledge, Gregory says in Book IV of the *Dialogues* that man in paradise was accustomed to enjoy the words of God and, through loftiness of vision, to be present with the spirits of the blessed angels.

The first man also possessed knowledge of all things that can be known naturally; hence he gave names to the animals, as Genesis 2 says, and names ought to agree with the natures of things. To explain this, Thomas says in the First Part, question 94, article 3, that things were originally established by God not only to exist in themselves but also to be principles of other things. They were therefore produced in a perfect state in which they could be principles of others.

A man can be the principle of another not only through bodily generation but also through instruction and governance. Therefore, just as the first man was established perfect in body so that he could generate, he was also established perfect in soul so that he could instruct and govern others. No one can instruct unless he possesses knowledge; therefore the first man was so established by God that he possessed knowledge of everything in which a human being is naturally fitted to be instructed. These are all the things virtually contained in self-evident first principles, namely whatever human beings can know naturally.

For governing his own life and the lives of others, however, there is required not only knowledge of things that can be known naturally, but also knowledge of things surpassing natural knowledge, because man is ordered toward a certain supernatural end. In the same way, knowledge of the things of faith is necessary for us in governing our lives. Hence the first man received from God as much knowledge of these supernatural things as was necessary for governing human life according to that state.

The first man did not know other things that cannot be known by natural study and are not necessary for governing human life, such as people's thoughts, future contingencies, and certain particular facts, such as that pebbles lie in a river, and the like. In the science of naturally knowable things, Adam would not have advanced with respect to the number of things known, but with respect to the manner of knowing, because things he first knew intellectually he would afterward have known experimentally. With respect to supernatural knowledge, however, he would also have advanced in the number of things known through new revelations, just as angels advance through new illuminations.

The first man possessed knowledge of all things and species of things infused into his mind by God. This was granted only to the first man, for others who would have proceeded from him in the state of innocence would not have possessed such knowledge through infused species, but through the instruction of others and their own investigation.

With respect to the body, man in the state of innocence was exalted in honor as to immortality, impassibility, and the pleasantness of his place. Before sin, man was in a certain way immortal, because he would not have incurred death if he had not sinned. Hence the apostle says in Romans 5, "Through one man," namely Adam, "sin entered into the world, and through sin death." The opinion of those who say that even if man had not sinned it would still have been necessary for him to die is rejected and anathematized, as is evident in *On Consecration*, distinction 5, chapter "It pleased."

For fuller explanation of this matter, it should be known, according to Thomas in the First Part, question 97, article 1, that something may be called incorruptible in three ways. In one way, from the side of matter: either because it has no matter, as an angel has none, or because it has matter that is in potency to only one form, as a heavenly body does. This is called incorruptible according to nature.

In another way, something is called incorruptible from the side of form, because some disposition inheres in a thing naturally corruptible and wholly prevents corruption. This is called incorruptible according to glory. As Augustine says in his epistle to Dioscorus, God made the soul of such powerful nature that from its beatitude the fullness of health and the vigor of incorruption overflow into the body.

In a third way, something is called incorruptible from the side of its efficient cause. In this way man in the state of innocence would have been incorruptible and immortal. As Augustine says in the book *Questions of the Old and New Testament*, God made man so that for as long as he did not sin he would flourish in immortality, and thus would himself be the author either of life or of death. His body was not indissoluble through some vigor of immortality existing within it. Instead, there was in the soul a certain power supernaturally given by God through which it could preserve the body from all corruption for as long as the soul itself remained subject to God.

Man was also aided in maintaining this immortality by eating from the tree of life, which stood in the middle of paradise. To explain this, Thomas says in the First Part, question 97, article 4, that man possessed two remedies in the state of innocence for preserving life against two defects.

The first defect in man is the loss of moisture through the action of natural heat, which is the soul's instrument. Against this defect man was aided by eating from the other trees of paradise, just as we are now aided by the foods we consume. The second defect arises because, as the Philosopher says in *On Generation*, what is generated from foreign nourishment and joined to the preexisting moisture diminishes the species' active power. Thus water added to wine is indeed converted to the flavor of wine, but as more and more is added, it diminishes the wine's strength, until at last the wine becomes watery.

Accordingly, we see that at first the species' active power is strong enough to convert from nourishment not only what is sufficient to restore what has been lost, but also what suffices for growth. Afterward, what is generated no longer suffices for growth, but only for restoring what has been lost. At last, in old age, it does not suffice even for this, whereupon diminution and finally the natural dissolution of the body follow.

Against this defect man was aided by the tree of life, for it possessed a power to strengthen the active power of the species against the weakness arising from the admixture of what is foreign. Hence Augustine says in Book XIV of *The City of God* that food was present for man lest he hunger, drink lest he thirst, and the tree of life lest old age dissolve him.

Because the power of every body is finite, the power of the tree of life could not extend so far as to give the body the power to endure for an infinite time, but only for a determinate time. Hence, once consumed, the said tree preserved from corruption for a time determined by God. When that time had ended, man would either have been translated to the spiritual life of glory or would have needed to eat again from the tree of life. Thus the tree of life caused immortality not without qualification, but in a certain manner.

Man in that state also possessed impassibility in a certain manner. For "passion" is spoken of in two ways. In one way, properly, and in this sense something is said to suffer when it is removed from its natural disposition. Among natural things, contraries act and suffer upon one another, one removing the other from its natural disposition.

In this way, in the state of innocence, man was impassible both in soul and in body, for he could have prevented passion just as he could have prevented death, if he had remained without sin. Hence he would not have felt the pain of heat or cold, nor would he have been subject to any illness.

In another way, "passion" is taken generally for any change, even if that change pertains to the perfection of nature. Thus understanding or sensing is said to be a kind of undergoing. In this second way man in the state of innocence was passible and underwent change both in soul and in body. For he understood and sensed by seeing, hearing, and the like; and he slept, because sleeping does not remove a man from his natural disposition but is ordered toward the good of nature. Yet the first man did not undergo suffering when the rib from which Eve was formed was separated from Adam. Nor would women have suffered pain in giving birth, for that pain followed in them from sin. Thomas, First Part, question 97, article 2.

There would also have been certain passions of the soul in man in the state of innocence. To explain this, Thomas says in the First Part, question 95, article 2, that of all the passions of the soul--that is, those which are in the sensitive appetite--some are ordered toward good, such as love, joy, and desire, while others are ordered toward evil, such as fear and sorrow. In the first state no evil was present or imminent, and no good was absent which a good will might desire to possess at that time, as is evident from Augustine in Book XIV of *The City of God*. Therefore none of the passions that regard evil, such as fear, sorrow, and the like, were

in Adam. Likewise, neither were those passions which regard a good not possessed but still to be obtained, such as burning covetousness.

Those passions, however, which can concern a present good, such as joy and love, or a future good to be possessed in its own time, such as desire and hope that does not afflict, existed in the state of innocence, though otherwise than in us. For in us the sensitive appetite, in which the passions reside, is not wholly subject to reason. Hence passions in us sometimes precede and impede the judgment of reason, while at other times they follow the judgment of reason insofar as the sensitive appetite obeys reason. In the state of innocence, however, appetite was wholly subject to reason. Therefore no passions of the soul were in man except those that followed from reason or the judgment of reason. Thus the flesh did not then lust against the spirit as it does now.

In eating the fruits of the trees of paradise, of which Genesis 2 says, “Eat of every tree that is in paradise,” man--who would then have needed food for his sustenance--would have experienced greater delight than he does now. For sensible delight is the greater, the purer the nature and the more sensitive the body. Yet the concupiscible appetite would not have raised itself inordinately over that delight, because it was regulated by reason. In the same way, a sober man feels no less delight in food he has taken than a glutton does, but his concupiscible appetite rests less upon delight of this kind. Thomas, First Part, question 98, article 2.

Folio 2.

As to the act of generation in the state of innocence: although certain ancient doctors, considering the foulness of concupiscence found in carnal union in the present state, held that there would have been no generation through carnal union in the state of innocence, Gregory Nazianzen says that the human race would have multiplied in paradise as the angels were multiplied, without intercourse, by the operation of divine power. He says that before sin God made male and female with regard to the mode of generation that would exist after sin, which He foreknew.

But Thomas, in the First Part, question 98, article 2, rejects this with the argument he gives there, determining that generation in that state of innocence would have taken place through union. Hence Genesis 2 says that woman was made as a help for man, namely for generation. Yet, as Thomas says, two things must be considered in carnal union according to the present state. One belongs to nature, namely the conjunction of male and female for generation. In every generation an active and a passive power are required. Therefore, since in all things in which there is distinction of sex the active power is in the male and the passive power in the female, the order of nature requires that male and female come together in union for generation.

The other thing that may be considered is a certain deformity of immoderate concupiscence, which would not have existed in the state of innocence, when the lower powers were wholly subject to reason. Hence Augustine says in Book XIV of *The City of God*: Far be it from us to suspect that offspring would not have been produced in that state without the disease of lust. Rather, those members would have been moved by a command of the will, as the others are, and without heat or an enticing sting, with tranquility of soul and body.

Nor would continence then have been praiseworthy as it is now. For at the present time continence is praised not because fertility is defective but because disordered lust is removed; then, however, there would have been fertility without lust. And as Augustine says in Book XIV of *The City of God*, in that state a husband would have entered the womb of his wife without any corruption of her integrity. For the male seed could have been introduced while the integrity of the female organ remained unharmed.

There would have been no suffering or anxiety from hunger or thirst. At the proper time, when it was fitting for nature, man would have eaten and drunk before hunger or thirst afflicted him. He would have slept without any disquiet or disturbance from terrifying dreams. Because of the most temperate air, he would have been without the pain of heat or cold, and he would have been burdened by no illness.

As to the pleasantness of his place, man was exalted in honor because, although he was made bodily from the slime of the earth in the region of Damascus, he was nevertheless transferred into the earthly paradise. To explain this paradise, it should be known, according to Augustine in Book VIII of *On the Literal Meaning of Genesis*, that there are three general opinions concerning paradise. One is held by those who wish paradise to be understood only bodily; another by those who understand it only spiritually, that is, as the Church; and a third by those who take paradise in both ways. Augustine himself, in Book XIII of *The City of God*, admits that this third opinion pleases him. And this is reasonable, for in everything handed down by Scripture the truth of the history must be held as the foundation, and spiritual expositions must be built upon it, according to Thomas in the Second Part, question 103, article 1.

Paradise, therefore, as Isidore says in the book *Etymologies*, is a place situated in the eastern regions, whose name is translated from Greek into Latin as “garden.” It is fittingly said to be situated in the east, for it must be believed to have been established in the noblest place of the whole earth. Since the east is the right side of heaven, according to the Philosopher in Book II of *On Heaven and the World*, and the right is nobler than the left, it was fitting that paradise be established in the eastern region.

What Bede says, that paradise reaches as far as the circle of the moon, is not true if it is understood simply with respect to position. It can nevertheless be expounded as meaning that it rises as far as the place of the lunar globe, not through eminence of position

but through likeness, because there is a perpetual temperateness of the air there, as Isidore says. In this it is likened to the heavenly bodies, which are without contrariety.

Augustine also says in Book VIII of *On the Literal Meaning of Genesis* that the place of paradise must be believed to be exceedingly remote from human knowledge. The sources of the four rivers said in Genesis 2 to arise there are said to have been found somewhere else, although, after running underground through long tracts of country, they broke out in other places above ground. For who does not know that some waters commonly do this? And because that place is shut off from our habitation by barriers of mountains or seas, or by some torrid region that cannot be crossed, writers on places make no mention of it.

The tree of life which stood in the middle was a certain material tree, so called because its fruit had the power of preserving life, as was said above. Spiritually, however, it signified Christ, who is the Wisdom of God the Father and the tree of life in Proverbs 3. Or it signified the sacrament of the Eucharist or the good of obedience.

The tree of the knowledge of good and evil was likewise a material tree, so named because of the future event: after eating from it, man learned by experiencing punishment what difference there was between the good of obedience and the evil of disobedience. Spiritually it may signify free choice. The aforesaid and the other trees were produced actually on the third day.

As Damascene says, paradise was a divine royal dwelling and a worthy abode for the one who was made according to the image of God. It shone round about with temperate, exceedingly fine and pure air, and was adorned with ever-flowering plants. The same author says that no irrational animals dwelt in paradise, although by a certain dispensation animals were brought there to Adam when he gave them names, and the serpent came there through the operation of the devil; according to Bede, it had a maiden's face. Now no one dwells there except Enoch and Elijah, as is said.

Third, Adam was exalted by the honor of dominion. Hence the Lord said in Genesis 1, "Let us make man," and so forth, "that he may rule over the fish of the sea, the birds of heaven, and the beasts of the earth." To explain this, Thomas says in the First Part, question 96, article 1, that in the state of innocence, before disobedience, nothing resisted man which naturally ought to be subject to him. All animals, however, are naturally subject to man, as is evident from three things.

First, it is evident from the course of nature itself in the generation and use of natural things. In generation one proceeds from the imperfect to the perfect, as in the generation of a human being; and likewise in the use of natural things, the more imperfect things yield to the use of the more perfect. Plants use the earth for their nourishment, animals use plants, and human beings use plants and animals. Hence man naturally rules over animals.

Second, this is evident from the order of divine providence, which governs lower things through higher ones. Since man is above the other animals because he was made in the image of God, the other animals are fittingly subjected to his governance.

Third, this is evident from a property of man and of the other animals. In other animals there is found, according to natural estimation, a certain participation in prudence with respect to certain particular acts. In man, however, there is found universal prudence, which is reason concerning all things that can be done. Everything that exists by participation is subject to that which exists essentially and universally. Thus it is evident that animals are naturally subject to man.

Folio 3.

The disobedience toward human beings which is now evident in animals followed as a punishment for man's guilty disobedience, because he himself was disobedient to God. There would nevertheless have been natural discord among the brute animals themselves, but they all would have been subject to man's dominion, just as some are now domesticated by him.

It should also be known, according to Thomas in the same question, article 2, that when Genesis 1 speaks of man as presiding over every creature, this is understood of the creature which is not made in the image of God. For man did not rule over the angels. But in the state of innocence the soul ruled by command over its sensitive powers--namely, the irascible and concupiscible powers, which in some degree obey reason--and in the same way over the brute animals. Man ruled over the natural powers and over the body itself not by commanding them but by using them. Thus in the state of innocence he ruled over plants and inanimate things not by commanding or changing them, as by changing one species into another or changing the course of the heavenly bodies, but by using their aid without impediment.

Even in the state of innocence there would have been inequality among human beings, not only with respect to sex and age but also with respect to the soul, as regards justice and knowledge. For man did not act from necessity but through free choice, by which he has the capacity to apply his mind more or less to acting or knowing something. Hence some would have advanced more in justice and knowledge than others.

There could also have been inequality on the part of the body. According to the diverse disposition of the air and the diverse position of the stars, some would have been stronger in body, more beautiful, taller, of better temperament, and better begotten than others. Nevertheless, in those who were surpassed there would have been no defect or sin of either soul or body.

There would also have been dominion of one human being over others in the state of innocence. For that state was not more exalted than the condition of the angels; yet among the angels some rule over others, whence there is one order called the Dominations. For a fuller explanation of this matter, it should be known, according to Thomas in the First Part, question 96, article 4, that dominion is taken in two ways.

In one way it is taken as opposed to servitude. In this sense someone to whom another is subjected as a slave is called a lord, and there would have been no dominion of this kind in the state of innocence. For a person rules over another as a slave when he refers the one whom he rules to his own utility, that is, the utility of the ruler. Such dominion cannot exist without punishment to the subjects, which would not have existed in the state of innocence. In this sense Augustine says in Book XIX of *The City of God* that God did not will rational man, made in His image, to rule over anything except the irrational--not man over man, but man over cattle.

In a second way dominion is taken as referring generally to one who is subject in any manner whatsoever. In this sense even one who has the office of governing and directing free persons can be called a lord. For someone rules over another as a free person when he directs him toward the proper good of the one directed or toward the common good. Such dominion of one human being over another would have existed in the state of innocence, for two reasons.

First, man is naturally a social animal. Hence human beings in the state of innocence would have lived socially. But the social life of many cannot exist unless someone presides who intends the common good.

Second, if one human being had possessed greater knowledge and justice than another, it would have been unfitting unless this resulted in the benefit of others. Hence Augustine says in Book XIX of *The City of God* that the just rule not from a desire to dominate but from the duty of taking counsel for others. The order of nature prescribes this, and thus God made man.

God did not create man in paradise, but formed him from the slime of the earth, with a newly created soul infused into that body, when, as it is said, He breathed into his face the breath of life. But God took him and placed him in paradise, as is said in Genesis 2, so that this too would be attributed to the grace of God and not to human nature. For paradise was a place suited to human habitation with respect to the incorruption of the first state. That incorruption did not belong to man according to nature, but is said to have come from a supernatural gift.

He would have dwelt there with his posterity until, after the human race had multiplied from generation to generation to the number of the elect appointed beforehand by God, all would have been transferred together, in soul and body, into the heavenly paradise or empyrean heaven, there clearly to see the essence of God.

Man was placed in paradise to work it and keep it, as is said in Genesis 2. Augustine, in Book VIII of *On the Literal Meaning of Genesis*, expounds this in two ways. In one way it is referred to God: that God would work in man by justifying him. If God's operation ceases in man, he is immediately darkened, just as the air is if the influx of light ceases. God would also keep him, namely from every corruption and evil.

In another way it may be understood as referring to man: that man would work and keep paradise. Yet that work would not have been laborious as it was after sin, but delightful because of the experience of the power of nature. Nor would that keeping have been against invaders; rather, man was to keep paradise for himself, lest by sinning he should lose it.

The works of the first man would have been more efficacious for meriting than our works. To explain this it should be known, according to Thomas in the First Part, that the quantity of merit may be considered from two sources. In one way, it may be considered from the root of charity and grace. Such quantity of merit corresponds to the essential reward, which consists in the enjoyment of God. For whoever does something from greater charity will enjoy God more perfectly.

In another way, the quantity of merit may be considered from the quantity of the work, which is twofold: absolute and proportional. The widow who put two small bronze coins into the treasury did a smaller work in absolute quantity than those who placed great gifts there. But in proportional quantity the widow did more, according to the judgment of the Lord in Luke 11, because her gift exceeded her means to a greater degree.

Nevertheless, each quantity of merit which is considered with respect to the work or labor corresponds to the accidental reward, which is joy in a created good. Therefore, if the quantity of merit is considered on the part of grace, the works of the first man would have been more efficacious for meriting in the state of innocence than after sin, because grace would have been more abundant, with no obstacle to grace found in human nature.

Likewise, if the absolute quantity of the work is considered, his works would have been more efficacious for meriting, because, since man would have possessed greater power, he would have performed greater works. But if proportional quantity is considered, a greater account of merit is found after sin because of man's weakness. For a small work exceeds the capacity of one who performs it with difficulty more than a great work exceeds the capacity of one who performs it without difficulty.

Although the first man before sin needed grace in order to merit eternal life just as he did afterward, after sin he needed grace for more things than before, both for the remission of sin and for the sustaining of weakness.

On the condition of offspring in the state of innocence, it should first be known that not only males but also females would have been generated in that state. For nature would have proceeded in generation as God instituted it. God instituted male and female in human nature, as is stated in Genesis 1 and 2; therefore, and so forth.

To explain this, Thomas says in the First Part, question 99, article 2, that nothing pertaining to the completion of human nature would have been lacking in the state of innocence. Just as diverse grades of things pertain to the perfection of the universe, so diversity of sex pertains to the perfection of universal human nature. Therefore both sexes would have been produced through generation in the state of innocence. And it appears, as Thomas says, that as many females as males would have been generated.

Nor is it an objection that every agent generates something like itself unless it is impeded by a defect of power or an indisposition of matter. In generation the active power is in the male. Thus, where there would have been no defect of power on the part of the male and no indisposition of matter on the part of the female, it seems that males ought always to have been generated.

Thomas replies that the generation of a female occurs not only from a defect of active power and an indisposition of matter, as the objection maintains, but sometimes from some extrinsic accident. Thus the Philosopher says in the book *On Animals* that the north wind assists the generation of males, but the south wind the generation of females. Sometimes it occurs from a disposition of the soul, by which the body is readily changed. This could especially have occurred in the state of innocence, when the body was more subject to the soul, so that the sex of the offspring would be distinguished according to the will of the one generating. Thus there would be as many females as males, so that each woman would have one man of her own and each man one wife.

Those born in the state of innocence would not immediately have possessed perfect strength and movement of their limbs. For according to Thomas in the place cited above, everything generated is imperfect before it is perfected. Children in the state of innocence would have been produced through generation. Therefore they would at first have been imperfect in bodily size and strength. Hence newborns would not immediately have possessed sufficient power to move their limbs for every kind of act, but only for acts fitting to childhood, such as sucking the breast by themselves and other things of this kind.

Would children have been born with justice? Some say that they would not have been born with gratuitous justice, which is the principle of meriting and is called sanctifying grace, but with original justice. For this was a certain gift divinely given to the whole of human nature. This appears to be so because original sin, which is opposed to that justice, is said to be a sin of nature. Hence it is transmitted from parent to posterity just as original justice would have been transmitted.

But as Thomas says in the First Part, question 100, article 1, since the root of original justice, in whose rectitude man was made, consists in the supernatural subjection of reason to God--a subjection effected by sanctifying grace--it must be said that if children had been born in original justice, they would also have been born with sanctifying grace. The same has been said of the first man, namely that he was created with grace.

Yet grace would not for this reason have been natural, because it would not have been transmitted by the power of the seed. Rather, it would have been bestowed upon a human being as soon as he possessed a rational soul. Likewise, as soon as the body is disposed, the rational soul is infused by God, although the soul is not derived by propagation.

Likewise, newborn children would not have possessed the perfect use of reason. The reason, according to Thomas in the First Part, question 101, article 2, is that the use of reason depends in some manner upon the use of the sensitive powers. Hence, when the senses and the interior sensitive powers are bound, a person does not possess the perfect use of reason, as is evident in those who sleep and those who are frenzied.

The sensitive powers are certain powers of bodily organs. Therefore, when their organs are impeded, their acts must be impeded and, consequently, so must the use of reason. In children the impediment to these sensitive powers comes from the excessive moisture of the brain. Hence they do not possess the perfect use of reason, just as they do not possess the perfect use of their other members.

Therefore, in the state of innocence children would not have possessed the perfect use of reason that they were to have at a mature age. Yet they would have possessed a more perfect use than they now do with respect to those things that pertained to them according to that state.

Likewise, children would not in that state have possessed perfection of knowledge, but would have acquired it in the course of time without difficulty, either by discovery or by learning. It is natural for man to acquire knowledge through the senses. Nevertheless, those children would have possessed sufficient knowledge to direct them in the works of justice in which human beings are directed, and they would naturally have possessed the universal principles of law much more fully then than we possess them now.

Those born in the state of innocence would not have been confirmed in justice. Thomas explains this in the First Part, question 100, article 2. It is evident that children in their natural condition would not have possessed more perfection than their parents in the state of generation. But for as long as the parents generated, they would not have been confirmed in justice.

For a rational creature is confirmed in justice by being made blessed through the open vision of God. One who possesses this vision cannot fail to adhere to God, since God is the very essence of goodness, from which no one can turn away, because nothing is desired except under the aspect of good. Hence the little children would not have been born confirmed in justice.

Therefore, if Adam had not sinned, the children born from him would not indeed have contracted original sin, which is the cause of hell. Nevertheless, those generated from him could in another way become children of hell, namely by sinning through free choice. Thus he would not have transmitted to his posterity a necessity of not sinning such that they would have been altogether unable to sin.

§ II

As to the second principal point noted above, namely the efficacy of the sin by which man, exalted by such honor, was deprived of it, the words say, "he did not understand." Indeed Adam and Eve did not understand--that is, they neither considered nor acknowledged the great dignity bestowed upon them among God's benefits. Instead they adhered to His adversary, the devil, and withdrew from their Lord and benefactor, transgressing the command He had given them, namely to abstain from eating the fruit of the tree of good and evil.

The tree whose fruit the Lord forbade him was not evil in itself, but the command was given so that man, well created, might exercise himself in the virtue of obedience and thereby seek to acquire merit, as Gregory says in the final book of the *Moralia*, and in cause 11, question 3, "What, therefore?"

Folio 4.

For the virtue of obedience appears more clearly when one observes a prohibition concerning something which is not evil in itself except because it is prohibited than it would if something evil in itself were prohibited.

Eve indeed did not understand the deception of the ancient serpent when he said, "On whatever day you eat from it, you will be like gods, knowing good and evil." She thought that he said this to her with the intention of counseling, not deceiving her, so as to make her condition more excellent--as though God had begrudged them the knowledge of good and evil and had therefore forbidden them to eat that fruit. Hence the apostle also says that the woman was seduced.

And as Augustine says, although this seduction of the woman preceded the sin of the deed, namely the sin of gluttony in taking the fruit, the sin of pride preceded the seduction itself. Thus Augustine says in *On Genesis* that the woman would not have believed the serpent's words unless there were already in her mind a love of her own power and a certain proud presumption concerning herself.

While that innocence remained, the seduction could not have occurred, because just as truth is the good of the intellect, so falsehood is its evil. Therefore her intellect could not assent to any false estimation as though it were true. But once innocence had been lost through that pride, a false estimation entered beneath it, so that she believed what the devil was persuading her was true, according to Thomas in the First Part, question 95, article 4.

Adam did not understand how grave a sin the thing forbidden him by the Lord was. For although he did not believe the serpent's words were true, as the woman did, he was nevertheless overcome by Eve's persuasion--not indeed by a love of concupiscence, which did not yet exist, but by a love of a certain benevolence by which a friend is sometimes overcome so as to serve a friend in evil. Thus Adam ate from the tree lest he make his companion sorrowful, thinking that what was very grave was venial, that is, easily remitted.

Neither understood the evil that was to follow from their transgression, namely the death of soul and body in themselves and in the whole human race. Therefore the Lord had said, "Dying, you shall die," referring to each death.

For just as, by remaining in their innocence, observing the command, and generating children, they would have poured into them the original justice which they themselves possessed, as was said above, so by transgressing that command of the Lord they transmitted original sin to all who descended from them by carnal propagation. Hence it was not transmitted to Christ, because although He descended from them according to bodily substance, He did not descend by carnal propagation as all others do.

Original sin, insofar as it is the cause of both deaths, is contracted from conception by the soul when it is infused into the body, and no one can be freed from it except through the grace of the Mediator. Hence Augustine, speaking of actual and original sin, says: Therefore, since a human being has been made another person from the one who begot him, he is not held liable for another's sin without his own consent. Immediately afterward, concerning original sin, he adds: Man therefore drew guilt, namely the guilt of original sin, because he was one with him and in him--that is, in Adam--according to seminal power when what Adam committed was done. Cause 1, question 4, "And so now."

The same Augustine says in *On Consecration*, distinction 4: Hold most firmly and in no way doubt that every human being conceived through the intercourse of male and female is born with original sin, and for this reason is born a child of wrath and liable to death unless freed through the grace of the Mediator.

It should also be known that if the woman alone had sinned and not Adam, she alone would have been condemned unless she had repented. The human race would not thereby have been infected with original sin, as it was when Adam sinned, for the active principle of human generation was in him.

Neither understood when, after their fault, they were called by God with the words, “Adam, where are you?” They were being sought so that they might confess their sin and be cleansed by repentance. But because they did not do this and instead excused themselves, turning the cause of their fault back upon another--upon God or upon the serpent--they were therefore cast out of paradise, where they were compared to senseless beasts, and so forth.

§ III

As to the third point, by which is noted the misery to which man was condemned when it is said, “he was compared to beasts,” and so forth: that God compared human beings to beasts after sin is evident from what is said in Genesis 3, that God made them coats of skins. And, as though mocking them, He said through an angel, “Behold, Adam has become like one of us,” as though He were saying: He wished to be God and has become like a beast; therefore I make for him a beastly coat.

He became like the beasts in the first place because, as Ecclesiastes 3 says, “The destruction of man and of beasts is one, and the condition of each is equal,” since each is subject to bodily death.

Second, just as beasts are ruled by the passions of the concupiscible and irascible powers and do not restrain them by reason, which they lack, so human beings are like beasts when they follow the passions of the vices and do not regulate them by the reason they possess. Hence they are of a worse condition.

Third, beasts wage war against one another. So too sinners fight one another over the things, wills, or possessions they covet, according to James 4: “Whence are wars and quarrels among you, if not from your desires?” and so forth, as will appear below.

Fourth, just as beasts delight to live in unclean places, so human beings delight to live amid uncleanness and to remain in it, according to the words of Joel: “They have rotted like beasts in their own dung.”

Fifth, just as beasts are subjected to many labors, to hunger and thirst, and to other miseries, so too are human beings, according to the words of Ecclesiastes: “All his days are full of labor and misery, nor does he rest by night.” And to the first man it was said in Genesis 3, “In the sweat of your face you shall eat your bread.”

It should be noted that man is said to have been made like not only beasts, but senseless beasts. Although all beasts lack wisdom, some of them nevertheless possess a certain skill or a certain prudential instinct, as the horse does in comparison with the ass. Hence *asinus* is said to derive from *a*, meaning “without,” and *sensus*, meaning “sense”--as though without sense. Man after sin appears to have been made like such a beast.

The ass is a sluggish animal for labor; so too man is sluggish in doing good. The ass commonly walks along dangerous and bad roads, and is not turned or led away by shouts or gestures unless it is harshly beaten. Sometimes not even by this is it brought onto the right road, as happened with Balaam’s ass when it was pressed by his spurs. Thus man after sin walks along difficult roads that lead to death; he is not turned from them by the cries of admonition and is scarcely corrected by scourges.

The ass walks slowly, and if it sometimes runs, its course endures only a little while. So too a sinner, even if he sometimes fervently begins some good works, does not persevere in them. Concerning the punishment and pride of our first parents, see the titles on Pride in the second part of our *Summa*.

Yet because the Psalm says, “I was made as a beast before You, and I am always with You,” a sinner who morally puts aside the evil qualities of the ass and takes on the good ones--namely that it is a patient and simple animal and a friend of peace--will be with God. As a figure of this, the Son of God, having become man, sat upon the ass and its colt, which signified those converted from the Jews and the gentiles, and entered Jerusalem, which is called the vision of peace.

According to Augustine in *The City of God*, the earthly paradise figures the Church militant. Just as all who remained in innocence in that place would, when the number of the elect begotten from time to time was complete, finally have been transferred to the heavenly paradise to see and enjoy the essence of God, immediately glorified in soul and body, so those who live in the Church militant and depart with innocence or perfect repentance, every debt of punishment having been discharged, pass to the glory above in their souls. The bodies of all the elect, however, will rise together at the end to be glorified--excepting Christ, who, rising from the dead, now dies no more, together with His mother, as is handed down by the saints, already glorified in body.

In paradise itself each sex was present. For although woman is said to be an occasioned male and was made as a help for man, the end of each is nevertheless the blessed life. Indeed, lest she be despised as more imperfect, she was formed in the nobler place,

namely paradise, although Adam was made in the region of Damascus and transferred there, as Ambrose notes in distinction 40, "That."

Moreover, two persons, namely Adam and Eve, were not made from the beginning. Rather, first the man was made from slime and then the woman from his rib with respect to the body; with respect to their souls, both were created from nothing. According to Ambrose, God did this because, wishing to establish one nature of human beings and beginning it from a single principle, He removed from nature the possibility of many and diverse origins. Cause 33, question 5, final chapter.

Or, according to Augustine, one man, namely Adam, was made, from whom the others would arise, having authority from God as though His vicar. Cause 33, question 5, "This image." Or one was made in order to commend the mystery of unity and peace which human beings ought to preserve with one another.

The fourfold river of paradise is sacred doctrine, by which the Church militant is watered so that it may be made fruitful and produce abundant and sweet fruits of virtue. It is fourfold either because sacred Scripture is divided into four parts: the legal or Mosaic part; the prophetic and evangelical part, for which the Apocalypse stands in the New Testament; the historical part, such as the books of Kings and others, and Acts of the Apostles in the New Testament; and the sapiential part, as in the books of Solomon and others, and in the epistles of the apostles in the New Testament.

Or the river is fourfold because of the fourfold sense of Scripture: literal, allegorical, moral, and anagogical. Or, according to Isidore, it signifies the sound doctrine of the first four universal councils, distinction 15, chapter 1.

The tree of life in the middle of paradise, which gives vigor and preserves from corruption, is obedience and the soul's total subjection to God. The tree of the knowledge of good and evil is one's own will rebelling against God; eating from it is the execution of that will, which leads to the death of the soul. The other trees of paradise are the other kinds of virtues in which human beings would also have exercised themselves.

In each person there is found a certain spiritual marriage, according to the Master in Book II of the *Sentences*. Sensuality is in that person as Eve; the spirit, or rational appetite, is as Adam. Just as woman ought to be subject to man, cause 33, question 5, final chapter, so sensuality ought to be subject to reason, and then the human being is well governed.

The manner of the common, daily spiritual fall was sufficiently signified in the fall of our first parents, as Gregory notes in distinction 6, "Testament." With God's permission the ancient serpent approaches to tempt, and he first attacks the woman--that is, sensuality--as the weaker. He proposes or suggests to sensuality something to be done which God has prohibited, under the appearance of a useful and delightful good: this is the apple.

If reason does not immediately resist and repel it, but neglects to do so and permits sensuality to converse with the suggestion, then, even if conscience feels remorse over the prohibition of what is suggested, it nevertheless wavers under the suggestion and takes from the apple, as if thereby to obtain some great good. Not content with this, sensuality suggests it to Adam--that is, to reason--so that reason too may assent with it: namely, that it not only take sensual pleasure, but that reason also consent against God's prohibition. When reason has been overcome by passion in this way, it falls into the death of the soul.

For in sensible delight or complacency alone there is only a venial sin, according to Thomas; but in the consent of reason to a thing prohibited by command there is mortal sin, whether reason expressly consents or whether it is negligent and does not reject the danger contrary to the command.

Through any mortal sin a person is stripped of all virtues. As a figure of this, it is said that they knew they were naked, *On Penance*, distinction 2, "The wise man." Ashamed of this--for sin induces shame because of its foulness--and because of the stirrings of the flesh rising within them, they sewed fig leaves together to cover their shame, making aprons for themselves in place of lower garments. This occurs spiritually when, after sin, a person fashions vain and useless thoughts for himself in order to excuse his excesses in sins.

The sinner, placed by number, though not by merit, in the paradise of the Church, is called by God through inspiration so that he may confess his sin and receive pardon. But if he does not humbly confess his sin, and instead excuses himself and assigns the occasion to another, as our first parents did, God does not pardon him, as Gregory shows in the *Moralia* and Gratian in *On Penance*, distinction 1, § "From these."

Indeed, one who perseveres in evil when it is notorious is cast out of the paradise of the Church: by sentence he is excluded from it also in number, so that he cannot take from the tree of life, that is, participate in the sacrament of the Eucharist, as Gratian notes in cause 11, question 3, § "And so evidently."

From this it is also evident that while someone is occupied with God and himself, he does not sin; but when he associates with others, especially evil people, or entangles himself in these lower things, he easily falls.

Hence Ambrose says: "When Adam was alone, he did not transgress, because his mind adhered to God," *On Penance*, distinction 2.

Yet neither holiness of place, nor solitude, nor greatness of condition can make a person secure. Hence Gregory says: “No hidden places whatsoever can save a soul without grace, as we see in the erring inhabitants of those very places. For what is more delightful than paradise? And yet man fell from paradise by sinning,” distinction 40.

And he was fittingly cast out of paradise, according to Ambrose: “He who cast the nobility of God out of himself is deprived of the nobility of the place,” distinction 40, “Adam.”

Man possessed the nobility of God because he was made in the image and likeness of God, as is said in Genesis 1, for he possessed within himself the grace of the virtues and the gleaming splendor of piety, in which is the brightness of glory and the image of the Father’s substance, says Ambrose in *On Penance*, distinction 2, “That soul.”

Or, according to the Master of the *Sentences* in Book I, distinction 3, man is said to have been made in the image of God with respect to his natural endowments, insofar as in the one soul there are three powers--memory, understanding, and will--which are really distinct and yet are one soul. So in the most holy Trinity there are three persons, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and yet one essence.

He is said to have been made in the likeness of God with respect to the gratuitous gifts added above nature. Hence Ambrose says, “To be like God is to possess justice and wisdom and to be perfect in virtue.”

When the root of the human race--that is, our first parents--was corrupted by sin, all their posterity, which was then in them according to seminal reason, was infected with original sin and made liable to perdition. But because Christ descended from Adam according to bodily substance, not according to carnal propagation through the commingling of man and woman, but from a virgin alone, He alone escaped original sin. Nor can anyone be saved and rescued from damnation except through grace, according to Augustine in *On Consecration*, distinction 4, “Hold most firmly.”

And because man offended through sensible things, he is restored to grace through sensible things. Because contraries are cured by contraries, just as by proudly and disobediently using a sensible apple he was depraved and incurred damnation, so by taking the sensible sacraments, to which he subjects himself for God’s sake, he is justified.

The sacraments of the New Law so signify grace itself or its effect that they also cause grace. The sacraments of the Old Testament, however, only signified it and did not confer it, according to Thomas in Book IV, distinction 1.

Various remedies and medicines against original sin are therefore given. In the New Testament, after the Gospel was promulgated, there is only one common to every nation: baptism with water conferred in the form of the Church. Matthew, final chapter: “He who believes and is baptized will be saved,” namely by preserving baptismal grace or restoring it through penance.

For adults, when baptism with water cannot be had, the baptism of the Spirit--that is, the intention to receive it together with faith--is sufficient, and much more is the baptism of blood, that is, martyrdom. *On Consecration*, distinction 4, “In place of baptism.” Those lacking the use of reason can be assisted toward salvation only through baptism with water, unless they are killed for Christ.

In the Old Testament, with respect to those possessing the use of reason, personal faith in Christ, held implicitly, cleansed from original sin one who was not yet purified. That faith was nevertheless professed by some sacrifice, offering, express invocation of God, or the like.

With respect to the little boys descended from Abraham until the Passion of Christ, circumcision cleansed them from original sin--that is, the faith of their parents, whose profession was circumcision itself, so that circumcision was not the cause by which remission occurred but a cause without which it did not occur.

For the females of Abraham’s race there was the same mode of healing that existed among other nations, namely the faith of the parents, not merely habitual but actually directed toward the salvation of the child. Its profession was some sacrifice, vocal prayer, or outward invocation of God, which functioned as a sacrament. In this way the authority of Gregory in *On Consecration*, distinction 4, “What formerly,” is to be understood.

Actual sins added to original sin, especially mortal ones, were never erased except through interior penance, that is, contrition. Hence Augustine says, “Do not suppose that anyone can pass from error to truth, or from any great or small sin to correction, without penance,” *On Penance*, distinction 1, “No one,” and the chapter “There are three.”

And our first parents, as Augustine says in *On Penance*, distinction 1, just as they are believed to have been the first placed in the world, are also believed to have greatly repented of their transgression; hence they were saved by the Passion of Christ.

But in the New Testament, especially after the Church’s command concerning confession was promulgated, in *On Penance and Remission*, “Every,” contrition does not suffice for salvation unless vocal confession duly made to a priest is added when the opportunity is present. In this way is understood what Ambrose says in the book *On Paradise*: “No one can be justified from sin unless he has first confessed his sin,” *On Penance*, distinction 1--namely, at least in intention; but afterward, in its own time, he must confess it in act, otherwise he would incur damnation.

Baptism and the other sacraments do not profit except in the holy Church, and hence they do not profit heretics or those who remain in mortal sin. For, as Jerome says, “One who is polluted by any stain of sin cannot be said to belong to the Church or to be subject to Christ,” *On Penance*, distinction 1, “Ecclesiastical.”

Hence Augustine also says: “The Church compared to paradise shows us that her baptism can indeed be received by people even outside her, but that no one outside her can either receive or retain the salvation of blessedness. For the happiness of the life commemorated in paradise is not in Mesopotamia or Egypt, to which those rivers came. Thus the baptism of the Church can exist outside the Church, but the gift of a good life is found only within the Church,” *On Consecration*, distinction 4, “The Church.”

Because the glorious God foreknew the fall of the human race, He arranged that the first man should from the beginning prophetically foreannounce the reparation accomplished through the Incarnation and Passion, from which the Church’s sacraments have their power--not insofar as man errs, with respect to redemption, because man did not foreknow his own fall, according to the Master in Book II, but with respect to the dignity and exaltation of human nature.

Adam’s sleep signifies the sleep of Christ’s death upon the cross. Then a wife was formed from a rib in his side, because from there the Church, the bride of Christ, is formed in spiritual being through the sacraments, chiefly baptism and the Eucharist, the greatest in efficacy and in being. These were figured by the water and blood flowing from His side when it was pierced by the lance.

Eve was made from the bone of Adam’s rib, while the place in him was filled with flesh in its stead, because that from which the Church was strengthened and formed--namely, the Incarnation of the Son of God--was the source from which the Son of God was, as it were, weakened by assuming passible flesh.

Adam, awakening, prophetically announced this when he said, “A man shall leave father and mother.” For the Son of God according to His divinity has no mother; hence “to leave” means not to have. According to His humanity He has no father, because He was conceived and born from a virgin. “And he shall cleave to his wife,” namely the Church, by an indissoluble bond; “and the two”--namely the human and divine natures--“shall be in one flesh,” that is, in one person.

In detestation of the vice of gluttony and commendation of abstinence, Ambrose says: “That we may know fasting is no novelty: God first established a law in paradise. The law of fasting began from the Lord God; transgression of the law began from the devil. The serpent counseled gluttony; the Lord decreed fasting. Thus gluttony expelled the one reigning in paradise, while abstinence recalled the one wandering.” Thus far Ambrose, distinction 35, “On the sixth day.”

Morally, complacency in one’s own will [expelled the human race], and conversely the obedience of Christ brought the human race back to heaven.

§ IV

It should be noted that in calculating the duration of the years of the first and second ages there is a great difference between the reckoning of years given by the Hebrews, which is in Jerome’s translation now used by the Church, and the reckoning of the Septuagint translators.

According to the Hebrews, the first age, namely from Adam to the Flood, lasted 1,656 years. The second age, from Noah after the Flood to Abraham, contains 292 years. But according to the Septuagint, the first age completes 2,242 years. The second age, namely from Noah after the Flood to Abraham, has 940 years. Thus, taking the first and second ages together, the second computation--that is, the Septuagint’s, which Bede and many others follow--exceeds the first, that of the Hebrews, which Vincent follows in the *Historical Mirror*, by 1,234 years.

The reason for this difference is that in the case of many of those fathers the Septuagint translation assigns one hundred years more at the time they begot children than the Hebrews do, as though in each of those fathers.

Adam begot Seth in the 130th year of his life, but according to the Septuagint in his 230th year. Seth begot Enos in the 105th year of his life, but according to the Septuagint in the 205th. Enos begot Cainan in his 90th year, but according to the Septuagint in his 190th. Cainan begot Mahalaleel in his 70th year, but according to the Septuagint in his 170th. Mahalaleel begot Jared in his 65th year, but according to the Septuagint in his 145th. Jared begot Enoch in his 162nd year, but according to the Septuagint in his 172nd.

Enoch begot Methuselah in his 70th year, but according to the Septuagint in his 165th; and he was translated into the earthly paradise in the sixteenth year. Methuselah begot Lamech in his 187th year, but according to the Septuagint in his 167th. Lamech begot Noah in his 182nd year, but according to the Septuagint in his 188th.

Noah begot Shem, Ham, and Japheth; in the 500th year of his life he began to build the ark, and in his 600th year, when he entered the ark with his sons and their wives, eight persons in all, the Flood came.

In the second age, namely after the Flood, Shem, from whom the race of the Jews proceeded, begot Arphaxad in the second year according to both opinions. Arphaxad begot Salah in the 35th year of his life, but according to the Septuagint in his 135th. Salah

begot Eber in his 30th year, but according to the Septuagint in his 130th. Eber begot Peleg in his 34th year, but according to the Septuagint in his 134th. Peleg begot Reu in his 30th year, but according to the Septuagint in his 130th; in Peleg's time the earth was divided into various languages.

Reu begot Serug in his 30th year, but according to the Septuagint in his 130th. Serug begot Nahor in his 30th year, but according to the Septuagint in his 130th. Nahor begot Terah in his 29th year, but according to the Septuagint in his 79th. Terah, in his 70th year, begot Abraham, Nahor, and Haran, and the Septuagint gives the same. The third age begins with Abraham.

No sufficient reason can be assigned for this disagreement between the Hebrews and the Septuagint translators in calculating the years of the first and second ages. Its determination must therefore be left to the Holy Spirit, who arranged it in this way not without mystery, for the greater merit of faith and our humiliation.

Augustine, however, says in *The City of God* that this proceeded from an error of the first copyists working from the seventy-two translators, who did not carefully attend to the number of the years. Although the Hebrew computation is judged more true, the computation of the Septuagint is nevertheless more commonly held.

Because human beings lived for so long in the first age, some said that their years were not of so great a span--that is, twelve months--as ours, but that their year was thirty-six days, so that one of our years comprised ten of theirs. But Augustine in *The City of God* rejects this opinion by what is said in the seventh chapter concerning the tenth month and the fifteenth day of that month. There it is shown that their years were like ours in number of days.

As to why such persons are read to have begotten children so late, although they were occupied with marriage rather than virginal continence, Augustine assigns two reasons. Either, just as they lived for so long, they also became fit for generation late; or those of whom Scripture speaks were not their firstborn. They could have begotten many others earlier, just as they did afterward, but those persons were named first because, although born after others, they were preferred to them in dignity or in presiding over others, and because from them the genealogy of Christ was to be woven, since Christ descended from them and not from the others they had begotten.

Thus the evangelist Matthew, describing Christ's genealogy, said, "Jacob begot Judah and his brothers," although Judah was not the firstborn but the fourth. He placed Judah, omitting the others, because Christ descended from him according to the flesh.

Adam and Eve, therefore, as is believed, transgressed in the earthly paradise on the very day of their creation--that is, the sixth day of the world--around noon, and a little afterward, around the ninth hour, they were cast out. Hence the new man, Christ, on the same weekday after the revolutions of many years--after 5,199 years from the creation of the world according to the Septuagint translators--on the sixth day of the week, the eighth day before the Kalends of April, was crucified at the sixth hour, paying the debt of that same sin; and, expiring around the ninth hour, He opened the entrance of paradise to the thief.

Our first parents, cast into exile, hastened to human consolation. For they left paradise as virgins; afterward Adam knew his wife Eve.

Accordingly, in the fifteenth year of Adam's life Cain and his sister Calmana were born. Fifteen years afterward Abel and his sister Delbora were born, as Vincent says in Book II of the *Historical Mirror*.

It is believed that Adam taught his sons to offer God tithes and first fruits in spirit, or sacrifices. Cain, a farmer and miser, offered God gnawed ears of grain. Abel, a simple and good shepherd of sheep, offered from the fattest of his flock. Because Abel's life and intention pleased God, his offering was pleasing to God, but Cain's was not. This is evident because, as is said in another translation, God kindled fire upon Abel's sacrifice but not upon Cain's--that is, fire descended from heaven to ignite the sacrifice offered by Abel, but not that offered by Cain.

Seeing this, Cain, envying the goodness of his brother, treacherously killed him in a field near Damascus, as is stated in Genesis 4. When Cain himself was questioned by the Lord about his brother, so that in this way he might acknowledge his sin by confessing it, he excused himself, saying that he did not know. And when the Lord rebuked him for the fratricide, he did not perform penance, but added the evil of despair. As a wanderer and fugitive he went out from the face of God, who had appeared in a subject creature--that is, through an angel in human form--to speak to him.

As a citizen of the earth, Cain was the first to build a city, gathering riches by robbery and violence, inviting his people to acts of brigandage, changing human simplicity through the invention of measures, and leading it into craftiness and corruption. He was the first to set boundaries to land and walled a city because he feared those whom he harmed. On account of his severity, he gathered his people into the city.

In these two first sons of Adam, Cain and Abel, the two cities had their beginning, according to Augustine in *The City of God*. One is the city of the good, which sojourns on earth and awaits its dwelling in heaven: the heavenly Jerusalem, spiritually built as a city beginning from love of God and advancing, through true humility, even to contempt of self.

The other is the city of the reprobate, which is established in earthly things and descends to the land of darkness. Love of self builds it, advancing through pride even to contempt of God. It is called Babylon, interpreted as confusion, just as Jerusalem is called the vision of peace.

The Church of the saints is therefore said to have begun from righteous Abel, not from Adam, lest it appear to have been interrupted by Adam's fall and lest it appear to have begun from a sinner. Just as wicked Cain persecuted innocent Abel even to death, so, as the apostle says, all who wish to live devoutly in Christ must suffer persecution from wicked believers or unbelievers, or at least the persecution of their evil examples. In this way the soul's patience is exercised.

Gregory says: "He refuses to be Abel whom Cain's malice does not exercise. For the iron of our mind cannot arrive at the edge of truth unless another's file of depravity has scraped it," cause 7, question 1, § "There is also another." This pertains to the gift of knowledge: to conduct oneself well among the wicked, and to shine through patience like lights in the midst of a crooked and perverse nation, without being extinguished by their wicked works.

In Abel was also figured the Passion of Christ, the innocent one killed from envy by his brother--that is, by the Jews, who were of his race. Hence that whole posterity became obstinate and reprobate.

Because there were no other women in the world, the first sons had to take their sisters as wives in order to propagate the human race, as Augustine says in cause 35, question 1, chapter 1. To the same father were born wicked Cain and good Abel, to intimate that the whole mass of the human race was justly condemned in Adam and that anyone from it becoming a vessel unto honor proceeds not from nature but from God's mercy.

The pursuits of Cain's sons plainly indicate to which of the aforesaid cities they belong, namely the city of heaven or of hell. Lamech was the first to introduce bigamy contrary to nature and custom, having two wives at once, Genesis 5 [read: Genesis 4]. If Jacob, David, and others had several wives, they did so instructed by the Holy Spirit in order to enlarge the worship of God reserved among that people, as is said in *On Divorce*, "We rejoice"; but Lamech did so from lust alone.

His descendants also invented certain mechanical arts and curiosities. Jabal invented the portable tents of shepherds, as is stated in Genesis 4; Jubal invented skill in musical sounds or harmonies; Tubalcain invented the smith's art and the carving of metals; and their sister Naamah invented the art of varied weaving.

Nearly all the secular arts or sciences, whether mechanical, liberal, or philosophical, serving human curiosity, necessity, or even exercise, are read to have been invented by the children of this world. For those arts which did not pertain to their salvation had to be discovered by the study and labor of those who were not children of eternal salvation. Such labor was therefore owed to such people, while the fruit was reserved for these. Thus the Egyptians are despoiled by the Hebrews, so that the words spoken by the Lord fittingly apply to the true Hebrews, that is, the faithful: "Others have labored, and you have entered into their labors."

Concerning this Lamech, the Master in the *Historia* and Nicholas of Lyra say that he was a hunter--not for the sake of meat, which was not yet used, as is said in distinction 35, "From the beginning," but for the skins of animals, so that he might make clothes for himself.

Because he was going blind, he led with him a boy who directed the arrow of his bow toward the beast. When the youth saw the decrepit Cain remaining among the thickets and thought him a beast, he signaled Lamech to shoot an arrow at him as though at a beast. Having done so, Lamech killed Cain with the wound, as he realized from Cain's cry. Or, according to another account, in anger he also killed the boy. Thus he killed Cain by a wound and the youth by the livid bruise of a wound. Therefore, whereas Cain's sin was punished sevenfold, Lamech's was punished seventy-sevenfold, because seventy-seven souls who had gone forth from Lamech perished in the Flood.

Chapter Two: On the Second Age of the World, Which Begins in the Time of Noah; on the Construction of the Ark; on the Flood; on Monstrous Kinds of Human Beings; on the Drunkenness of Lot; and on the Curse of Ham

The second age of the world began from Noah after the Flood, which was universal throughout the whole world. It occurred in the 600th year of Noah's life and, from the beginning of the world, in the 1,656th year according to the Hebrews, but according to the Septuagint translators, whom Bede and Isidore approve, in the 2,242nd year. It lasts until Abraham for 292 years according to the Hebrews, but for 842 years according to the Septuagint translators.

One hundred years before the Flood the Lord appeared to Noah--that is, in the 500th year of Noah's life--and when he had already begotten his sons Shem, Ham, and Japheth, He commanded him to build an ark. In it Noah was to be saved from the waters of the

Flood with his aforesaid sons and their wives, together with some of every kind of living creature of the earth and of the birds, male and female.

Thus one hundred years were granted to human beings as a period for returning to pardon, during which Noah, obedient to God, built the ark, preaching penance to human beings by deed and word so that they might escape God's sentence.

Indeed, when God said, "Their days shall be 120 years," Jerome, in *On Penance*, distinction 1, expounds it by saying that this time was first given to the human race for returning to penance. But because human beings did not reform themselves by these things but became worse, God took twenty years away from the promised time and sent the Flood at the end of one hundred years.

For all flesh had corrupted its way. The sons of Cain, as Vincent says in the *Historical Mirror*, abused the wives of their brothers in excessive fornications, and women, turned to madness, shamefully went beyond the men. Finally, burning for one another, men coupled with one another. And the sons of Seth--that is, those descended from him, who had once been religious and good--contrary to the prohibition of their father Adam, were overcome by concupiscence and joined themselves to the daughters of Cain. Hence they begot giants: human beings immense in body, proud in strength, and uncultivated in morals.

By God's command the ark was made three hundred cubits long, fifty wide, and thirty high, from smoothed timbers coated with pitch. "You shall make a window in the ark," and its summit was completed within a cubit. There was also a window in its side and, below near the earth, a door through which the animals had entered.

Where our text says, "You shall make inner chambers in it," another text has more clearly, "Thus you shall make it with double chambers and triple chambers." It therefore had certain divisions or chambers which Augustine says were there in addition to the bilge. For he says that above the bilge deck it was double-chambered, and there were lateral chambers: one for dung and another a storeroom, where food was placed for all the animals to eat.

Above this dwelling was another, likewise triple-chambered. In one of these chambers lived fierce animals, in another tame ones, and in the middle human beings. Others arrange all these vertically--that is, by stories--as Josephus does, who says there were four stories, not including the bilge. This is in Genesis, chapter 6.

When Noah had entered the ark according to the Lord's command, with his wife, his three sons, and every kind of animal--two and two of the unclean, male and female, but seven of the clean--the Flood poured forth for forty days and forty nights, with an immense rain falling continuously.

The water rose fifteen cubits higher than every mountain in order to wash away the filth of the air, just as it is also said that the fire of the final judgment will ascend to so great a height. All the animals of the earth and the birds perished in the Flood except those in the ark, which by themselves, through God's operation, came to the ark and entered before the Flood and were fed from the foods stored there.

The waters held the earth for 150 days; afterward they began to diminish. The ark rested upon the mountains of Armenia in the seventh month, on the twenty-sixth day of that month. Noah sent a raven from the ark to see whether the waters had yet ceased, but it did not return to the ark.

He then sent out a dove. Finding nowhere for its foot to rest, namely no clean place, it returned to the ark and was brought inside. After waiting seven days, he sent it out again, and it brought back to the ark a small branch of green olive in its mouth, as a sign of God's mercy.

Thus, when a year had revolved, Noah left the ark on the same calendar day on which he had entered it, at the command of the Lord, with his sons and their wives and all the living creatures preserved there. Having built an altar, he offered sacrifice to God, as though for peace and thanksgiving, and God accepted the sacrifice, as is stated in Genesis 8, and blessed them.

This blessing consisted in three things: the multiplication of offspring, the subjection of the other living creatures, and the granting of foods. These were enlarged both because of human weakness and because of the earth's lack of fertility. Hence the use of meat was granted, which did not exist in the first age, as Jerome says in distinction 35, "From the beginning." Flesh was nevertheless permitted without blood, under which homicide is prohibited.

Because the Flood was still feared, the Lord made with them a covenant of security and placed the rainbow in the clouds. Although it is said to have six or four colors, it nevertheless has two principal ones, as a sign of the two judgments: the exterior color, namely blue, which is also watery, as a sign that the past judgment by water is no longer to be feared; and the interior color, red, as a sign that the future judgment by fire is to be expected.

Thus in the Flood the first age ended and, like infancy, was handed over to oblivion; and the second age began.

In what the Lord said to Noah in Genesis 6, "My spirit shall not remain in man forever, because he is flesh," the spirit of God may here be understood as the Holy Spirit dwelling in man through grace, or as the will of God, with which one who lives rightly agrees and which he follows. "Flesh," however, means a human being who lives according to the flesh.

When this is the case, it is at present impossible for him to live according to the spirit, that is, according to the will of God. Thus the spirit of grace, or the fulfilled will of God, is not in him. Hence the apostle also says to the Galatians, “If you live according to the flesh, you shall die,” namely spiritually and eternally. “But if by the spirit”--that is, according to the reason of God, or by the spirit, that is, by a will regulated by Him--“you mortify the deeds of the flesh, you shall live,” namely in grace and afterward in glory.

Folio 7.

Augustine, at the beginning of Book XIV of *The City of God*, gives this as the difference between the city or society of the elect and that of the reprobate: the wicked live according to the flesh, while the good live according to the spirit.

Explaining each at length, he says that to live according to the flesh is not only to live according to carnal pleasures in sexual acts, food, drink, and the like, in which the Epicureans placed the highest good. He proves this because, when the apostle had said to the Galatians, “The works of the flesh are manifest,” in explaining them he names not only adulteries, fornications, uncleannesses, revelries, and drunkenness, but also numbers among them idolatry, enmities, envies, wrath, heresies, and the like. These vices are certainly not accomplished through the flesh and are found in the devil, who is incorporeal, as are envy, enmity, and the like.

Nor is living according to the spirit the same as living according to acquired human virtue, in which the Stoics placed the highest good. Rather, this too is living according to the flesh: to live according to man, that is, according to oneself, or, to speak more plainly, according to one’s own will when it is not subject to God’s will but rebellious against it. To live according to the spirit is to live according to God, or, more plainly, according to the will of God.

And because sin is nothing other than a word, deed, or desire contrary to the law and will of God, every sin can therefore not unfittingly be called a lie. For, as Augustine says, sin is committed only with the will by which we wish things to go well for us or do not wish them to go badly. It is therefore a lie that, when sin is committed so that things may go well for us, things instead turn out badly for us; or when it is committed so that things may go better for us, they instead become worse.

Whence does this come, except that a person can fare well from God--namely by living according to His will, whom he abandons by sinning--but not from himself, that is, from his own will, according to which he lives when he sins? Hence, when the devil willed to live according to himself by taking complacency in his own pride, Christ said of him, “He did not stand in the truth.” And concerning man, because every human being is a sinner, the Psalm says, “Every man is a liar.”

It therefore matters what kind of will a person has. If it is perverse--which is to live according to man or according to one’s own will--he will have perverse movements of the passions: desire, joy, sorrow, fear, and the others reducible to them. But if the will is upright, these movements of the passions will be not only blameless but even praiseworthy. An upright will is to live according to God’s will in all the passions.

For what are desire and gladness but the will consenting to the things we will? And what is sorrow but the will dissenting from the things we do not will? According to the variety of things sought or avoided, therefore, as a person’s will is attracted or offended, so it changes and turns into these or those affections.

These passions are found in the good and the wicked, including sorrow or grief, which the Stoics asserted was not found in the mind of a wise person. “Among us,” Augustine says in chapter 9 of the aforesaid book, “according to the holy Scriptures, the citizens of the holy city of God who live according to God during the pilgrimage of this life fear, desire, grieve, and rejoice. And because their love, which is the principle of the passions, is upright, they have all these affections uprightly.”

They fear eternal punishment and desire eternal life. They grieve in reality because they still groan within themselves, awaiting adoption, the redemption of their bodies. They rejoice in hope because the saying that is written will come to pass: “Death has been swallowed up in victory.” Likewise, they fear to sin, desire to persevere, grieve over sins, and rejoice in good works. Augustine adds there the authorities of Scripture by which the saints are moved to these things. He also gives the apostle Paul as an example, affirming of himself that he rightly used these passions.

Indeed, even Christ, as is evident in the Gospel, began to fear and to be sorrowful; with desire He desired to eat the Passover with His disciples; and He rejoiced when He heard of Lazarus’s death. But we experience these things according to passion, whereas Christ experienced them according to propassion, in such a way that the act or light of reason was obscured in no respect, which does not occur in us.

The end of the carnal is destruction in the flood of desires which war against the soul, or of carnal concupiscence which lusts against the spirit. The end of the spiritual, or of those living according to the spirit, is salvation, figured in the few saved in the ark.

Here one must also attend to and guard against familiarity with the wicked. For the spiritual--namely, the descendants of Seth, Adam’s son--after they mingled with the carnal, namely the women descended from Cain, themselves became people living according to the flesh. The descendants of Seth are called sons of God, and, according to another text, angels of God, because of adoption and their former purity. The descendants of Cain are called sons of men, that is, persons living according to man or the flesh.

It must not be believed, as some have said, that the angels of God were incubus demons who, mixing themselves with women, generated giants. Augustine rejects this in Book XV of *The City of God*.

§ I: On the Ark

Concerning the ark made by Noah--its material and form and the things contained in it--Augustine says at the end of Book XV of *The City of God*: “It must be believed and wisely kept in memory that these things were both committed to writing and done literally, and that they signify something, and that this something pertains to prefiguring the Church.”

First, as Gregory says in the *Moralia*, just as all who were found outside the ark perished, so all who are outside the Church perish eternally in the flood of vices.

The material of the ark is squared timbers, smoothed and coated with pitch, signifying the faithful of the Church, steadfast in good, the roughness and inequality of vices removed from them, united by conformity of morals.

As to its dimensions, its length was three hundred cubits. This number is formed from three and one hundred, while one hundred results from ten multiplied ten times. The continuance or duration of the Church is from the beginning of the world to its end, possessing in all the elect the three virtues of faith, hope, and charity, together with the perfect and complete observance of the Ten Commandments.

The breadth signifies the Church’s breadth and her extension everywhere upon the earth. In her alone is found the full remission of sins, from the breadth of charity which covers all offenses, as is said in Proverbs 10. The breadth of the ark was fifty cubits, which is the number of the jubilee in which there was full remission.

Its height was thirty cubits. The Church’s height is the sublime knowledge of truth, reaching even to the mystery of the Trinity of divine persons, the perfect knowledge of which is the term and end of all our desires. The number thirty consists of three and ten, while ten is the first boundary or limit of numbers.

These cubits, however, with respect to the material ark itself, are not to be understood as our cubits but as geometrical cubits, one of which contains six of ours, as Origen says, an opinion that pleases Augustine in *The City of God*.

Where our translation says, “You shall make upper rooms and three stories in it,” another says, “You shall make it double-chambered and triple-chambered.” The double chambering signifies the distinction of the faithful people into circumcision and foreskin, that is, Jews and gentiles. The triple chambering signifies the Church’s three states: virgins, the continent, and the married.

The quadrupeds existing there signify active persons who dwell upon earthly things. The birds moving through the airy heaven signify contemplative persons. Those who maintain a life mixed from both especially signify the prelates who govern the ark of the Church.

Clean and unclean animals were there because, as to number, the good are mingled with the wicked in the Church. The unclean were in the number two, which is the first number to depart from unity, because the wicked are separated from the unity of love. The clean were there in the number seven, because the elect are enriched by the sevenfold grace of the Holy Spirit.

Four men with their wives were preserved from the Flood because males and females who possess the four cardinal virtues are saved in the Church. And just as the waters multiplied from heaven lifted the ark on high, so multiplied tribulations--which indeed are sent from heaven--raise the mind or the Church to the height of contemplation and perfection.

Divine providence rather than human prudence governed the floating ark so that it did not anywhere undergo shipwreck, as Augustine says there; in the same way Christ governs the Church.

The ark itself also figures the mediator of God and human beings, the head of the Church, the Lord Jesus Christ, who through His Passion on the wood of the cross saves us from the flood of perdition. The measurements themselves of length, breadth, and height signify the human body, in the truth of which He was announced beforehand to human beings as coming, and came.

For the length of a human body from the crown of the head to the soles of the feet is only six times its breadth, which extends from one side to the other, and ten times its height, whose measure is from the back to the belly. Thus, if you measure a person lying supine or prone, he is six times as long from head to feet as he is broad from right to left or from left to right, and ten times as long as he is high from the ground.

Hence the ark was made in this figure, three hundred cubits in length, fifty in breadth, and thirty in height. And the door which the ark received in its side is certainly the wound made when the side of the Crucified was pierced by the lance. Those coming to Him enter through this, because from it flowed the sacraments--figuratively and virtually--by which believers are initiated.

§ II: On Monstrous Kinds of Human Beings Recounted in the Histories of the Nations

It is reported that certain persons have one eye in the middle of the forehead; that some have the soles of their feet turned backward behind their legs; that some naturally possess both sexes, with the right breast male and the left female, and, by alternately coupling with one another, both beget and give birth; that others have no mouths and take breath only through their nostrils; and that others are a cubit in stature, whom the Greeks call pygmies from the cubit.

It is reported elsewhere that women conceive before their fifth year and do not pass beyond the eighth year of life. Likewise, it is said that there are peoples whose members have only one leg, who do not bend the big toe and are of marvelous speed. Some are called Sciapods: during the heat they lie supine on the ground and protect themselves with the shadow of their feet. Some have no neck and have their eyes in their shoulders. What shall I say of the Cynocephali, whose dog-like heads and very barking confess them to be beasts rather than human beings?

But it is not necessary to believe in all the kinds of human beings said to exist. Nevertheless, let none of the faithful doubt that whoever is born anywhere and dies as a human being--that is, as a rational mortal animal--derives his origin from that one first-formed man and, through him, from Noah after the Flood, however unusual the shape, color, motion, sound, power, member, or natural quality of his body may appear to our senses.

The same account given for persons among us who are monstrous in some bodily parts can be given for certain monstrous nations. For God is the creator of all, and He Himself knows where and when each thing ought or ought to have been created, knowing the beauty of the universe, of whose parts He Himself wove both likeness and diversity. But one who cannot inspect the whole is offended, as though by the deformity of a part, because he does not know with what it agrees or to what it is referred.

Augustine gives examples of certain monstrous persons of his own time and country: one having crescent-shaped soles with only two toes on them and two fingers on his hands; and a man born double in his upper members but single in his lower ones, having two heads, two chests, four hands, one belly, and two feet.

What if God therefore willed to create some nations in this way, lest from those monsters which must be born among us from human beings we should think that His wisdom, by which human nature is fashioned, had erred like the art of some less perfect craftsman?

But there is no reason to believe that antipodes exist, as some tell in fables--that is, human beings on the opposite side of the earth, where the sun rises when it sets for us, who press their footprints against ours with feet pointing the other way. Thus Augustine in Book XVI of *The City of God*, chapter 8.

§ III

Noah, a husbandman, afterward became drunk from the fruit of a vine he had planted. While he lay with his private parts uncovered, Ham mocked him; but when Shem and Japheth heard, they covered him. Hence Ham was cursed in his son, and the other two were blessed by Noah.

Morally, this signifies subjects who mockingly and irreverently disclose the vices of their spiritual fathers and thereby incur the curse of damnation. Good subjects, however, reverence their fathers and cover the defects of prelates--not by assenting to or committing those defects with them, but by not divulging them where doing so is not useful. This is found in distinction 96, “In the Scriptures.”

Concerning Noah’s drunkenness literally, Ambrose says: “In the beginning of the human race wine was unknown. Noah was the first to plant a vineyard; he knew its nature but did not know its power. Thus wine did not spare even its own author. But his drunkenness commends sobriety.” And below: “The envy of fraternal betrayal had already crept in, but reverence for paternal piety still remained. Piety is injured when drunkenness is mocked. Liberty remained unshaken for all: no one knew how to exact the service of servitude from a brother. There would be no servitude today if there had been no drunkenness.” Thus Ambrose, distinction 35, “Sixth.”

For as punishment for the mockery, Noah assigned Canaan, the son of Ham, to the servitude of his brothers.

Ham himself was not cursed, but his son, to intimate, according to the Master of the *Sentences* in Book II, that no one is reprobated because of the first movements of sins, but because of those movements proper to him which are mortal sins.

Nevertheless, Noah did not sin mortally in this drunkenness, because he did not know the power of wine. It is also intimated that excessive drinking leads to the uncovering of members in lust, because a belly heated with wine easily foams forth into lust. Jerome, distinction 42.

Noah, the governor of the ark, who transplanted a wild vine and made it cultivated, became drunk from its wine and therefore lay naked, and so forth. He signifies Christ, governor of the Church, who so cultivated the vine of human nature or of the synagogue,

created by God but producing wild fruits of fear, by His evangelical teaching confirmed with miracles and examples, that it produced the sweet wine of love.

As though drunk from the sweetness of that love, Christ drank the inebriating cup of the Passion and, put to sleep by death upon the cross, remained naked. Seeing this, the Jewish people, figured in Ham--or also, according to Augustine, the company of heretics or wicked Christians--reports the Passion aloud by announcing it to others, but dishonors it by mocking or acting wickedly. Therefore it is cursed not in itself but in its son, that is, in its work. Hence Canaan is interpreted as "their movement," by which their work is signified.

Shem and Japheth, however, are as circumcision and foreskin--that is, the Jews and gentiles who were called and justified through faith. Having learned of the nakedness of their father, that is, the Passion of the Savior, they cover his nakedness by venerating the Passion, with the garment placed upon their backs--that is, with the sacrament of the Passion in memory of past things--and with their faces turned away, that is, by turning from or detesting the crime of the Jews.

The reprobate announce Christ's Passion outside, that is, only in the sound of the voice; the upright possess and honor so great a mystery within the house, that is, within the inner person, inwardly in the heart.

After Noah's two sons had thus been blessed and the third cursed, there is thereafter, until Abraham, silence for more than a thousand years concerning any of the just who believed in and worshiped God. I would not believe there were none, but if all were commemorated it would become excessively long and would be historical diligence rather than prophetic providence.

The writer of these sacred letters--or rather, the Spirit of God through him--pursues those matters by which not only past events are narrated but future events are also announced, provided that they pertain to the city of God. Whatever is said here even of persons who are not its citizens is said so that by comparison with its contrary that city may either advance or stand out.

Certainly not everything narrated as done is to be thought also to signify something; rather, other events are woven in because of those which signify something. The earth is cleft by the plowshare alone, but in order that this may be done, the other members of the plow are also necessary. Thus Augustine in Book XVI of *The City of God*.

Chapter Three: On the Descendants of Noah's Sons--Shem, Ham, and Japheth

Augustine says in *The City of God* that it is not clearly held which descendants of Noah's sons belonged to the city of God and which to the city of the devil. It is nevertheless more credible that among the sons of the two blessed by Noah, Shem and Japheth, before Babylon began to be founded, there were some despisers of God; and that among the sons of the cursed Ham there were some worshipers of God. It must be believed that each kind of human being has never been lacking from the earth.

For when the Psalm says, "All have turned aside; there is none who does good," it speaks there of the sons of men who live according to the flesh.

This distinction between the two cities or societies of the good and the wicked appeared more clearly in the time of Eber, the fourth great-grandson after Shem. Until then the whole earth--that is, all human beings--had been of one language and the same speech, namely the Hebrew idiom.

Very many persons descended from the aforesaid fathers, living according to the flesh, gathered together. Their chief was the giant Nimrod, who descended from Ham and is called a mighty hunter--not of wild beasts, but an oppressor and destroyer of human beings. Distinction 6, final section.

They began to build a city with towers reaching to heaven, raising themselves against God from their great pride. When they did not cease, their languages were confounded there through the ministry of angels. To the angels is referred the saying, "Come, and let us go down," and so forth. For they come to God in their thoughts by consulting immutable truth, and descend here below by working according to God's will.

And because the authority of a commander is in his tongue, Augustine says there, pride was condemned so that the person commanding a human being was not understood, since the human being had been unwilling to understand so as to obey God when He commanded.

Thus that conspiracy was dissolved. For just as the greatly multiplied families or nations descending from Noah's three sons were seventy-two, so they were divided into seventy-two different languages and were thence scattered throughout the world. The city, though incomplete, was called Babylon, which is interpreted as confusion. Nimrod reigned there. It was afterward enlarged and magnified by others, but later was subjugated by Ninus, king of the Assyrians, who descended from Shem, Noah's eldest son.

The Hebrew idiom remained in the family of Eber--not indeed in all those begotten from him, but only in that line which extends to Abraham. Nor did it remain in all those begotten from Abraham, for it was not among the Ishmaelites or the Edomites born from Esau, but only among those descending from him through Jacob, namely the people of Israel.

Hence, according to Augustine, it is more commonly said that the Hebrews as a nation were so named from this Eber, with whom the Hebrew idiom remained, as though *Hebers* with the letter *e* removed, although some say they were so called from Abraham as though *Abraics*.

Eber called the son born to him when this division of languages occurred Peleg, which is interpreted as division, from the event that had then just occurred. In the aforesaid house of Eber, the worship of God remained among those belonging to the city of God and living according to the spirit.

According to Vincent, the sons of Shem obtained Asia, the sons of Ham Africa, and the sons of Japheth Europe. Isidore asserts in Book XIV of the *Etymologies* that the world was divided into three parts, but not equally. Asia reaches from the south through the east to the north. Europe extends from the north to the west, and thence Africa reaches to the south. Thus Asia occupies one half of the world, and Europe and Africa the other half. These were made two because the great sea enters from the Ocean between them and separates them.

§ I: On the Province of Asia

Asia, according to Vincent, is named from a certain woman who held rule in the East among the ancients. This part contains many provinces and regions.

The earthly paradise is a place in the eastern regions, whose name is translated from Greek into Latin as "garden." In Hebrew it is called Eden, which in Latin is interpreted as delights; joined together, the name therefore yields "garden of delights." It is planted with every kind of wood and fruit-bearing tree, and also has the tree of life in the middle. There is neither cold nor heat there, but perpetual temperateness of air. A spring bursting forth from its middle waters the entire grove. It is divided into four rivers, as appears in Genesis 2. After sin, access to this place was barred.

India, which is in Asia, is named from the River Indus, which encloses it on its western side. It stretches directly from the southern sea to the rising of the sun, and from the north to Mount Caucasus. It has many peoples and towns. It also has the island of Taprobane, filled with gems and elephants; Chryse and Argyre, fertile in gold and silver; and Tile, which never lacks the leaves of trees. It has the rivers Ganges, Indus, and Hypanis, which make the Indians illustrious.

The land of India is exceedingly healthful from the breath of the west wind. It harvests crops twice a year. In place of winter it receives the Etesian winds. It produces human beings of a dark color, immense elephants, the beast called the *monoceros*, that is, the unicorn, the parrot, ebony wood, cinnamon, pepper, and aromatic reed.

It also sends ivory and precious stones: beryls, chrysoprases, adamants, carbuncles, ligures, pearls, and choice pearls, for which the ambition of noble women burns. There are also golden mountains there which it is impossible to approach because of dragons, griffins, and monsters of immense human beings.

Solinus says that India was long believed to be a third part of the earth. Liber Pater entered it, since he was the first of all to triumph after the Indians had been subdued.

There are many other provinces and regions in Asia: Parthia, Assyria, Media, Persia, Mesopotamia, and Babylon. Babylon is the name of the region in which stands the city Babylon, from which so noble a city was named that Chaldea, Assyria, and Mesopotamia sometimes passed under its name.

The province of Arabia is so called, that is, interpreted as sacred, because it possesses incense-bearing fragrances. Myrrh and cinnamon are found there, and the phoenix is born there. It is also called Saba.

Syria contains several provinces: Commagene, Phoenicia, and Palestine, of which Judea is a part, apart from the Saracens and Nabuchaeans. In Phoenicia is Tyre, to which Isaiah speaks.

Judea is named from Judah, namely because it had kings from that tribe who reigned there. It is a region of Palestine which was formerly called Canaan from Ham's son or from the peoples of the Canaanites. When these had been expelled, the Jews possessed it by the Lord's grant. In the middle of Judea is the city Jerusalem. The land is rich in various resources, fertile in crops, illustrious for its waters, and abundant in balsams.

Samaria is a region of Palestine in which the principal city is also called Samaria, where the kings of Israel commonly maintained the seat of the kingdom, as the kings of Judah did in Jerusalem. It lies between the province of Judea and the province of Galilee, and is like the land of Judea in goodness.

Galilee is also a province of Palestine and is twofold: upper and lower. Pentapolis is a region on the border of Arabia and Palestine containing five cities, Sodom and the others, which were consumed by heavenly fire. Nabataea, named from a son of Ishmael, lies between Judea and Arabia.

Egypt, which was formerly called Esseia, afterward received its name from Egyptus, the brother of Danaus, when he reigned there. It is a region unaccustomed to rain from heaven and ignorant of showers. The Nile alone, flowing around it, irrigates it and makes it so abundantly fruitful in its inundation that it fills the world with necessary wares.

Scythia, as also Gothia, is said to have been surnamed from Magog, the son of Japheth. Hyrcania is named from the Hyrcanian forest which lies beneath Scythia. Albania is so named from the color of its people, because human beings there are born with white hair. Armenia is called from Armenus, a companion of Jason the Thessalian, who took Armenia. Iberia is a region of Asia near the Armenian Pontus; plants useful for dyeing grow there. Cappadocia named its own city, which is situated at the head of Syria.

Asia Minor is bounded by Cappadocia on the east and surrounded by sea on its other sides. It has these provinces: Bithynia, Phrygia, Galatia, Lydia, Caria, Pamphylia, Isauria, Lycia, and Cilicia.

Bithynia, at the beginning of Pontus, is named from King Bithynius; it and Greater Phrygia form one region. Nicomedia is a city in it, where Hannibal, while fleeing, breathed out his life after drinking poison. Galatia is named from the ancient peoples of the Gauls by whom it was occupied.

Phrygia is named from Phrygia, daughter of Europa. It is also called Dardania from Dardanus, son of Jupiter. In this region is Troy, which Tros, king of the Trojans, named from himself. There are two Phrygias, greater and lesser. Greater Phrygia contains Smyrna; Lesser Phrygia contains Ilium and Lycaonia.

Pamphylia is joined to Cilicia. Isauria is said to have received its name from the position of the place, because it lies open on every side to the blasts of the winds. Its metropolitan city is Seleucia. Cilicia took its name from a certain Cilix and has Tarsus as the mother of its cities.

Lycia is so named because it is joined to Cilicia on the east. There is that marvelous Mount Chimaera, which exhales fire in nocturnal heats, just as Etna does in Sicily, and Czwikaw in Alemannia.

§ II: On the Other Third Part of the World, Which Is Called Europe

Europe received its name from Europa, daughter of Agenor, king of Libya. Jupiter carried her off from Africa and brought her to Crete, and named the third part of the world from her. Europe begins from the River Tanais, descending westward along the northern Ocean as far as the borders of Spain. Its eastern and southern part rises from Pontus, is joined throughout to the sea, and ends in the islands of Gades.

The first region of Europe is Lower Scythia, which, beginning from the Maeotian marshes, extends between the Danube and the northern Ocean as far as Germany. Because of the barbarous peoples by whom it is inhabited, this land is generally called Barbaria. Its first part is Alania; after it comes Dacia, where Gothia is also found; then Germany, where the Suebi inhabited the greater part.

Germany, after Lower Scythia, is enclosed and bounded by the Danube, the River Rhine, and the Ocean. It is a land rich in men and in numerous and immense peoples; hence, from its fertility in generating peoples, it is called Germany. It sends forth the gems crystal and amber. There are two Germanies: the upper near the northern Ocean, and the lower around the Rhine.

The provinces which the Danube encloses from the barbarian region to the Mediterranean Sea are these. First is Moesia, named from the yield of harvests because of its abundance. After Moesia is Pannonia, after which comes Rhaetia, fertile in crops. It receives Belgian Gaul, and then Thrace.

Tiras, a son of Japheth, is said to have given his name to Thrace. Others have said Thrace was named from the savagery of its inhabitants. Constantinople lies opposite it on the east, and Macedonia adjoins it on the west. The peoples of various nations once inhabited this region: Moesi, Getae, Sarmatians, Scythians, and other nations.

Greece is named from King Graecus, who inhabited that entire region. The provinces of Greece, beginning from the west, are Dalmatia, then Epirus, then Hellas, then Thessaly, then Macedonia, then Achaia, and two in the sea, Crete and the Cyclades. Illyricum broadly comprises all Greece, and Dalmatia is said to be named from Delmis, the greatest city of that province.

Epirus is said to be named from Pyrrhus, son of Achilles. A part of it is Chaonia, which was formerly called Molossia from Molossus, the son whom Pyrrhus had by Andromache.

Hellas is named from King Hellen, son of Deucalion and Pyrrha, from whom the Greeks were first called Hellenes. It is also Attica; it is true Greece, where stood Athens, the mother of letters and nurse of philosophers, than which Greece had nothing more illustrious or noble.

There are two provinces of Hellas. The first is Boeotia, so called from an ox. There Thebes was built, in which civil wars once raged, and where Apollo and that elder Theban Hercules were born. The Peloponnese, the second part of Hellas, was named from Pelops, king of Attica.

Thessaly is named from King Thessalus. There are many rivers and towns in Thessaly, among which Thessalonica is chief. There is also Mount Parnassus, once consecrated to Apollo. In Thessaly, which was also the homeland of Achilles, gold solidi were first made, and the practice of taming horses was first invented.

Macedonia received its name from Macedon, a grandson of Deucalion through his mother, after he acquired rule there. It was formerly called Emathia. It borders Moesia to the north, was the homeland of Alexander the Great, and is a region exceedingly rich in veins of gold and silver. Mount Olympus is there and is so high that neither winds nor clouds are felt at its summit.

Both the city and the province of Achaia are named from King Achaeus. It is almost an island, and its capital is Corinth, the glory of Greece. Arcadia is a gulf of Achaia. It is also Sicyonia, named from King Sicyon, from whom the kingdom of the Sicyonians is named. It possesses the stone asbestos, which, once kindled, is never extinguished.

Pannonia is named from the Apennine Alps, by which it is separated from Italy; it is a strong region, favored in soil. Histria was named by the River Hister, which flows into that land. The Hister is the Danube, and it has Pannonia to its north.

Italy, once occupied by Greek peoples, was called Magna Graecia. Then from the name of King Saturn it was called Saturnia and soon Latium, because Saturn, driven from his seat by Jupiter, lay hidden there. Finally it was named from Italus, king of the Sicilians, who reigned there. It is a land most beautiful and fertile in all things, most pleasing for the abundance of pasture.

It has the lakes Venatus, Alumnus, and Lucernus; the rivers Eridanus and Tiber; and Baiae, warm with springs. It produces the gems Sericum, coral, and ligure, and also the serpent called the boa.

Italy and Spain are called Hesperiae because people sail by the evening star, called *hesperus* in Greek, both to Italy and to Spain. They are distinguished in this way: if you say Hesperia alone, you signify Italy; if you add "farthest," you signify Spain, which lies at the boundary of the west.

Tuscia is a part of Italy, and Umbria a part of Tuscia. Umbria, as the histories relate, is so called because it survived the rains at the time of the watery destruction. It is situated in the ridges of the Apennine mountain in the part of Italy toward the south.

Etruria is a part of Italy, so called because its boundaries extended to the banks of the Tiber. The boundaries of all Rome once occupied only one bank of the Tiber, while Tuscia occupied the other. Tuscia is named from the frequency of sacrifice and incense. They also say that haruspicy was invented there.

Apulia is where Brundisium stands, which the Aetolians who followed Diomedes as leader founded. Campania, a province of Italy, has lands that bloom in every winter and summer. The sun there is mild, the temperature pleasant, and the air pure and gentle.

Gaul is named from the whiteness of its people, for *gala* in Greek is called milk in Latin. The mountains and severity of the sky exclude the heat of the sun from that region, with the result that the whiteness of the people is not colored. The ridges of the Alps guard it on the east; the Ocean encloses it on the west; the steep Pyrenees on the south; and the waters of the Rhine and Germany on the north. Its beginning is Belgica and its end Aquitania.

The region is rich in soil and pasture, suited to the life of animals. It is watered by rivers and springs and drenched by two great rivers, the Rhine and the Rhône. Belgae is a city of Gaul from which the province Belgica is named. Cisalpine means this side of the Alps, and Transalpine beyond the Alps. Reatina is so called because it is near the Rhine. Aquitania is named from the slanting waters of the River Loire.

Spain was first called Iberia from the River Iberus and afterward Hispania from Hispanus. It is also the true Hesperia, named from the western star Hesperus. It lies between Gaul and Africa, bounded by the Pyrenees Mountains to the north and enclosed by sea on every other side. With an equable and healthful climate, it is fertile in every kind of crop and exceedingly rich in gems and metals. The great rivers Baetis, Mineus, Iberus, and Tagus flow through it.

It has six provinces: Tarraconensis, Carthaginensis, Bastitania, Galicia, Baetica, and, across the straits in the region of Africa, Tingitana. There are two Spains, nearer and farther.

§ III: On Africa, the Other Third Part of the World

Some think that Africa is so named as though *a frigore*, "without cold," because it is suited to the climate of the sun and lacks the horror of cold. Others say that Africa is named from Afer, one of Abraham's descendants born from Keturah.

It begins from the borders of Egypt and, proceeding near the south through Ethiopia, reaches Mount Atlas. On its northern side it is enclosed continuously by the Mediterranean Sea. It has the provinces Libya, Cyrenaica, Pentapolis, Tripolis, Byzacium, Carthage, Numidia, Mauretania, Tingitana, and, around the sun's heat, Ethiopia.

Libya Cyrenaica is the first part of Africa and is named from the metropolitan city Cyrene, which lies within its borders. Pentapolis is so called from the five great cities existing there, among which are Ptolemais and Berenice, so named from their rulers. Getulia is a part of inland Africa.

Mauretania is named from *mauros*, which is a Greek word sounding "black" in Latin; hence it is named from the dark color of the people who inhabit it. Tingitana is named from Tingis, the metropolitan city of that province. This region produces wild beasts, apes, dragons, ostriches, and formerly elephants; now India alone brings them forth.

The Garamantes are named from the town Garama situated there. There is a spring there which is cold in the heat of day and warm in the cold of night.

Ethiopia is named from the color of the peoples whom proximity to the sun scorches. There is perpetual heat there, for whatever is there lies under the southern cardinal point. It has very many peoples of diverse countenance and monstrous appearance, and is filled with a multitude of horrible wild beasts and serpents. The rhinoceros and camelopard are there, as are the basilisk and immense dragons, from whose brains gems are extracted. Hyacinths and chrysoprases are found there, and cinnamon is gathered.

There are two Ethiopias: one around the rising of the sun, the other around its setting in Mauretania.

Outside the three parts of the world there is a fourth part across the inner Ocean, unknown to us because of the sun's heat. At its boundaries antipodes are fabulously said to dwell.

§ IV: On Islands

Islands are so called because they are situated *in salo*, that is, in the sea. The most famous and largest of them should be set forth.

Britain is an island of the Ocean surrounded by the sea spread throughout the whole world. It is surnamed from the name of its people. It lies opposite the region of Gaul and within sight of Spain. Its circuit is forty-eight times seventy-five thousand. There are many great rivers in it, hot springs, and a large and varied abundance of metals. Jet stone and very many pearls are there. It is also called and known as England.

Thanatos is an island of the Ocean in the Gallic strait, separated from Britain by a channel of varying width. Thule is the farthest island of the Ocean.

Tylos is an island of India, according to Solinus. It bears palms, olives, and vines. It surpasses all lands in this one marvel: every tree on it never lacks leaves. Mount Caucasus is there, penetrating the greatest part of the world with continuous ridges, and pepper trees there grow in the likeness of juniper.

The Orkney Islands, situated in the Ocean near Britain, number twenty-three [read: thirty-three], of which twenty are deserted and thirteen inhabited. Scotia, the same as Hibernia, is an island near Britain, narrower in extent of lands but more fruitful in position. It stretches from Africa toward the north. There is no snake there, no bee, and a bird is rare.

Gades is an island situated at the end of the province of Baetica, which separates Europe from Africa and contains the Pillars of Hercules.

The Fortunate Islands signify by this name that they bear every good, as though they were happy and blessed in abundance of fruits. Hence the error of the gentiles and the worldly songs of poets, because of the fertility of the soil, thought them paradise. The first of these is Membriona, the second Minona, the third Capraria, the fourth Teode, and another Vinaria. They lie in the Ocean opposite Mauretania.

The Gorgades are islands of the Ocean. Likewise the Hesperides, Chryse, Argyre, and Taprobane are islands; all these are islands of the Ocean.

There are also other islands situated in the great sea from the Hellespont to the Gorgades. First is Cyprus, an island which received its name from the *cyprum* found there. It is also Paphos, consecrated to Venus and once famous for wealth, chiefly of bronze. For the first discovery and use of this metal occurred there.

Crete, a part of Greece, is a great island opposite the Peloponnese. Jupiter was hidden and reared there. It was once noble for a hundred cities and hence was called Centopolis. It first became famous for oars and arrows, first established laws in writing, first taught cavalry formations, and the study of music with spondees and dactyls began there.

It abounds in goats but lacks deer, and nowhere produces wolves, foxes, or other harmful wild beasts. There is no serpent and no owl, and if one is found, it immediately dies. It is abundant in vines and trees. The herb dittany grows there. It produces venomous spiders.

Abydos is an island of Europe situated upon the Hellespont. Cos is an island adjoining the province of Attica, where the physician Hippocrates was born. As Varro bears witness, it was the first to become famous for the craft of wool-working for the adornment of women.

Some Greeks think the Cyclades islands are so called because, although cast at rather long distances from Delos in a circle, they are nevertheless situated around Delos; for the Greeks call a circle *cyclos*. Others think they are called Cyclades not because they are arranged in a circle but because of the reefs surrounding them.

They are situated in the Hellespont between the Aegean and Malean seas and are also surrounded by the Myrtoan Sea. They are fifty-three in all. Their metropolis is Rhodes.

Delos is an island situated in the middle of the Cyclades. It is reported to be called Delos because, after the Flood in the times of Ogyges, when continuous night had overshadowed the world for many months, before all other lands it was illuminated by the rays of the sun. It received its name because it was the first made manifest to sight, for the Greeks call the manifest *delon*.

It is also Ortygia, where the birds called quails were first seen, which the Greeks call *ortygias*. On this island Latona gave birth to Apollo and Diana. Both the city and the island are called Delos.

Rhodes is the chief of the Cyclades. Carpathos is another of the Cyclades. Cythera is another, where Venus arose. Icaria is another.

The island Chios is named in the Syrian language because mastic is produced there. Samos is an island in the Aegean Sea, where Juno was born. From it came the Samian Sibyl and Pythagoras of Samos, by whom the name of philosophy was invented. Earthen vessels are said to have been first discovered on this island.

Sicily was called Sicania from King Sicanus, then Sicily from Siculus, the brother of Italus. It was formerly called Trinacria because of its three capes or promontories: Pelorus, Pachynum, and Lilybaeum. It is separated from Italy by a narrow strait and looks toward the African Sea. It is fruitful in lands and full of winds and sulfur; hence there the fires of Mount Etna stand forth.

In its strait are Scylla and Charybdis, by which ships are either swallowed or dashed to pieces. It was once the homeland of the Cyclopes and afterward the nurse of tyrants. Syracuse is the chief of its cities. Comedy was first invented on this island. Its sea produces coral, and the River Achates gives the stone agate. Its whole circuit is enclosed by three thousand stadia.

The Aeolian Islands of Sicily are named from Aeolus, son of Hippotes, whom the poets imagined to have been king of the winds. But, as Varro says, he was ruler of those islands, and because from their clouds and smoke he predicted future blasts of wind, he appeared to the unskilled to have restrained the winds by his own power. The same islands are also called Vulcanian because they burn like Etna itself. There are nine, possessing their own names, of which the first is Lipari, the second Thrasia, and so forth.

Sardus, son of Hercules, set out from Libya with a great multitude, occupied Sardinia, and gave the island its name from his own. It lies in the African Sea, one hundred thousand in length and forty thousand in breadth. Neither serpent nor wolf is born there. Sardinia has hot springs that provide healing for the sick but blindness for thieves if, after an oath has been given, they touch its waters.

The island Corsica was founded by Ligurian inhabitants, who named it from the name of their leader. It is divided from Sardinia by a strait twenty thousand wide and lies within sight of Italy.

Ebusus is an island of Spain. The Balearic Islands are also two islands of Spain. Among them the use of slings by which stones are cast was first invented. There are many other islands, because the inhabited ones are not numbered here.

§ V: Returning to the Genealogy of Shem, Son of Noah, Down to the Third Age of the World, Which Begins with Abraham

Shem begot Arphaxad two years after the Flood, when he himself was one hundred years old. Arphaxad, when he was thirty-five years old, begot Salah. Salah, in the thirtieth year of his age, begot Eber. Eber, in the thirty-fourth year of his life, begot Peleg. Peleg, in his thirtieth year, begot Reu. Reu, after thirty-two years from his birth, begot Serug. Serug, in the thirtieth year of his life, begot Nahor. Nahor, in the twenty-ninth year of his life, begot Terah. Terah, after seventy years, begot Abram, Nahor, and Haran.

These ten successively named men lived for many years after the generation of the aforesaid persons, from whom the genealogy of Christ is woven because He descended from them. They begot many other sons, from whom descended diverse peoples and nations spread throughout the world.

From Haran, son of Terah and brother of Abraham and Nahor, were born Lot and the women Iscah and Milcah.

Nahor married his niece Milcah, and Abram married his niece Iscah, who was also called Sarah. At that time, indeed, it was lawful to take such blood relations as wives. Haran, their father, died in Ur of the Chaldeans while his own father Terah was still alive. All this is in Genesis 11, where it is also said that Terah took Abram, his brother's son Lot, and Sarah, and they departed from Chaldea

and came to dwell in Haran, which is in Mesopotamia of Syria. There Terah, Abram's father, died when Terah himself was 205 years old.

The Hebrews say that Haran's death happened in this way. Since the peoples of Chaldea worshiped fire as a god, while Terah and his sons worshiped the true God and asserted that fire was not God, those people cast them into the fire to test the power of their god--namely, fire--so that they might be burned. But they passed through the fire and escaped unharmed. Haran, however, because he failed in faith when he was cast into the fire with the others, was burned by it. This is found in Cause 35, question 1, *Cum igitur*, in the following section and in the gloss there.

Under the aforesaid Reu, also called Ragau, the kingdom of the Scythians arose. Although it is most ancient, it is nevertheless not counted among the four principal kingdoms of the world about which Daniel prophesied, because it belonged to barbarians. As Justin says in Book II, the men of the Scythians held the kingdoms of the Parthians and Bactrians, while their women held the kingdoms of the Amazons. For a long time there was a dispute between the Scythians and the Egyptians concerning the antiquity of their race, but the Scythians were judged the more ancient.

The same author relates that certain peoples came in a great multitude into the region of Cappadocia and were killed there by treachery. When their husbands had been killed, the wives who remained gathered together and formed an army. Having intercourse with neighboring peoples, they killed the males who were born but preserved the female children. They accustomed these girls not to wool-working but to arms, horses, and hunting, cauterizing the right breasts of the infants so that the discharge of arrows would not be impeded. They had two queens, Margesita and Lampedo, who defended their borders by turns; after subduing the greater part of Europe, they occupied Asia.

Under Reu, or Ragau, the kingdom of Egypt also arose, and it endured until Octavian, according to the chronicles of Eusebius. From the time of Abraham's birth the Thebans reigned over the Egyptians for 190 years. Then the shepherds, who are the Pharaohs, reigned for 103 years. Afterward, in the eighteenth Diospolitan dynasty, its first king, who was called Amosis, reigned for twenty-five years, and Joseph's leadership began in the ninety-second year. Then other dynasts succeeded them; Eusebius gives their names and the lengths of their reigns down to the eighteenth. After them the Egyptians began to employ their own emperors and had five such rulers in succession. Then the Diopolitan dynasts ruled over them for 177 years. There were twenty-seven who reigned successively, whose names and lengths of reign Eusebius likewise gives. When these were completed, Cambyses, who is also called Nebuchadnezzar, king of the Persians, obtained the kingdom. Thus the kingdom of the Egyptians ended until the time of Artaxerxes, who is also Ahasuerus.

§ VI

Under Nahor, son of Serug, two kingdoms arose: that of the Assyrians and that of the Sicyonians. Belus reigned in the former and Aegialeus in the latter, as Bede says in his chronicle.

According to Eusebius, the first king of the Assyrians was Ninus, son of Belus, who reigned for fifty-two years; Abraham was born in the forty-second year of his reign. After him Semiramis, the wife of Ninus, reigned for forty-two years. After her, Zames, son of Ninus and Semiramis, reigned for thirty-eight years. Then others reigned successively, whose names and lengths of reign Eusebius describes, down to the thirty-sixth, who was called Sardanapalus. He was wholly given over to wantonness and was effeminate. Then Arbaces the Mede destroyed the kingdom of the Assyrians and transferred the realm to the Medes, namely in the fourth year of Azariah, king of Judah. All the years of the Assyrian kingdom, from the first year of Ninus to this last king, are reckoned as 1,240.

The kingdom of the Sicyonians, which likewise began under Nahor, endured, according to Helinand, until the twenty-ninth year of Eli the priest. There were twenty-six kings in it, from the first, called Aegialeus, to the last, Zeuxippus. Helinand gives the names of those who reigned successively and the lengths of their reigns. All their years collected together make 942. After them were appointed the priests of Carni, who presided over the offering of flesh for thirty-three years.

§ VII: Returning to Ninus

Belus, the father of Ninus and a Nimrodite king of Babylon, entered Assyria, as the Master says in the *Scholastic History*, but obtained little of it. After his death his son Ninus obtained all Assyria and enlarged the city in which the capital of the kingdom stood until it was a journey of three days in extent. From his own name he called it Nineveh. Hence some histories say that the kingdom of the Assyrians began with Belus and others with Ninus. The first is true with respect to the kingdom's beginning, the second with respect to its enlargement.

This Ninus is said to have defeated Ham, the son of Noah, who was still alive and was reigning in Bathera. He was called Zoroaster, the inventor of the art of magic, and he also invented the seven liberal arts. He wrote them on fourteen columns, seven of bronze and seven of brick, against both kinds of flood, namely those of fire and water. But Ninus burned his books.

Many things are said about this Zoroaster. Augustine says in Book XXI of *The City of God* that it is reported of Zoroaster that he alone laughed when born, although all others weep. That monstrous laughter portended nothing good, for although he was the inventor of the magical arts, he was defeated by Ninus, king of the Assyrians, when Ninus fought against the Bactrians.

Clement says in the *Itinerary* that Zoroaster wished to appear a god and, directing himself intently toward the stars, produced what seemed to be sparks from them so that he might draw the ignorant into astonishment at the marvel. At length he was consumed by the very demon whom he importunately frequented. They built him a tomb as though he had been a friend of God carried up to heaven in the vehicle of a thunderbolt. Hence after death he also obtained this name, Zoroaster, as though "living star." Aristotle writes that twenty times one hundred verses [read: twenty times one hundred thousand verses] were composed by Zoroaster. As Helinand relates, Helinand himself wonders how Aristotle saw his books when Ninus had burned them.

It must also be noted that idols and idolatry arose from this Ninus in the following manner. When Belus died, Ninus wished an image of his father to be sculpted as a consolation for his grief. He showed it such great reverence that he pardoned any guilty persons who fled to it, whatever crime they had committed. For this reason the people of that kingdom began to render divine honors to the image, by veneration of which they were delivered from punishment. Following his example, very many dedicated images to their deceased loved ones. Thus, just as the other idols drew their origin from the idol of Belus, so the general name for idols came from his name. Just as that idol was called Belus by the Assyrians, so other nations named their idols according to their own language. Hence some called them Bel, others Balaim, others Baal, others Belphegor, and others Beelzebub. This is found in the *Scholastic Histories*.

As Isidore writes in Book VIII of the *Etymologies*, those whom the pagans assert to be gods are shown to have once been human beings. In accordance with the life and deeds of each, they began to be worshiped among their own peoples after death: Isis among the Egyptians, Jupiter among the Cretans, Juba among the Moors, Faunus among the Latins, and Quirinus among the Romans. In the same manner Minerva was worshiped at Athens, Juno at Samos, Venus at Paphos, Vulcan at Leunos, Liber at Naxos, and Apollo at Delos. Poets also contributed to their praises and, in poems they composed, raised them into heaven. Thus Isidore.

Generally, these gods who were worshiped were people either powerful in dominion or industrious in discovering sciences or arts. As is found in the Book of Wisdom, three things provoked people to such worship of images: excessive affection toward the dead; fear and flattery toward kings; and the diligence of craftsmen in sculpting and painting images. But "let him who glories glory truly in this: to understand and know me," says the Lord through Jeremiah. Solomon also says in the Book of Wisdom, "Vain are all people in whom there is no knowledge of God," that is, no true knowledge.

After Ninus died, his wife Semiramis, a most arrogant and immodest woman, reigned. As Valerius Maximus relates, while she was occupied with arranging her hair, word was brought to her that Babylon, over which she ruled, had revolted. With one side of her hair still loose, she hurried to conquer it, and did not restore the beauty of her hair to order until she had brought so great a city back under her power. Her statue was erected there in that very posture.

Orosius says of her in Book I: Semiramis, burning with lust and thirsting for blood, killed all those with whom she had delighted in intercourse. At last, after a son conceived in shame had been impiously exposed and the incest became known, she covered private disgrace with public crime. She commanded that, with no reverence for nature observed between parents and children in seeking marriages, whatever pleased anyone should be made lawful. According to Justin, when she sought intercourse with her son, she was killed by him.

This second age began at the Flood and ends with Abraham. Orosius says thus in the preface to his book *On the Misery of the World*: From Adam to King Ninus, when Abraham was born, there are 3,184 years, which have either been omitted or ignored by all historians. From Ninus to the birth of Christ under Augustus, namely Octavian, there are 2,015 years, in which writers and historians have worn away all their leisure upon affairs among themselves.

There are, however, different opinions about how long this second age endured. According to the text of Genesis that follows Jerome's translation, 292 years elapsed from the Flood to the birth of Abraham. The Hebrews and Eusebius hold this. But according to the seventy interpreters, 940 years elapsed. Bede follows this opinion, and Orosius also seems to follow it.

Second Title: On the Third Age of the World

Chapter One

Since the third age begins with Abraham, who is called the father of the faithful living spiritually according to the spirit, just as he was the father of the carnal Jews, something must first be said generally in his commendation for imitation before we descend to his particular deeds.

Obedience was commended to our first parents in the commandment, as Augustine says in Book XIV of *The City of God*, chapters 12 and 13. This virtue is in a certain way the mother of all virtues in a rational creature and their guardian, for it was said to him, "You shall not eat of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil." They would not have arrived at transgression and disobedience to this command unless a hidden pride had first preceded it.

In the same way, so that Abraham might advance in virtue and his perfection might become known to the whole world for imitation, a hard obedience was commanded of him, not an easy one such as was commanded to the first-formed man, who experienced no inclination toward evil. Thus all posterity might receive an example in Abraham: namely, that he should sacrifice his son, circumcise himself at one hundred years of age, and, before these things, depart from his own land when already old and wander as a pilgrim. He obeyed in everything, grounded in humility. Hence, speaking to the Lord, he said, "I shall speak to my Lord, although I am dust and ashes." Those who live according to the spirit, obeying God, imitate Abraham; those who live according to the flesh--that is, viciously--imitate the disobedient Adam.

Augustine says there: No nature could be depraved by vice unless it were made from nothing. That it is a nature it has from the fact that it was made by God; but that it falls away from what is comes from the fact that it was made from nothing. Man did not so fall away that he became altogether nothing, but, inclined toward himself, he became less than he was when he adhered to Him who supremely is. Therefore, to abandon God and to exist in oneself--that is, to please oneself--is not yet to be nothing, but to approach nothing. Hence the proud, according to the Holy Scriptures, are called by another name, "self-pleasers."

It is good to have the heart lifted up, yet not toward oneself, which is pride, but toward God, which is obedience and cannot belong to any but the humble. There is therefore something in humility, in a marvelous manner, that raises the heart; and there is something in pride that lowers the heart. This seems contradictory, as though elevation were downward and humility upward. But devout humility makes one subject to a superior. Nothing is higher than God; therefore humility, which makes one nearest to God, exalts. Pride, however, which is a vice, rejects subjection by that very fact and falls away from Him than whom nothing can be higher. Consequently it will be lower, and what is written comes to pass: "You cast them down while they were lifted up." For to be raised up in oneself is to be cast down.

For this reason humility is now especially commended in the City of God and to the City of God while it journeys in this world, and it is most especially preached in its king, who is Christ. The sacred writings teach that the vice of pride, contrary to this virtue, belongs to His adversary, who is the devil. Thus Augustine there.

Pride is found in the devil's members, who sometimes are even humbled here, as is evident in Pharaoh. But if the elect at times grow proud for an hour and do not perceive it, they are permitted to fall into some manifest defect so that they may recognize themselves and return. Hence Augustine says in the same Book XIV, chapter 13: "I dare to say that it is useful for the proud to fall into some open and manifest sin, by which they may become displeasing to themselves, since by pleasing themselves they had already fallen." Peter was more healthfully displeasing to himself when he wept than pleasing to himself when he presumed. Thus Augustine.

Therefore, those who conduct themselves according to the spirit--that is, according to the will of God--imitate Abraham by spiritually departing from their own land, that is, from disordered affection for earthly things; from their kindred, that is, from the concupiscence of the flesh and the practice of the passions; and from the house of their father, the devil, which is the pride of life. For the first father whom we have when born into the world is the devil, since we are born children of wrath.

They come into the promised land through hope, into eternal or heavenly blessedness, and there are blessed by God through grace and multiplied in good works. They withdraw from the wicked by dissent, that is, by not following them in evil. But the reprobate, who live according to the flesh and do not belong to the city of Jerusalem but to the confusion of Babylon, remain in Chaldea worshiping fire--that is, holding concupiscence and covetousness as the highest good. Babylon is at last laid waste, because the world will perish, and its concupiscence with it.

When the Lord promised Abraham that not his servant Eliezer but a son to be born to him would be his heir and that his seed would possess that land, he said to the Lord, "How shall I know this?" and so forth. This statement did not proceed from a defect of faith or from doubt, since it is written there, "Abraham believed God, and it was reckoned to him as justice"; rather, he asked that

some likeness be added to the thing he believed by which he might recognize its manner, says Augustine in Book XVI of *The City of God*, chapter 24.

Augustine also expounds figuratively the likeness of the things shown to Abraham. The heifer signifies that Jewish people placed under the yoke of the law. The goat signifies the same people destined to become sinful, and the ram that same people destined also to reign. These animals are therefore said to be three years old because there are three notable divisions of time: from Adam to Noah, from Noah to Abraham, and from Abraham to David, who, after Saul had been rejected, was the first established by the Lord's will in the kingdom of the Israelite people. In this third order, extending from Abraham to David and constituting the third age, that people grew to maturity.

Just as the carnal members of that people are signified by the three animals, so the turtledove and dove signify the spiritual persons within that people. Hence it is said, "But he did not divide the birds," because carnal people are divided among themselves, whereas spiritual people are in no way divided--whether they withdraw from busy occupations, like the turtledove, or dwell among them, like the dove. Yet each bird is simple and harmless. This signifies that even among that Israelite people, to whom the land was to be given, there would be undivided children of the promise and heirs of the kingdom who would remain in eternal felicity.

The birds descending upon the divided bodies signify not something good but the spirits of the air, seeking a certain food of their own from the divisions of carnal people. Abraham's driving them away signifies that even amid those divisions of the carnal, true believers will persevere to the end.

The terror that fell upon Abraham around sunset, together with a great and darksome fear, signifies that near the end of this world a great disturbance and tribulation will come upon the faithful. Of this the Lord says in the Gospel, namely Matthew 14: "There shall then be a great tribulation, such as has not been from the beginning of the world." When it is said below that, as the sun was now setting, a flame appeared, together with a smoking furnace and lamps of fire that passed through the midst of those divided pieces, it signifies that at the end of the world carnal people are to be judged by fire.

Just as the affliction of the City of God, such as has never been before, which is expected under Antichrist, is signified by Abraham's darksome fear around sunset, with the end of the world already approaching, so at sunset--that is, at the very end of the world--the day of judgment is signified by this fire. It will separate carnal people, some to be saved through fire and some to be damned in fire.

As for what was said to Abraham, "Know beforehand that your seed shall be a stranger in a land not its own, and they shall reduce it to servitude and afflict it for four hundred years," this was prophesied concerning the people of Israel, who were to serve in Egypt. It does not mean that the people would remain in servitude under the afflicting Egyptians for four hundred years, since they were afflicted in Egypt for not even two hundred years. Rather, within those four hundred years what was to happen was foretold.

Similarly, it is written of Terah, Abraham's father, "The days of Terah in Haran were 205 years," not because all those years were spent there, but because they were completed there after the greater part had already passed in Ur of the Chaldeans. So too they are said to be afflicted in Egypt for four hundred years, not because that entire number of four hundred was spent in Egypt, but because it was completed there. This number of four hundred begins to be counted either from the birth of Isaac, on account of Abraham's seed, or from the beginning of this vision, which could have occurred some few years before.

§ I

The third age, therefore, begins with the birth of Abraham and lasts until David: 292 years according to the Hebrews, but 1,242 according to the seventy interpreters.

Abraham, having been led by his father Terah out of Ur of the Chaldeans, came to Haran. While he was dwelling there the Lord commanded him, saying, "Go forth from your land and from your kindred and from the house of your father, and come into the land that I shall show you," and so forth. Obedient to the Lord, he departed from Haran with his household and his nephew Lot when he was seventy-five years old, and entered the land of Canaan. The Lord appeared to him, saying, "To your seed I shall give this land," and Abraham built an altar there to the Lord.

Clement says of him in Book I: While all others were in error, Abraham, since he was an astrologer by art, was able from the reason and order of the stars to recognize the Creator; he understood that all things were governed by His providence. Hence an angel appeared to him in a vision and instructed him more fully concerning those things that he had begun to perceive. Thus Clement.

When a famine arose, Abraham went down into Egypt. Lest the Egyptians kill him so that after his death they could take Sarah as a wife because of her beauty, Abraham said that Sarah was his sister. Hence she was presented to Pharaoh so that he might take her as a wife. But the Lord struck Pharaoh with plagues, and when the cause was revealed to him he restored Sarah untouched to Abraham, as Genesis 12 relates.

In this deed Abraham did not tell a lie but reasonably concealed the truth by saying that she was his sister. At that time nieces were also customarily called sisters. In this matter Abraham gave us instruction that no one should presume to tempt his God. While one has something that one can do for oneself by wholesome counsel, one should not expect a miraculous result from God. He did what he could, says Augustine, namely by concealing the truth; what he could not do, he entrusted to God, namely by committing his wife's chastity to Him. Neither faith nor hope failed him. This is in Cause 22, question 2, *Quaeritur*.

Abraham departed from Egypt with his household and Lot and returned to dwell where he had stayed before, namely between Bethel and Ai. Since Abraham and Lot had so much wealth and so many flocks that the land could not contain them, their shepherds--that is, those of Abraham and Lot--quarreled with one another, according to Genesis 13. To avoid quarrels and disputes between them thereafter, Abraham and Lot separated from one another. Abraham gave Lot the choice of selecting whatever place of habitation pleased him, while Abraham himself would take the other place. Lot went to dwell in Sodom, but Abraham dwelt in the land of Canaan. There the Lord appeared to him again, promising that land to his seed and that He would multiply his seed like the dust of the earth.

Augustine says in Book XVI, chapter 2 of *The City of God*, that when a quarrel arose between the shepherds of the two men, they wished to avoid the fighting discord of their households. Because such are human affairs, some quarrel could thereby have arisen even between Abraham and Lot themselves. Abraham, although the elder, gave Lot the choice of selecting one of the two places proposed. Perhaps from this arose the peaceful custom among people that, when something earthly is to be divided, the elder divides and the younger chooses.

§ II

Abraham returned from the slaughter of the four kings who had fought against five kings--namely, the kings of Sodom and of the other four cities that were afterward consumed by fire and sulfur. Having defeated them, the four kings had carried away much spoil and the people of those cities, including Lot, who dwelt in Sodom, as Genesis 14 relates.

When the spoil had been wrested from them and Lot freed, Melchizedek, king of Salem and priest of the Most High God, met Abraham. Melchizedek himself offered Abraham bread and wine and blessed him, while Abraham gave him tithes from everything. When the king of Sodom came to meet Abraham and offered him everything that had been recovered except the persons, Abraham was willing to accept nothing except the shares belonging to those who had aided him in the war. Here instruction or teaching is given that it is lawful to assist one's own people when they are unjustly oppressed in war, as stated in Cause 23, question 3, section 2.

Ambrose says that, although the spoil had come under the victor's power, Abraham teaches military discipline by preserving everything for the king. He nevertheless affirms that those who had been with him as auxiliaries should receive shares of the profit as a reward for their labor. Because Abraham himself did not seek a reward for himself from man, he received one from God, as is evident from the promise God made to him after this, in Cause 23, question 5, *Dicat*. Here also is a figure of Christ, the high priest, instituting the sacrament under the species of bread and wine and offering it to the one who has victory over his enemies.

§ III

The word of the Lord came to Abraham in a vision, promising him that his steward Eliezer would not be his heir, as Abraham was piously complaining, but that his own son would be. The Lord also promised that He would multiply Abraham's seed like the innumerable stars of heaven, and Abraham believed.

When Abraham asked how he could know that his seed would possess that promised land, the Lord commanded him to take a three-year-old heifer, a three-year-old goat, a ram of three years, a turtledove, and a dove, and from these to make a sacrifice to God. When the sun was setting and Abraham had fallen asleep, it was said to him in a vision that his seed would be a stranger in a land not its own and would be subjected to servitude for four hundred years; but in the fourth generation they would return to the place where Abraham then was and would possess that land, in which there were nine peoples. This is an obscure and marvelous teaching about the mystery of the Incarnation, but it is not to be explained here.

When Sarah was barren, she gave Abraham permission to go in to the maidservant Hagar so that at least from her he might have children. When this had been done, Hagar, seeing that she had conceived, despised her mistress Sarah. When Sarah afflicted her for her pride, Hagar took flight into the desert, as Genesis 16 relates. An angel appeared to her, commanding her to return and submit to her mistress. He signified that she would bear a son whom she should call Ishmael, who would be a wild man: his hand would be against all, and the hands of all against him. Ishmael was therefore born from Hagar when Abraham was eighty-six years old, as is evident in Genesis 16. From Hagar descended the Saracens, or Hagarenes.

Here it must be noted that Abraham knew the maidservant Hagar not fornicatorily but with marital affection, that is, as a wife. At this point a distinction must be made concerning the plurality of wives whom Abraham, Jacob, and certain others had in the Old Testament. There are two ways of excusing them.

One is easy and expedient: it was never lawful for anyone to have several wives at the same time except by a special revelation or dispensation of the Holy Spirit. This is touched upon in the title *On Divorce*, *Gaudemus*. Because these patriarchs, and likewise certain others, are believed to have been dispensed by God in this matter, they did not sin.

The dispensation was granted them for two reasons. The first was so that the people of God, among whom was the worship of the true God, might be multiplied the more. For when all other nations had declined into idolatry, true knowledge of God remained only in the household of Abraham and the patriarchs who followed. Thus the worship of God was multiplied through carnal propagation.

The other reason was figurative. Hence Augustine says that not only the speech but also the life of those men was prophetic, and that the whole great kingdom of the Hebrews was a prophet, because it was the prophet of a certain great reality. Abraham's having two wives signified that Christ would join to Himself through faith both the Gentile and the Jewish nation. Jacob's having four wives signified that Christ would unite to Himself through love the nations converted from east and west, north and south. Or it signified that through the ministers of baptism are born good people from evil, evil from good, good from good, and evil from evil, as Augustine notes in Cause 32, question 4, *Recurrat*.

The other way of speaking is more difficult: before the law it was not prohibited by any divine, natural, or customary law to take several wives, provided this was done for the sake of multiplying offspring and not for satisfying lust. Because the patriarchs did so with this intention, namely to propagate offspring, they did not sin. Hence Augustine says: "Jacob is reproached for his four wives. When it was the custom"--that is, an accepted and lawful act--"it was not a crime," in Cause 22, question 4, *Obiciuntur*. Lamech, however, is not excused from adultery, because he is said to have had two wives out of lust. This matter is treated more fully below in the third part, in the title on the sacraments, in the chapter on marriage.

§ IV: Returning to the Deeds of Abraham

The Lord appeared to Abraham when he was ninety-nine years old and promised him that in that year a son would be born to him from Sarah, whom he should call Isaac. He promised to multiply his seed, so that kings would also arise from him. He gave him the name Abraham, meaning "father of many nations," whereas before he had been called Abram; and He commanded that his wife, previously called Sarai, be called Sarah. He also promised to multiply his son Ishmael, so that twelve leaders would come forth from him.

The Lord commanded that every male in Abraham's household be circumcised as a covenant between Himself and Abraham, and that an infant of eight days be circumcised, that is, on the eighth day of his birth. Abraham promptly obeyed Him by circumcising himself, Ishmael, who was thirteen years old, and all the males of his household.

Circumcision had its beginning here. It was given as a remedy for original sin, binding only the males descended from Abraham and proselytes. Why circumcision was instituted in that member, together with its rite and signification, is treated in the first part, in the title on the Mosaic law, and in the third part, in the title on the sacraments.

Afterward, while Abraham stood in the valley of Mamre at the entrance of his tent, three men--that is, three angels in human appearance--appeared to him, as Genesis 18 relates. Running to meet them and adoring, he invited them to receive hospitality. When they consented, he prepared a meal for them, first washing their feet and setting before them three measures of fine flour cooked, a calf, and milk. When the meal had been prepared, Sarah was called and a son to be born from her was promised to her.

Sarah herself remained behind the entrance of the tent and laughed at this word. The angel rebuked her for her unbelief, which she also falsely excused out of fear. When the angels departed from there toward Sodom, they foretold the judgment and destruction that would come upon those places.

When Abraham asked that the place be spared if fifty just people should be found in Sodom, pardon for the place was promised if fifty were found. Then Abraham descended to the number forty-five so that mercy might be granted for them; next he spoke of forty, afterward of thirty, after this of twenty, and finally he stopped at the number ten. It was promised him that the whole region would be spared on account of ten just people found there.

Here it should be known that Abraham's hospitality and generosity are marked out for imitation. Abraham showed himself hospitable toward everyone. If he had been a scrutinizer of those who took refuge with him, he would never have received angels as guests. Perhaps he would not have judged them to be angels, but would have repelled them with the others. But because he received everyone, he also received angels. Thus Chrysostom, in Distinction 42, *Quiescamus*. Here note the figure of the Trinity, which is to be venerated, and the mercy of God in granting pardon, which is to be marveled at.

§ V

When the two angels came toward Sodom, Lot was staying at the gates of the city, namely in order to invite the poor. On seeing them, he ran to meet them, asking and urging them to accept hospitality with him, since it was evening.

When they had entered his house, all the people of Sodom surrounded Lot's house and demanded that he bring out those young men to them, intending to abuse them. Lot offered them his two virgin daughters for them to use rather than have them inflict such an injury upon the young men received as his guests. They were unwilling to listen and were, as it were, breaking down the door. The angels brought Lot into the house and struck all those people with blindness so that they could not find the door.

The angels foretold that Sodom would be overthrown. When Lot announced this to his sons-in-law, they despised his warning. At last the angels led Lot, his wife, and his two daughters out of the city, commanding them to save themselves on the mountain and not to look back. As they proceeded, his wife looked back and was changed into a statue of salt. Fire and sulfur rained down from above upon Sodom, Gomorrah, and three other cities. They were overthrown, and the Dead Sea came into being there.

After Lot ascended the mountain and remained there, his daughters made their father drunk. The elder, lying with him while he was drunk, conceived by him and bore a son, Moab. The younger did the same, conceived by him, and bore a son whom she called Ammon.

From the punishment itself, know how detestable the sodomitical vice is; this is treated in the second part, in the title on lust. Know also that Lot, who lived chastely among the very worst people, was delivered because of his generosity and his kinship with Abraham. Yet he offered his daughters to the Sodomites imprudently and unreasonably so that they would not commit a more grievous sin, as Augustine says in Distinction 14, *Quod ait*.

Augustine says there: Whether a balancing of shameful acts, or of any sins whatever, is to be admitted, so that we commit lesser ones lest another person sin more gravely, such a balancing is to be admitted only with the greatest danger. Hence Lot's act is attributed not to counsel--that is, determinate reason--but rather to human agitation moved by so great an evil. He is therefore not to be imitated in this.

By punishing the failure of perseverance signified in Lot's wife, it is shown that remote places do not of themselves suffice to preserve anyone from sins, since Lot was just in the city but sinned on the mountain, as in Distinction 40, *Quaelibet*. That great crimes follow from drunkenness is suggested by Lot's incest, in Distinction 35, *Sexto*. His daughters are not excused from sin, although its gravity is diminished because they did this not from lust but lest the human race should fail, since they thought everyone had perished as had the people of Sodom.

Augustine says that Lot is to be blamed not to the extent merited by that incest, but to the extent merited by his drunkenness, in Cause 15, question 1, *Inebriaverunt*. Notice also that it is not safe even for a father to sleep with his daughters.

Abraham sojourned in Gerar and, when asked about Sarah, said that she was his sister, according to Genesis 20. Hence Abimelech, king of Gerar, had her brought to him so that he might take her as a wife. But in a dream the Lord threatened Abimelech that he would die because of this. Abimelech excused himself, saying that he did not know she had a husband and had therefore accepted her. At the Lord's command he restored her to Abraham. When he asked why Abraham had said that she was his sister rather than his wife, Abraham answered that it was to avoid danger of death. Abimelech gave gifts to Abraham, and when Abraham prayed for him, Abimelech, his wife, and his maidservants were healed.

§ VI

In the hundredth year of Abraham, Sarah bore him a son whom he called Isaac, and he circumcised him on the eighth day, according to Genesis 21. On the day of his weaning Abraham made a feast for him.

One day, when Sarah saw Ishmael playing with Isaac, she bore it with such distress that she said to Abraham, "Cast out the maidservant and her son, for he shall not be an heir with him." Although this seemed hard to Abraham, he was nevertheless admonished by God to acquiesce in Sarah's request. He sent Hagar out of the house with her son Ishmael, giving them loaves and a skin of water.

As Hagar wandered through the desert, their water failed, and the boy nearly succumbed to thirst. She left him under one of the trees lest she see him die. But the Lord heard the weeping boy. An angel commanded Hagar to take him up again and showed her a well of water, by which they were refreshed. Ishmael dwelt with his mother in the desert and became an archer. He took a wife from the land of Egypt. Abimelech entered into a covenant of peace with Abraham and their descendants, an oath having been sworn.

Different people expound in various ways Ishmael's playing with Isaac. Some say that he induced Isaac to adore images that he made, as though committing idolatry. Others say that he wished to lead him into wantonness. Others say that he struck him in play. From this know that the wicked persecute the good, and that the sensual appetite plays and thus persecutes the spiritual or rational appetite. Familiarity of this kind must therefore be avoided. Nevertheless, God does not abandon the wicked in their necessities.

Augustine says: In order that Ishmael might be separated from the people of God, his mother's servile condition did not harm him, but fraternal discord did. Nor did the free condition of the wife whose son he more truly was benefit him, because by her conjugal right he had been begotten in the maidservant and received from the maidservant. This is in Distinction 56.

Jerome likewise says: "He who was born according to the flesh"--that is, Ishmael--"persecuted him who was born according to the spirit," namely Isaac. The spiritual person, however, never persecutes the carnal, but spares him as a rustic brother, for he knows that he can advance in time. And if ever he sees the son of the Egyptian woman growing angry, he will remember that father who created both oxen and gnats, and that in a great house there are not only vessels of gold and silver but also of wood and earthenware. This is in Cause 23, question 4, *Qui secundum*.

§ VII

God tested Abraham, according to Genesis 22, not so that He Himself might learn Abraham's ready obedience and faith, which He did not fail to know, but so that through this trial He might make them known to the world. The Lord called him and commanded him to take with him his only-begotten son Isaac and go to the place He would show him, where he was to sacrifice that son.

Rising at once, Abraham began the journey with his son, his servants, and a donkey. They traveled continually for three days. On the third day the place, namely a certain mountain, was shown to him. He told his servants to wait with the donkey at the foot of the mountain. Abraham himself, carrying the fire and sword, ascended alone with his son, who bore the wood upon his shoulders.

There Abraham arranged the pile of wood and placed Isaac upon it. Isaac, who was already grown, bore this patiently. Abraham stretched out the sword to kill his son, but an angel called to him and prevented him. In Isaac's place he sacrificed a ram that he saw caught from behind by its horns in the thorns. The Lord swore to him that because of this obedience He would multiply his seed like the stars of heaven and the sand of the sea, and that in his seed all nations would be blessed, according to Genesis 22.

Here know that the Passion of Christ is most beautifully prefigured. Nor did Abraham tell a lie when he said, "Wait until we return to you," because, as Ambrose says, he prophesied what he did not know. He himself intended to return alone after sacrificing his son. Or, better, his faith was so great that he believed his son would be raised by God even after being slain and burned.

When Sarah died in the city of Hebron, Abraham mourned her. He bought from Ephron his field, in which there was a double cave, for four hundred shekels of silver, so that he might bury Sarah there, as Genesis 23 relates. In this deed Ephron is said to have committed simony because he sold the cave's burial place, where Adam and Eve were already said to have been buried, as in Cause 13, question 2, *Ratione illius sepulchri*. He had indeed offered it freely, but not from his heart.

Abraham, however, did not commit simony because he paid that price for the field and not for the burial place. In the same way, a person would not sin who bought an estate on which a church stood, provided he did not pay more on account of the church; and a right of patronage passes with the sale of the village in which such a right exists. This is in Cause 13, question 2, *Postquam*. Jerome says there that the man who was first called Ephron was afterward called Ephran, the letter *o* having been changed, to indicate that one who could sell the memorial of the dead, or their burial place, was not of consummate virtue.

§ VIII: How Isaac Took a Wife

When Abraham was already very old, he called the chief steward of his household, namely Eliezer, according to Genesis 24. He told him to place his hand under Abraham's thigh and swear--namely, by Christ, whom Abraham believed would be born from his thigh--that he would not take a wife for his son Isaac from the daughters of Canaan. Instead, he was to go into Mesopotamia, where Abraham's brother Nahor dwelt with his household, and take a wife for his son from among them. Eliezer swore to do this, provided that the woman whom he betrothed to Isaac was willing to come.

Then, taking camels and other necessities, he went to Mesopotamia and arrived at a certain spring. Rebecca, daughter of Bethuel and sister of Laban, came to draw water. Eliezer asked her for a drink of the water drawn in her vessel, and she immediately offered it to him and also to his camels, in accordance with the sign he had conceived. When he understood that she was Bethuel's daughter and therefore Isaac's blood relation, being the daughter of his cousin, he offered her certain ornaments.

Entering Bethuel's house, Eliezer disclosed to him the abundance of Abraham's goods, told him of Isaac, the son Abraham had by Sarah, and explained that he had been sent into those parts to procure a wife for Isaac. He asked whether they were willing for Rebecca to be betrothed to him. When they and Rebecca consented, the steward came with Rebecca to her husband Isaac. When she saw him meditating in the field from afar and understood that he was her husband, she covered herself with a cloak. Thus Isaac brought her into his house.

This betrothal signifies the betrothal between the Son of God and human nature through Gabriel, who was sent by Abraham--that is, by the Father Most High--to the Virgin. For He did not assume the angels who stand with the Father, but the seed of Abraham in a land far distant from the Father. The Virgin, found beside the waters of devotion and of the Scriptures, gave her consent after the angel spoke, and then human nature was joined to God.

The Gentile people, also figured in Rebecca, came to Christ and was made His bride through faith. Modest when shown the man, that is Christ, she descended from the camel, that is, from vices, and covered herself with garments of virtues. He loved her so greatly that He seems, as it were, to have forgotten the sorrow for His dead mother, the synagogue, which died through unbelief.

After Sarah died Abraham took another wife, Keturah, according to Genesis 25. Some say that she was Hagar. By her he had several sons. Abraham afterward distinguished Isaac from his other sons and left his inheritance to him, but gave gifts to the sons of the concubines. They are called concubines because, although they were known with marital affection, they did not have governance of the household as Sarah and others like her did. Finally, when Abraham died in the 175th year of his life, his sons Isaac and Ishmael buried him in the double cave at Hebron.

§ IX

The generations of Ishmael are described next. When Isaac at forty years old had taken Rebecca as his wife and she was barren, he prayed for her. When he was now sixty years old, the Lord granted her conception of two twins at once. When the little ones struck one another in her womb, she was saddened at this and prayed. It was revealed to her that two peoples would proceed from the twins she had conceived; they would fight, and one would overcome the other.

When the time of birth came, the first to emerge was ruddy and altogether shaggy, that is, hairy, for which reason he was called Esau. The other, coming forth, held the sole of his brother's foot as though wishing to emerge first, for which reason he was called Jacob.

Esau was a hunter loved by his father, because his father frequently ate from his hunting. Jacob, who remained quietly at home, was loved more by his mother. One day Esau returned weary from the field when Jacob had cooked a dish of lentils. Esau asked him for some of that red food. Jacob answered that Esau should sell him his birthright in exchange for such a dish, which Esau did, holding his birthright of little account.

Because the right of primogeniture was spiritual, Esau committed simony by selling it, but Jacob did not commit simony by giving the food, because he redeemed himself from harassment when that right had been given him by God. Esau was overcome more by the vice of gluttony than by necessity. It is also shown that one predestined by God is aided in all things, as in Cause 13, question 4, *Obtineri*.

Abraham took a wife when decrepit, as Augustine says. From this it is shown that after one's wife has died it is lawful to marry another even if one is old, as in Cause 32, question 4, chapter 1. It also signifies that, when the synagogue was dead, God betrothed the Gentile people to Himself.

When a famine arose, Isaac went down to Gerar. The Lord commanded him not to go down into Egypt and confirmed the promises He had made to his father Abraham concerning the possession of that land by his seed, the multiplication of his seed, and the blessing of all nations in him.

Isaac had said that Rebecca was his sister. One day, when Abimelech, king of Gerar, saw through a window Isaac playing with Rebecca, he understood that she was his wife. He complained to Isaac and commanded that no one should touch her under penalty of death.

Afterward Isaac had wells dug to obtain water, but the Philistines stopped them up several times. When he came to Beersheba, the Lord appeared to him there and confirmed the promises made to his father. Isaac erected an altar to the Lord and dwelt there. Abimelech made a covenant of peace with him.

Digging wells to find living water signifies holy men using their senses and deeds as servants to remove earthly desires from themselves so that they may reach the increasing waters of grace. Or it signifies searching beneath the surface of the letter of the Scriptures for the water of wisdom contained in the divine mysteries. Philistines impede both works through various temptations: demons, heretics, and depraved people.

But the just ought not to abandon good works already begun because of temptations or human persecutions. By continuing, they find what they desire. At last the quarrels of demons or people cease, and sometimes the human attackers themselves are brought back to friendship with the Church and the good. This is in Distinction 43, *Scimus*.

When Isaac had grown old and his eyes had become dim, according to Genesis 27, he told Esau to bring him food from the hunt so that Isaac might give him his final blessing. When Esau had gone to hunt, Rebecca instructed Jacob to pretend that he was Esau by wrapping his hands and neck in the skins of kids. She told him to bring his father cooked food, namely the kids, so that he might receive the blessing in Esau's place.

Jacob did so. Bringing Isaac the cooked food and saying that he was Esau, his firstborn, he gave it to him to eat; and when Isaac had eaten, he gave Jacob his blessing. Afterward Esau came with the game prepared and discovered the deception his brother had practiced upon him. Isaac, however, perceived the pious deception and that this had been done by God as a sign. He was not

disturbed but confirmed what he had done. Yet when Esau sought a blessing with much weeping, Isaac blessed him also. Because of this Esau threatened to kill his brother Jacob, and Rebecca therefore persuaded Jacob to depart.

Many mysteries and moral teachings must be noted here. First, Jacob did not tell a lie by saying that he was Esau, according to the doctors, because he was Esau not in person but by the right of primogeniture. In the same way John was called Elijah by Christ, not in person but through similarity of conduct, as in Cause 22, question 2, § *Item opponitur*.

This right of primogeniture was spiritual, because such persons, namely the firstborn, were regarded as priests. This right consisted of six things: the priestly garment; the offering of sacrifices; receiving the father's final blessing; the blessing by which the firstborn blessed others at solemnities and banquets; receiving a double portion; and being lord over the others.

Jacob did not sin by using such a deception, because the right was owed to him. Nor did Rebecca sin by inducing him to it, because she is believed to have been inspired by God to do this. It signified that the Gentile people, as the younger son of God, would obtain the blessing of eternal salvation rather than the Jewish people, the elder son.

At this time the kingdom of the Argives arose under Inachus, its first king. It endured through fourteen kings until the time of the judges of Israel, Barak and Deborah. Then Perseus, fearing because he had killed Acrisius unintentionally, left Argos and transferred the kingdom to Mycenae. Afterward Eurystheus, Atreus, and others reigned there.

In these times, according to the Master of the *Scholastic History*, Phoroneus, son of Inachus and Niobe, first gave laws to Greece. He established that cases should be conducted before a judge, and from his own name they called the place designated for the judge *phorus*.

His sister Isis sailed to Egypt and gave its people certain characters of letters. She also taught them many things about agriculture. Although she was called Io, she was called Isis by them, a word that in their language signifies earth. For this reason she was received among the number of the gods in Egypt after her death. A son of Phoroneus called Apis also sailed to Egypt at that time. They indeed relate that this Apis, son of Phoroneus, was the husband of Isis. He was similarly deified by the Egyptians.

At that time also, beside Lake Tritonis, there appeared a virgin whom the Greeks called Minerva. She invented many arts, especially wool-working. She was also called Pallas, either from Pallene, an island of Thrace where she was reared, or from the giant Pallas whom she killed. At that time what is said in Hosea could deservedly have been spoken: "There is no knowledge in the land," since almost all nations except the household of Abraham were ignorant of the true God.

Chapter Two: The Deeds of Jacob

At his mother's request Jacob departed to avoid the wrath of his brother Esau, lest his brother kill him. His father also commanded him to go into Mesopotamia of Syria and take a wife there from the household of Bethuel, Rebecca's brother. Having received his father's blessing, he began the journey.

When Esau saw that it displeased his parents that he had taken wives from the daughters of Canaan, he took another wife, namely a daughter of Ishmael, son of Abraham. Jacob, proceeding into Mesopotamia, lay down to sleep at Bethel when evening came, placing a stone under his head.

In a dream he saw a ladder reaching to heaven and the Lord leaning upon its top. From there the Lord spoke to him, promising that land to his seed and that in his seed all the tribes of the earth would be blessed. He also saw angels ascending and descending by that ladder. Awakening and amazed at the vision, he said, "Truly this place is holy," and so forth. He anointed that stone and erected it as a monument, calling that place Luz; and he vowed a vow to the Lord that he would give tithes if he returned prosperously to his home.

The ladder Jacob saw, upon the top of which God leaned, signifies the humanity of Christ, to which the divinity was united as to something preeminent. Its two sides are soul and body. Its steps are the works of Christ: His teaching, miracles, virtuous conduct, and Passion. By imitating them we ascend to God.

The angels ascend by carrying up our vows, that is, by consulting the divine will concerning the things to be done among us. They descend by bringing us assistance and gifts according as they have received them from God. The fathers understood this and still understand it.

Morally, the ladder is penance. Its sides are fear and hope. Its steps are the parts of penance: contrition, confession, satisfaction--namely prayer, fasting, almsgiving, restitution, and the like. By this ladder one ascends to heaven. God stands at the summit to help, strengthen, and encourage one toward it. The angels, who are preachers, ascend by showing its usefulness, and so forth.

Jacob afterward came to Haran, or Mesopotamia, beside a certain well. Shepherds gathered there would remove the stone that closed it and water their flocks. When Jacob inquired, they told him that Laban was well and that his daughter Rachel was coming

to the well with the flock. Seeing her, Jacob kissed her with tears, declared himself to be Rebecca's son, removed the stone from the well, and watered her flock.

Rachel hurried to announce him to her father. Laban went out to meet Jacob, brought him into his house, and, after the reasons for his journey had been related, retained him in the house to feed his flock. Jacob served him by guarding the flocks for seven years so that Laban would give him Rachel as his wife, for she was beautiful-eyed.

When the seven years were completed and Jacob asked that Rachel be given to him, Laban celebrated the wedding but brought Leah to him. When Jacob perceived this in the morning and complained, Laban answered that it was the custom of that country for elder daughters to be given in marriage first. Nevertheless, after the week he would also give Rachel to him as a wife in return for another seven years of service. This was done.

Leah was blear-eyed, and so Jacob preferred the love of Rachel to her. Yet Leah successively conceived four sons by him--Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Judah--while Rachel remained barren.

Rachel, seeing herself infertile and envying her sister, according to Genesis 30, gave Jacob her maidservant named Bilhah so that he might go in to her. By knowing her he had two sons, Dan and Naphtali. Leah, seeing that she had ceased to conceive further, likewise gave Jacob her maidservant Zilpah so that he might go in to her. By her he had two sons, Gad and Asher.

Reuben found mandrakes in the field and brought them to his mother Leah. Leah gave them to Rachel when she asked for them, under this agreement: that Jacob should sleep with Leah the following night. Hence Leah successively bore him two other sons, Issachar and Zebulun. She then bore one female whom she called Dinah. At last Rachel conceived and bore Joseph, whom Jacob loved above all.

After Joseph's birth Jacob sought permission from his father-in-law Laban to return to his father's house. Laban asked him to remain with him, naming his wages. Jacob consented on this agreement: he himself would pasture only the flocks of one color, whether white or black, and whatever spotted or vari-colored offspring they bore would be his wages, while the offspring of one color would belong to Laban. This was done.

By his industry Jacob discovered a new means for his flocks of one color to conceive vari-colored and spotted offspring. He took green rods of poplar and almond, partly stripped of bark so that they were of varied colors--white and black or gray--and placed them in the watering troughs. Thus when the sheep looked at the rods of varied color in the troughs while conceiving from the rams, they bore sheep of varied color. In this way Jacob became very rich.

According to Origen, Jacob's leaving his parents, homeland, and wealth and finding the most beautiful bride Rachel beside the waters signifies that the man who supplants vices, after abandoning worldly things, takes wisdom as his bride by devoting himself to the teachings of the Scriptures. According to Gregory in Book VI of the *Moralia*, Jacob's having two wives after laboring sufficiently for them signifies that the perfect man associates with himself the twofold kind of life.

The contemplative life is signified by Rachel, who was beautiful-eyed but barren of children, because the contemplative life beholds God more subtly and clearly but does not bear fruit in one's neighbors. Leah, who was fruitful with seven children, signifies the active life, which devotes itself to the seven works of mercy and thus bears fruit in one's neighbors, but contemplates God less. Hence Leah was blear-eyed.

Although Jacob first sought Rachel, he nevertheless had Leah first, because no one can exercise himself well in the contemplative life unless he has first devoted himself to the active life by mortifying the passions of the vices. How Jacob is excused for having four wives is treated in Cause 32, question 4, *Obiciuntur* and *Recurrat*, and was stated above concerning Abraham.

Concerning the belief that mandrakes possess the power to make women conceive, Augustine says that it is not true. Nicholas of Lyra says that they are certain fragrant fruits.

Jacob did not sin by using that device of placing peeled rods in the troughs so that the flock would conceive varied offspring. Laban had burdened and injured him in many things and had altered their agreements, and so Jacob justly did this in compensation for them.

The Master says that it is not marvelous for offspring to be made similar to an image seen at the climax of pleasure, since this very thing is said to happen among herds of horses in Spain. Jerome and Quintilian likewise defended a matron accused because she had borne an Ethiopian child by arguing that this had occurred because of an image she saw. In the books of Hippocrates it is found that a woman was to be punished because she had borne a most beautiful child unlike either parent and their entire family, until Hippocrates advised them to ask whether by chance such an image was in the bedchamber.

Jacob as a shepherd of sheep signifies prelates and doctors, who ought diligently to watch over the flocks entrusted to them. So that the sheep--that is, their subjects--may bear offspring of varied color, namely works of diverse virtues, they ought to place rods in the waters of teaching: that is, the sayings and examples of the fathers, partly stripped of bark and partly green. This means partly

according to the letter and partly, with the surface of the letter removed, according to the spiritual sense. Thus the subjects conceive when these things are proposed and afterward, by working, bear diverse works of virtue.

§ I

When Jacob had become rich in this way, he perceived that Laban and his sons were indignant against him and murmured about the increase of his substance, according to Genesis 31. He called his wives into the field and explained his intention to return to his parents, both because Laban had treated him badly and because God had commanded it in a dream.

When they consented, Jacob secretly departed with his wives, children, and all his substance while Laban was ignorant of it. When Laban heard this on the third day, he pursued them with his people. He found Jacob on Mount Gilead and complained about the flight, and especially about his idols, which Rachel had stolen without Jacob's knowledge. Jacob answered by giving as his reason that Laban might otherwise have retained his household and property. He denied the theft and permitted Laban to search. Laban searched the tents, but did not find the idols because Rachel sat upon the saddle beneath which they were hidden. At last, after entering into a covenant with Jacob, Laban returned home and Jacob continued his journey.

Laban and his people pursuing Jacob with his wives and children so that they might seize them and bring them back signifies the persecution of the faithful by unbelievers because they have withdrawn from the rites of their fathers; the unbelievers seek to bring them back to their former ways. After many things God so terrified them that they could not prevail. Instead, they became benevolent, whether through conversion or at least through peaceful relations with Jews and pagans after idolatry had been taken away from the Gentile people.

On the journey Jacob encountered angels of God and said, "These are the camps of God." He sent messengers to his brother Esau to announce his return, according to Genesis 32. When the messengers returned and reported that Esau was approaching him with four hundred men, Jacob was greatly afraid and prayed that God would deliver him from Esau's hands.

He sent gifts ahead to Esau to appease his anger: flocks of sheep with rams, goats with he-goats, cows with bulls, camels, and asses, by several messengers. When he had caused all these to precede him, he remained alone. Behold, a man wrestled with him, that is, an angel in human form. When Jacob prevailed, the angel struck the sinew of his thigh, which immediately became numb so that Jacob afterward limped. The angel called his name Israel and blessed him. Jacob said, "I have seen the Lord face to face, and my soul has been saved."

Jacob's saying that he saw the Lord face to face is not to be understood of the face-to-face vision of the heavenly homeland. Rather, in a creature serving as subject, namely the angel, he knew God by a knowledge clearer than the ordinary knowledge that comes through faith. This wrestling also signifies the mystery of the Incarnation, in which the two natures are joined as wrestlers. At one time one seemed to prevail--that is, to be manifested more than the other--as did the human nature in the necessities of the body. At another time the divine nature was more manifest, as in the miracles. Finally the human nature prevailed in the Passion, where even God was seen to suffer.

As Jacob continued on his way, he raised his eyes and saw Esau coming with his people, according to Genesis 33. He made three companies from his household: in the first place he put the maidservants with their children; in the second Leah with her children; in the third Rachel with Joseph. Going before them, Jacob bowed prone to the earth seven times. At last the brothers embraced and kissed one another.

When Esau asked whose all that company was, Jacob answered that it was his. Jacob urged him to accept the gifts he had sent. Although Esau refused, Jacob said that he had seen him as the face of God. When Esau wished Jacob to travel with him, Jacob declined, excusing himself because of the little children and the sheep. Jacob therefore came with his household to dwell near Shechem and invoked the Lord there.

Dinah, Jacob's daughter, went out to see the women of the region. She was loved by Shechem, son of Hamor, seized, and violated by force, according to Genesis 34. Afterward Shechem asked Jacob and his sons to give her to him as a wife. They answered deceitfully that they could not do this unless all the males of that city were circumcised, after which they could contract marriages with one another.

When the men consented and every male had been circumcised, on the third day, when the pain of the wounds was most severe, Jacob's sons Simeon and Levi took their swords and killed all the men of that city. They also killed Shechem and his father and plundered everything in revenge for the rape. Jacob bore this with distress.

Dinah's going out from the house to see the women of the region and being violated shows the danger that follows from people's wandering and curiosity, as in the title on penance, Distinction 5, chapter 1. Morally, she signifies the soul that wanders outside the house of its own conscience toward created things. Because of this it is seized by the devil and held by him through delight and the excuse of sin. It is not freed unless the sons of Jacob--that is, the virile effects of the soul--wrest it from his hand by a certain violence, killing him with his household, that is, expelling sin through penance.

After this, Jacob admonished his household to cast away their idols and be cleansed.

Departing from there, Jacob came to Bethel, according to Genesis 35. The Lord cast fear upon all the inhabitants of those regions so that no one dared inflict any injury upon him. The Lord appeared to him there and confirmed the promises made to his fathers concerning the multiplication of his seed and the grant of that land. Jacob also made an altar there.

Coming from there to Ephrath, Rachel died in the birth of her second son. She called him Benoni, but his father called him Benjamin. Reuben went in to his father's concubine Bilhah, which his father afterward learned. At last Jacob came to his father Isaac at Hebron, where he dwelt. When Isaac died at the age of 180, his sons Esau and Jacob buried him in the double cave.

At that time Prometheus, brother of Atlas, is said to have been the first to make human beings, as the Master says. This is because he made learned people out of the ignorant, and also because he is read to have made certain images that he caused to walk by a certain art. He also invented the first iron ring and enclosed a gem in it. He taught that it should be worn as an ornament on the fourth finger, which they call the medical finger, saying that this finger was worthier than the others because a vein reaches from it to the heart.

Triptolemus is also said to have come into Greece and enlarged agriculture, while Ceres invented implements for plowing and measuring grain. Then the Telchines, defeated and exiled, founded Rhodes.

Genesis 36 contains the generations of Esau that descended from him, and the leaders and kings who continued for many ages. It says that Esau departed from Jacob in Canaan because that land could not contain them on account of the multitude of both men's flocks. He went to dwell with his household on Mount Seir. It also says that a certain descendant of his called Onan discovered hot waters in the desert--that is, baths--while pasturing his father's asses.

Chapter Three: The Deeds of Joseph, Son of Jacob

When Joseph was sixteen years old, he pastured the flock with his brothers and accused them before their father of a most wicked crime. Some say this was bestiality or sodomy, but Nicholas of Lyra says it was discord and quarreling among the brothers, especially because the others despised the sons of the concubines.

Jacob loved Joseph above all because he had begotten him in old age and because Joseph was better than the others. For this reason he made him a many-colored tunic reaching to the ankles. His brothers hated him. When he told them his dream about their sheaves adoring his, and on another day about the sun, moon, and eleven stars adoring him, this increased the hatred among his brothers still more.

One day Jacob sent him to visit his brothers at Shechem and see whether they were well. Obeying promptly, Joseph went there. When he did not find them and was told that they had gone to Dothan, he sought them there. But when his brothers saw him from afar, they thought of killing him from hatred, saying, "Behold, the dreamer comes," and so forth, according to Genesis 37.

At Reuben's persuasion, who intended to deliver him from their hands, they stripped Joseph of his tunic and cast him into a dry cistern. When Ishmaelites passed by, the brothers drew him from the cistern and sold him for thirty pieces of silver to the Ishmaelite merchants passing there, while Reuben was absent and Judah urged them on.

This signifies the mystery of Christ. Begotten--that is, created--by the Father according to His humanity in old age, that is, in the sixth age of the world, He was loved by the Father above all others and adorned with a special habit of every virtue as with a garment. He lived among His brothers, the Jews, whose crimes He reproved. By His words He showed them that He would have a certain dominion over them, so that at the name of Jesus every knee should bend. They envied and hated Him and sought to kill Him.

Yet certain men, such as Nicodemus and Joseph, contradicted their deeds; these are signified in Reuben. Finally they sold Him for thirty pieces of silver through the agency of Judah, His brother--that is, His apostle. He was afterward delivered to a false accusation by the synagogue signified in the woman, because He would not consent to her false traditions, as though He had wished to violate her in her laws and subject her to Himself.

The Gentile ruler, who was as the husband of that synagogue--that is, one ruling over her--or the chief of the priests, became angry against Him and delivered Him into prison, that is, into death. From death His soul descended to the prison of limbo. There He manifested that one guilty person would be freed and restored before Pharaoh--namely the fathers delivered from limbo--and the other would be condemned more harshly, namely those assigned to the place of the damned, who at the future judgment are to be tormented in soul and body. This came to pass.

Then Joseph's head was shorn and his garments changed. This signifies Christ with the defects of mortality removed and clothed in the new garment of His body's glory at the Resurrection. His wisdom was shown through the preaching of the apostles, and He was declared and proclaimed Savior of the world by the king of Egypt--that is, by God, the Lord of the world. He distributed the grain of

teaching to those who desired truth. Finally, at the end of the world, His brothers, namely the Jews, will themselves come, recognize Him, and adore Him.

To conceal their crime, Joseph's brothers sent their father Jacob Joseph's tunic dyed in the blood of a kid so that he might see whether it was Joseph's tunic. Recognizing it and thinking Joseph had been devoured by a wild beast, Jacob wept much and for a long time.

Joseph was sold to Potiphar, a eunuch and master of Pharaoh's army. Potiphar is not called a eunuch because he had been castrated in infancy, as were the eunuchs of lords, since he had a wife and children. Rather, the Hebrews say that he bought the beautiful and graceful Joseph for an immoral use, for which reason the Lord chilled him so that he could not have intercourse, as though he were a eunuch. He afterward became priest of Heliopolis.

Augustine says in Cause 1, question 1: "As the man who bought Joseph was a eunuch, so one who buys grace has no living seed, for his generative parts are dried up." He means that because Joseph is interpreted as "increase," signifying grace, in which there is an increase of merits, one who buys sacred things in which grace exists commits simony, which is mortal. He therefore cannot beget children of good works, since the root of grace has dried up.

Judah, Jacob's son, took as wife Sue, daughter of Hirah, a Canaanite man, according to Genesis 38. By her he had three sons: Er, Onan, and Shelah. Judah gave his firstborn son Er a wife named Tamar. Because Er was wicked, he was killed by the Lord. Judah then gave Tamar as wife to Onan so that he might raise up seed for his brother, who had died without children. Because Onan was most wicked and spilled his seed upon the ground, he too was killed by the Lord.

Judah delayed giving Tamar as wife to Shelah, fearing that he too might die. When Judah's wife Sue had died and Tamar heard that her father-in-law was going to his flocks, she placed herself upon the road by which he would pass, pretending to be a prostitute. Judah knew her, not knowing that she was his daughter-in-law. Tamar conceived by him and bore Perez and Zerah.

When, after some months, it became known that Tamar was pregnant, Judah commanded that she be brought forth and burned as a fornicator. But by signs--the ring and bracelets he had left with her--she showed that she had conceived by him. Judah therefore held her excused because he had delayed giving Shelah to her as a husband, and he knew her no further.

§ I

When Joseph had been sold into Egypt, Potiphar made him steward and governor of everything he possessed, for Joseph had his favor and provided for everything rightly; because of him the Lord prospered all Potiphar's affairs, according to Genesis 39.

Since Joseph was beautiful, his mistress fell in love with him and invited him several times to adultery, which he refused. One day, when Joseph alone was doing something in the house, she seized him by his cloak so that he would sleep with her. Refusing, he fled from the house. That most wicked woman retained the cloak, called the servants, and said that Joseph had wished to violate her by force. When her husband returned home and she falsely accused Joseph of this, Potiphar became angry and sent him to prison. The Lord gave Joseph favor before the chief of the prison, who entrusted the care of the prisoners to him.

Note that in the *Book of the Twelve Patriarchs* there are many devices by which that woman tried to draw Joseph to the unspeakable deed: spells; promises to take him as a husband and to kill her husband; threats to kill herself; and other means.

While Joseph was held in prison, according to Genesis 40, two eunuchs of King Pharaoh--the king's cupbearer and baker--were imprisoned because of a certain offense. One night each had a different dream. The cupbearer saw a vine from which three branches came forth bearing fruit, and he seemed to press grapes into a cup and offer it to Pharaoh. The baker saw three baskets full of things made by the baker's art, which birds seemed to eat. Joseph explained that after three days the cupbearer would be restored to his office and the baker would be hanged. All this was fulfilled.

After this Pharaoh saw in a dream seven fat cattle emerge from the river of Egypt and feed in the marshes, and afterward seven other lean cattle that devoured the first, according to Genesis 41. Again he saw another dream: seven beautiful ears of grain upon one stalk, and afterward seven other deformed ears blasted by scorching wind.

In the morning Pharaoh called the wise men of Egypt to interpret these dreams, but they did not know how. At last the cupbearer, whose dream Joseph had truly interpreted in prison, remembered him and made him known to Pharaoh. At Pharaoh's command Joseph was brought from prison, shorn, and adorned, and Pharaoh asked him for the interpretation of the dreams.

Joseph explained that each signified one effect: seven coming years of great fertility and afterward seven others of greatest scarcity. He advised the king to appoint an industrious man over this matter who, during the time of fertility, would place one-fifth of the grain each year into the king's granaries so that provision could be made when the time of famine came.

Pharaoh accepted this counsel and appointed Joseph over the matter. He gave him a ring upon his hand, a linen robe, and a collar around his neck. He caused him to travel throughout Egypt with a herald going before him and crying out that everyone should bend the knee before him. Pharaoh called his name Savior of the World. He gave him as wife Asenath, daughter of Potiphar, priest

of Heliopolis, by whom he had two sons, Manasseh and Ephraim. When the seven years of fertility had passed and the years of famine had begun, Joseph began to sell the abundant grain he had gathered.

Vincent places here in the *Historical Mirror* a beautiful story, drawn from I know not where, about how Asenath was most beautiful and honorable but proud, despising every man. At first she did not want Joseph, but afterward she most greatly desired to have him as her husband because of his beauty, wisdom, and modesty. He would not consent unless she first abandoned the idols she worshiped. Saddened at this, she was instructed by an angel and became faithful.

When Jacob heard that grain was being sold in Egypt, he sent ten of his sons to buy it, retaining Benjamin with him, according to Genesis 42. They entered the land of Egypt and appeared before Joseph. He recognized them, but they did not recognize him. He began to speak harshly to them and accused them of having come to spy out the land.

Speaking among themselves, they said that this tribulation had befallen them because of what they had done in selling their brother. At last Joseph required one of them, Simeon, to remain a captive until they returned with Benjamin. When they returned home, they told their father everything that had happened to them. They explained how Joseph had questioned them and how they had answered each matter, especially concerning their father and their young brother who had remained with him, and that they were required to bring Benjamin with them when they returned.

When the grain brought from Egypt had been consumed and Jacob commanded his sons to go into Egypt again to buy more, according to Genesis 43, they refused unless he sent Benjamin with them. Jacob feared that some misfortune might happen to him on the journey, but Judah took upon himself the obligation of bringing him back.

At Jacob's command they took certain gifts from the best fruits of the land to offer Joseph. All of them went, including Benjamin, and presented themselves before Joseph. He had them brought into the house and a banquet prepared. They feared that he might bring an accusation against them because of the money returned in their sacks, and so they disclosed that it had been returned and brought other money. But they were reassured and told not to fear.

When Joseph entered the place where they were waiting, they offered the gifts and adored him. Asked about their father, they answered that he was well and that Benjamin, the young boy of whom they had spoken, was present. Joseph then ate with them and gave Benjamin a portion five times larger, according to Genesis 44.

When the banquet was finished, Joseph ordered that each man's sack be filled with grain and that the money they had brought be placed in the mouths of the sacks. He ordered his own silver cup to be secretly placed in Benjamin's sack. When this had been done and they had departed, Joseph soon sent his steward after them. On finding them, the steward rebuked them for stealing his cup.

When he had done this and they excused themselves, denying the deed, they freely offered that the one with whom it was found should be killed and that they themselves should become servants. A search was therefore made. When all the sacks had been opened, it was found in Benjamin's sack. Grieving greatly, they all returned together to Joseph's presence.

Joseph rebuked them for taking away the cup in which he practiced divination. According to Augustine, he said this not deceitfully but in jest, or according to the opinion of the common people. Judah, who had undertaken to bring Benjamin back, spoke many things in that cause. He asked Joseph to let Benjamin go free, lest their father die of grief when he did not return, and to allow Judah himself to remain Joseph's servant in his place.

At last Joseph could contain himself no longer. After excluding the others, with many tears he revealed, according to Genesis 45, that he was Joseph whom they had sold. When he asked about his father, they could not answer because of their great fear. But he comforted them, saying, "Do not be afraid, and let it not seem hard to you that you sold me into Egypt. For the Lord sent me before you into Egypt for your salvation, that you might be preserved and not perish from famine."

"For there are still five years to come in which the famine will endure. Return, therefore, and announce my glory to my father Jacob. Say to him on my behalf that he should come into Egypt with his whole household, and I shall feed you."

When Pharaoh heard that Joseph's brothers had come, he rejoiced with his whole household and told Joseph to send for them as he pleased. Joseph therefore sent wagons and many pack animals by which their possessions and the provisions for the household might be brought. He gave them robes, and gave more to Benjamin. When they returned and announced this to Jacob, he could scarcely believe, like one waking from sleep. He said, "I shall go and see my son before I die," according to Genesis 46.

Jacob therefore departed from Canaan with his entire household. When he came to the Well of the Oath, he offered a sacrifice to God. In a dream Isaac called him and comforted him so that he would not fear to descend into Egypt, because there he was to be multiplied into a great nation.

Those begotten from Jacob and his sons who descended into Egypt are also described. They were seventy in all, apart from the women: twelve were Jacob's own sons, while the others were his sons' sons, and the names of each are given. Jacob sent Judah ahead to announce his arrival so that Joseph might meet him in Goshen. When they met, Jacob embraced Joseph, wept over him, and said, "Now I shall die joyful, because I have seen your face."

Joseph made his brothers cautious so that, when he announced their arrival to Pharaoh, if they were asked about their work or occupation, they should say that they were shepherds. In this way they could dwell in the land of Goshen.

Joseph therefore informed Pharaoh of the arrival of his father and brothers, according to Genesis 47, and brought them all before him. When Pharaoh asked about their occupation, they said that they were shepherds and asked that he permit them to dwell in the land of Goshen. Pharaoh told Joseph to cause them to dwell there. When Jacob was asked by Pharaoh about his age, he said that he was 130 years old. Thus they were settled in Goshen.

As the famine continued throughout the world, and especially in Egypt and Canaan, the Egyptians first expended all their money as the price of wheat in order to obtain it. Afterward Joseph accepted their livestock as the price of wheat. Then they gave their lands and received wheat for seed, but on this condition: thereafter, each year and perpetually, they would give a fifth part of the fruits of all the lands of Egypt. The land of the priests was excepted and remained free, although they too were provided for from Pharaoh's grain.

When Jacob fell ill, Joseph visited him, taking with him his two sons born of Asenath, according to Genesis 48. Jacob told Joseph that when the Lord appeared to him at Luz, He had promised to multiply his seed and give him the land of Canaan as a possession. He said that Joseph's two sons, Manasseh and Ephraim, should be counted among Jacob's sons, so that they would form tribes and receive their portion in the promised land like Jacob's other sons. He also told Joseph that Jacob's wife and Joseph's mother had died and been buried near Ephrath, or Bethlehem.

When Jacob wished to bless Joseph's sons and could no longer see, Joseph placed Manasseh, as the elder, at Jacob's right, and the younger Ephraim at his left. But Jacob crossed his hands, placing the right upon the younger's head and the left upon the other. When Joseph wished to change his hands, thinking this had happened by mistake, Jacob prevented him, saying that he knew what he was doing, and blessed them. He left Joseph one portion above his other sons, which he had taken from the hand of the Amorite.

At last Jacob assembled his twelve sons and foretold what would happen to them in the last times, according to Genesis 49, speaking particular things to each son. Especially when he blessed Judah, from whose tribe Christ was born, he foretold the time of the Messiah's--that is, Christ's--coming in the words, "The scepter shall not be taken away from Judah," and so forth. Finally, he commanded them to bury his body at Hebron in the double cave where Abraham and Isaac were buried. Thus he died.

§ II

After mourning the death of his father Jacob, Joseph had his body embalmed with spices by the physicians. With Pharaoh's permission, he and his brothers carried it into Canaan to be buried in the double sepulcher.

After this, Joseph's brothers feared that he might wish to avenge himself for the injury they had inflicted upon him, namely by selling him. Adoring him, they asked on their father's behalf that he forgive them that offense. Receiving them kindly with tears, Joseph reassured them. He said that this had happened by the Lord's will in order to preserve them and many peoples from famine, and that God had converted their evil into good.

Finally Joseph died after completing 120 years of his life, commanding that his body be carried into Canaan when they departed from Egypt. These things are in Genesis 50.

According to Vincent in the *Historical Mirror*, Joseph died in the eightieth year of his leadership in Egypt, for he was thirty years old when he was made governor in Egypt, first after Pharaoh. It was the 287th year from the first promise made to Abraham in Mesopotamia; the 361st year from Abraham's birth, at which the third age begins; and the year 2,209 from the beginning of the world according to the reckoning of our translation. According to the seventy interpreters, however, there are three thousand years and more.

According to Josephus, all Joseph's brothers likewise commanded that they be buried in the land of Canaan, and there they were buried. Vincent places in his history the testaments of the twelve patriarchs.

Joseph was prince of Egypt under five kings. The first, who exalted him, is called simply Pharaoh, although the Master calls him Nephrem. The second was called Amosis; the third, Chebron; the fourth, Amenophes; and the fifth, Mephres. Joseph died in the ninth year of this Mephres.

After Joseph's death Mephres became hostile toward the Hebrews and began to afflict them. Then began their hard servitude in Egypt, which was prolonged for 144 years until the giving of the law, so that the number of 430 years from the first promise made to Abraham might be fulfilled. The Lord had then said to him, "Go forth from your land," and so forth. To this is referred what the Apostle says in Galatians 4, namely that the law was given after 430 years.

Mephres, therefore, forgetful of Joseph's benefits, together with his Egyptian people began to afflict the Hebrews in many ways. First they oppressed them with hard works of mud and brick: they had to remove mud from the streets and roads in cleansing the city, bake bricks and build a city of tabernacles, and divide the river through many channels.

They burdened the Hebrews so that, broken by their labors, they would not know their wives and beget children, for the Egyptians envied their multiplication, wealth, and industry. But by God's working the Hebrews multiplied more every day.

For this reason another kind of wickedness was introduced for their extermination. Mephres commanded the Hebrew midwives, Shiphrah and Puah, to kill the males in the performance of their office but preserve the females. Led by piety, they did not do this, although they excused themselves falsely before Pharaoh.

He added another most cruel invention. Under penalty of death, he commanded that when Hebrew women bore males they should cast them into the river, while preserving the females, lest that people, fit for war, be multiplied. These things are in Exodus 1.

Because many little children were drowned in the river on account of that decree, the Master says it is believed that, for this crime, Egypt fell into the error of worshiping Apis as a god. Apis was, as Pliny says he himself saw, a certain bull that unexpectedly emerged from that river, bearing upon his right shoulder a white mark in the likeness of a horned moon. When it appeared, either once a year or, according to others, once in ten years, all the Egyptians assembled with diverse kinds of music and adored it. On that same day it vanished.

Augustine says in *The City of God* that Apis was the son of Phoroneus, king of the Argives. Coming by ship into Egypt, he took the kingdom for himself. After his death they venerated him as a god, a public edict having been issued that anyone who said he had been a human being should be killed. In his honor they reared and venerated an ox. The Egyptians worshiped this Apis as their greatest god and also called him Serapis.

Chapter Four: Moses

Moses was born in Egypt 424 years after the birth of Abraham, where the third age begins. He was of the tribe of Levi, born of his father Amram and his mother Jochebed, while Amenophis, the eighth Pharaoh after the one who exalted Joseph, reigned in Egypt. This Amenophis had issued the decree that newborn males should be drowned in the river, according to Exodus 1.

Because of that decree, Josephus says that Amram abstained from marriage lest he beget offspring whom he would have to kill. But it was revealed to him that he should not do this, for he would beget a male who would humble the Egyptians. He therefore knew his wife, and she bore Moses, who was of graceful form. After hiding him for three months, she placed him in a little basket and exposed him upon the river, while his sister Miriam watched what would happen to him.

Pharaoh's daughter came out to the river, had the basket she saw brought to her, and adopted the little child found in it as her son. She gave him to his own mother, that is, the child's mother, to be nursed, according to Exodus 2.

Vincent relates in Book III of the *Historical Mirror* that one day King Pharaoh held Moses in his lap or arms and placed upon the infant's head the crown he wore upon his own. The little child Moses cast it to the ground, and it broke. Certain people interpreted this as an evil omen, namely as a sign that the child would one day take away or destroy Pharaoh's kingdom, and wished to kill him.

But others attributed the deed to the ignorance of infancy. So that the truth of the matter might become more apparent, they had burning coals brought before the child in a vessel. He took one live coal, put it into his mouth, and spat it out. Hence Moses is said to have become speechless or somewhat stammering. Attributing the earlier deed to childhood for this reason, they did not kill him.

Josephus says that Moses was of such beauty that no one was so severe that he did not become gentle at the sight of him, and that people left their work to look at him as he passed.

Vincent's history also relates of Moses that, after becoming a young man and commander of the Egyptian army, he went to war against the Ethiopians, who had caused great devastation in Egypt. Being warlike and most skilled in arms, he defeated them and enclosed those who fled in their royal city Saba.

Tharbis, daughter of the king of the Ethiopians, saw Moses' beauty and fell in love with him. She offered to give him the city if he would take her as his wife. He did so, because the city was impregnable. She is said to be the Ethiopian woman on whose account Miriam and Aaron murmured against Moses.

At last, when Moses wished to return to Egypt and she would not consent, he made a golden ring enclosing a gem with an image that had the power to induce forgetfulness, and gave it to her. When she had forgotten him, he returned to Egypt. For Moses was skilled in the stars.

Moses afterward went out to see the Hebrews in the land of Goshen. Seeing a certain Egyptian injuring a Hebrew and observing that no one was watching, he killed the Egyptian. Concerning this deed Augustine seems to say that Moses acted from zeal but not according to knowledge, and so sinned, as did Saul when he persecuted the Church and Peter when he cut off the ear of one of the Jewish ministers. Others say that he did not sin but acted from inspiration of the Holy Spirit, as one already appointed by God as leader of the people for this purpose, as in Acts 6.

On another occasion, when Moses reproved one Hebrew who was injuring another, the man complained against him as though Moses wished to kill him as he had killed the Egyptian. Seeing that this had become public and that Pharaoh sought to kill him, Moses withdrew into the land of Midian.

There he defended the seven daughters of Jethro the priest when they wished to water their flocks and shepherds hindered them. At last he took one of them, named Zipporah, as his wife. Dwelling with his father-in-law Jethro, he pastured his flocks in the desert. By Zipporah he had two sons, Gershom and Eliezer. These things are in Exodus 2.

§ I

When Moses had driven the flock of his father-in-law Jethro into the interior of the desert, according to Exodus 3, he saw a bush burning and not being consumed. When Moses approached to look at it more closely, the Lord spoke to him from the burning bush and commanded him to remove the shoes from his feet.

The Lord then said that He had seen the affliction of His people in Egypt. Having compassion on them, He would deliver them from Egypt and lead them into the land promised to their fathers. He commanded Moses to go with the elders of the Hebrews to Pharaoh on His behalf and order him to release His people to sacrifice in the desert.

He declared to Moses that Pharaoh would not release them except through plagues. Therefore, around the time of their departure, they should ask the Egyptians to lend them vessels of gold and silver and, when departing, carry these with them. When Moses asked about the name of the one sending him, in case he should be questioned about it, the Lord answered, “I am who am,” this being His name.

When Moses told the Lord that people would not believe him, the Lord gave him three things as signs. First, Moses’ staff, when cast down, was changed into a serpent, and when the serpent was taken up, it was changed back into a staff. Second, when he placed his hand into his bosom it became leprous, as he saw when he drew it out; and when he put it back into his bosom, it was cleansed.

Third, he was to take water from the river of Egypt and pour it out, whereupon it would be changed into blood, according to Exodus 4.

When Moses still excused himself because his speech was impeded and slow, the Lord encouraged him, saying that He would be with his mouth. When Moses continued to refuse and begged that He send the one whom He was going to send, the Lord became angry and told him that his brother Aaron, an eloquent man, would be his companion and would speak for him.

Moses therefore asked permission from his father-in-law Jethro to visit his brothers in Egypt. He took his wife and sons with him. At a lodging place, however, an angel wished to kill him because his sons were uncircumcised. He therefore circumcised his sons with a very sharp stone, and Zipporah left him and returned to her father with the sons.

Aaron, obeying God’s command, met Moses and kissed him. Moses announced the Lord’s words to him, and when they together announced them to the children of Israel, the people fell prostrate and gave thanks to God.

§ II

Moses and Aaron entered Pharaoh’s presence and on God’s behalf told him to let His people Israel go to sacrifice, according to Exodus 5. Pharaoh did not listen to them. Instead, he commanded those who supervised the labor of the children of Israel no longer to give them the straw previously supplied for baking bricks, but to make them go and gather it. Because they had leisure, he said, they were crying out to go sacrifice.

Because they could not render the customary number of bricks, since they had to spend time gathering straw, Pharaoh’s ministers scourged them. They complained about this before Pharaoh, but he despised them; they also complained before Moses and Aaron.

When Moses reported to the Lord the people’s affliction and complaint because of the burden Pharaoh had added after Moses and Aaron spoke to him, according to Exodus 6, the Lord told him to signify to the people that He would lead them out of that servitude. Oppressed by their labors, they did not listen to him.

The genealogy of certain persons, especially those descended from Levi, is then given. Among them were Aaron, Moses, and Miriam, the children of Amram. Aaron had four sons--Eleazar, Ithamar, Nadab, and Abihu--by a wife named Elisabeth, daughter of Aminadab, of the tribe of Judah.

When Moses excused himself before God, who was sending him to Pharaoh, saying that he was uncircumcised in lips, according to Exodus 7, the Lord said to him, “Behold, I have appointed you the god of Pharaoh, and your brother Aaron shall be your prophet. He shall speak for you.” He commanded them to go together to Pharaoh and, when he was unwilling to release the people, to perform signs before him.

They did this, first performing the sign of the staff changed into a serpent. Pharaoh's magicians did similar things; although Moses' staff devoured those of the magicians, Pharaoh's heart was hardened. Second, they performed another sign, namely changing the river's water into blood, on account of which the fish also died. When the magicians performed similar things, Pharaoh was hardened. These things are in chapter 7.

Moses therefore told Pharaoh to release the people. When he did not consent, Moses stretched out his hand over the river, and innumerable frogs came up throughout Egypt, filling houses, beds, and other places, according to Exodus 8. The magicians did the same through incantation.

At Pharaoh's request Moses and Aaron prayed for the frogs to be removed. When they did so, the frogs died, but Pharaoh's heart was hardened. Then Moses struck the dust of the earth with the staff, and innumerable gnats arose. Unable to do this, the magicians said, "This is the finger of God."

The Lord afterward sent the plague of flies, which filled all Egypt, but there were none in the land of Goshen where the Hebrews dwelt. Moses prayed at the request of Pharaoh, who promised to release the people, and the flies ceased. But Pharaoh was hardened and refused to release them. After this the Lord sent pestilence among the pack animals, yet Pharaoh still did not release the people; afterward He sent ulcers upon people and animals.

When Pharaoh was warned again to release the people and was unwilling to listen, according to Exodus 9, hail descended with thunder and lightning. It destroyed all the trees and fruits and killed the people and animals upon which it fell. There was no hail in the land of Goshen. The hail ceased at Moses' prayer when Pharaoh promised to release the people, but he did nothing.

Through Moses the Lord threatened Pharaoh that locusts would be sent into Egypt if he did not release the people, and that He would harden his heart, according to Exodus 10. When the Egyptians urged Pharaoh to release the people lest they suffer worse things, he wished to release the men alone and not the others. Because of this came locusts and caterpillars without number, which devoured every green thing.

When this plague ceased at Moses' prayer, Pharaoh was unwilling to release them with all their possessions as he had promised, but wished to retain the sheep and pack animals. Moses stretched out his hands toward heaven, and a palpable darkness appeared. People could not see one another for three days and did not move from their places. There was light in Goshen. Not even because of this did Pharaoh release the people; instead, he threatened Moses and Aaron with death if they came before him again.

The Lord foretold to Moses that after the plague that was to follow, namely the death of Egypt's firstborn, Pharaoh would release them and compel them to depart, according to Exodus 11. Therefore, the children of Israel should borrow vessels of gold and silver from the Egyptians and carry them away when they departed from Egypt, as compensation for their losses.

The Lord told Moses that every household of Israel should sacrifice a lamb or kid toward evening on the fourteenth day of that month, which was the first month of the year, according to Exodus 12. They were to smear its blood upon both doorposts of the house. The lamb was to be a year old and without blemish. They were to eat it roasted with fire, observing certain rites.

When this had been done, at midnight an angel passed through Egypt and killed all the firstborn of people and pack animals. Wherever blood was upon the doorposts, he did nothing. Because of this, Pharaoh and all Egypt compelled the people of Israel to depart from Egypt, fearing that everyone would die. They carried with them the vessels of gold and silver and the garments borrowed from the Egyptians.

They departed in a number of six hundred thousand men, apart from the children and women, with all their possessions and pack animals. From Rameses they came to Succoth, according to Exodus 13.

The Lord commanded Moses that all the firstborn should be His, because when the firstborn of the Egyptians died, their own firstborn remained unharmed by the devastating angel. From that time onward, every male first born of man or beast was offered to the Lord as His own. The firstborn of men who were not of the tribe of Levi were redeemed for five shekels.

The Lord also commanded the solemnity of Passover to be observed for seven days with unleavened bread. Its rite is expressed more fully in the preceding chapter. There it is also said that they were in Egypt for 440 years. This reckoning begins from the first promise made to Abraham in Mesopotamia.

They proceeded through the desert toward the Red Sea, with an angel going before them by day in a pillar of cloud and by night in a pillar of fire.

When Pharaoh heard of this, he regretted that he had released the people, according to Exodus 14. Gathering his armies and chariots, he pursued them to bring them back to Egypt. When the children of Israel saw him approaching, they began to murmur against Moses because he had led them out of Egypt.

Moses prayed and, at the Lord's command, stretched his staff over the Red Sea. The waters were divided, making roads in the midst of the sea through which the children of Israel freely walked. Pharaoh pursued them with his armies along those roads. But after all

the Hebrew people had departed, Moses stretched his staff over the sea; the waters returned as before, overthrowing Pharaoh and his people in the midst of the waves.

Moses therefore sang this song to the Lord with the people, while his sister Miriam the prophetess sang with the women who played tambourines: "Let us sing to the Lord gloriously," and so forth, according to Exodus 15.

From there they came to Marah, where the waters were bitter so that they could not drink them. At God's command Moses put wood into them, and they were made sweet. They then proceeded to Elim, where they found twelve springs and seventy palm trees.

From Elim they came into the desert of Sin. When the people murmured against Moses and Aaron because of the lack of meat and other foods of Egypt, according to Exodus 16, the wind blew and sent them quails, and behold, manna rained upon them like dew.

The Lord commanded each person to gather a *gomor*, which was a certain measure, and no more, and not to reserve it for another day except on the sixth day. On that day they were to gather two *gomors*, one for that day and the other for the Sabbath. Those who gathered more found no more than a *gomor*, and those who reserved it for another day found it putrefied. The Hebrews were nourished by this food in the desert for forty years.

From the desert of Sin they proceeded to Rephidim. When they murmured there because of the lack of water, Moses at the Lord's command struck the rock of Horeb with the staff. Waters flowed in abundance so that they and their animals could drink, according to Exodus 17.

When the Amalekites made war upon them to hinder their journey, Moses sent Joshua with many men to fight them. Moses himself remained on the summit of the mountain, holding his staff with hands raised toward heaven, while Aaron and Hur supported his arms. Whenever he lowered them, his people were defeated; whenever he kept them raised, the people prevailed. Thus Amalek was defeated.

Jethro, Moses' father-in-law, came to visit him, bringing his wife and their sons Gershom and Eliezer, according to Exodus 18. When they had been received with thanks and God's wonders related, Jethro saw Moses' great labor in hearing the cases of individuals from morning until evening. He advised him to appoint different officers--tribunes, centurions, rulers of fifty, and rulers of ten--who would hear the people's cases, while Moses reserved the more difficult matters for himself. Moses did this.

§ III

From Rephidim they came to Mount Sinai and its foot. There the Lord commanded them through Moses to sanctify themselves and wash their garments for two days, and that on the third day Moses should ascend the mountain. No one else, nor even an animal, was to approach or touch the mountain, lest they die.

On the third day the mountain began to smoke. Thunder and the sound of a trumpet were heard, lightning was seen, and a very dense cloud covered the mountain. Moses entered it to receive the law. When these things had been completed, in the third month after the departure from Egypt the Lord gave His people the law upon Mount Sinai.

This law is divided into three kinds of precepts: moral, judicial, and ceremonial. The moral precepts are the Ten Commandments found in Exodus 20. Certain other moral precepts are scattered in different places of the Pentateuch, and especially in Deuteronomy, but they are reduced to the Decalogue. All nations have always been and will always be bound to observe them.

The first three commandments, carved upon one stone tablet, order us toward God; the other seven order us toward our neighbor.

The judicial commandments were ordained for preserving the peaceful life of that people together and maintaining good civil society. Like civic statutes, they bound that people alone until Christ's Passion. Now they bind no one unless the Church or some city chooses to assume any of those precepts as its own statutes. They would then bind not because they were written in the Mosaic law, but because they were established in the city. They are found in the two chapters 21 and 22, partly in chapter 23, and also scattered elsewhere, especially in Deuteronomy.

The ceremonial precepts were ordained for the worship of God among that people, principally prefiguring Christ and the customs of the Christian people. They bound that people alone. They are said to have been given to the perfect as a sign, so that through them they might be exercised in faith in the things those rites prefigured; to the imperfect and ignorant as a pedagogue, so that they might be held in devotion under them; and to the unruly and hard as a scourge, so that, burdened by them, no access to Gentile rites would be open.

Because all those ceremonial things happened as a figure and were fulfilled when Christ came and the Christian people came into being, they are now abolished. Whoever observed them in that manner would Judaize and sin mortally.

These ceremonial precepts are divided into sacred objects, sacrifices, sacraments, and observances. Sacred objects are those things that pertain to the tabernacle and were ordained around it.

In Exodus 24 it is said that Moses made an altar at the foot of Mount Sinai. When victims had been sacrificed there and the book of the law that he had written first read, he sprinkled the people with their blood, while they promised to fulfill all the Lord's commandments.

Afterward Moses and Aaron, with Aaron's sons and seventy elders of the people, proceeded toward the Lord. Moses admonished the people to await his descent from the mountain. If any question should arise, they were to refer it to Aaron and Hur. He ascended the mountain, and a cloud covered it for seven days. On the seventh day Moses entered the cloud and remained there forty days and nights, fasting and speaking with the Lord.

§ IV

The Lord therefore commanded Moses to make an ark of shittim wood, which is incorruptible. Its length was to be two and a half cubits, its width one and a half, and likewise its height. It was entirely covered within and without with plates of gold and had a golden crown above.

He was also to make a golden mercy seat that was like a covering of the ark, but stood upright above and rose over the ark like the lid of a chest when it is completely open, or like panels erected above altars. He was to make two cherubim, one on one side of the ark and the other on the other. These were kept in the Holy of Holies. In the ark were placed Aaron's rod, a golden vessel full of manna, and the two tablets of the Decalogue.

He likewise commanded a wooden table to be made of shittim wood and covered with golden plates, with a crown above it. Twelve loaves were continually kept upon it and changed every Sabbath. He also commanded a golden lampstand with seven lamps, and a golden altar upon which incense was offered, together with a censer. These three were in the Holy Place.

In addition, he was to make many golden vessels and censers, cups, bowls, mortars, forks, and other things of this kind. These things are contained in chapter 25.

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Chapter Four: The Deeds of Moses

And in chapter 26 He commanded that the tabernacle be made from boards covered with golden plates. Its length was to be thirty cubits, its width ten, and likewise its height, with silver bases. Across the middle of the tabernacle, along its width, He commanded a beautiful veil to be made, suspended upon four columns, which divided the Holy Place from the Holy of Holies. The space of the Holy of Holies was ten cubits in length, while the space of the Holy Place was twenty cubits.

The tabernacle had a fourfold covering. The first was of curtains woven in various colors; the second, of cloths made from goats' hair; the third, of reddened skins; and the fourth, of hyacinth-colored skins. There was also a hanging at the entrance. The entrance was on the eastern side, just as, conversely, the entrance of churches is now on the western side.

In chapter 27 of Deuteronomy [read: chapter 27 of Exodus], it is contained that the Lord commanded an altar of holocausts to be made before the entrance of the tabernacle. It was to be five cubits long and likewise five cubits wide, but three cubits high, made from shittim wood covered with bronze. Sacrifices were burned there. He also caused a court to be made around the tabernacle, surrounded with curtains. Its length was one hundred cubits and its width fifty.

In chapter 27 there is an account of the vestments to be made for the priests. When all the ordinary priests ministered, they had four garments: breeches, a linen garment, a belt, and a tiara. But when the high priest entered the Holy of Holies--which occurred once a year, namely in the month of September, on the feast of propitiation, that is, on the tenth day--he put on the following garments in addition to those already named. There was a hyacinth-colored tunic, which was close fitting like a little tunic; on its lower edge were bells and woven pomegranates. Then there was the ephod; afterward, on his breast, the breastpiece, which was square; behind, upon his shoulders, the superhumeral; and on his forehead a plate shaped like the moon.

In chapter 29 mention is made of the sacrifices performed at the consecration or anointing of the priest Aaron and his sons. In chapter 30 He commands that an altar of incense be made, as well as a bronze laver in which the priests washed their hands and feet when they were to minister. It was placed between the entrance of the tabernacle and the altar of holocausts. He also commands that incense be compounded in the manner of an ointment from myrrh, cinnamon, cassia, aromatic cane, and oil. With this preparation all the things in the tabernacle were anointed, and the priests themselves were consecrated through this anointing.

In chapter 31 it is related that God gave wisdom to Bezalel, of the tribe of Judah, and Oholiab, of the tribe of Dan, to make all the things just mentioned. These matters belong to all the sacred objects. The solemnities of the Jews also belong here; three of them last for a week, namely Passover, Pentecost, and the Feast of Booths or Tabernacles.

The sacrifices made from animals, the offerings made from dry things such as bread and the like, and the libations made from liquids are treated especially in the book of Leviticus, although some are also set down occasionally elsewhere. The sacraments of the Jews were circumcision, begun in Abraham; the eating of the paschal lamb, which is discussed in Exodus 12; the anointings of priests; the sprinkled ashes of the heifer; and certain sacrifices. Observances are the distinctions between clean and unclean things, which are treated in Leviticus. All these belong to the ceremonial precepts of the Jews, which have now ceased; hence they are now observed to one's damnation.

§ V

Returning to the history: while Moses remained upon the mountain with the Lord, the people rose up and told Aaron to make golden gods for them to worship. Because Hur resisted and opposed them, he was suffocated by their spittle, as the Hebrews hand down, although this is not contained in the text. Aaron told them to bring the golden earrings of their wives. When they had done so, they melted the gold, made a calf from it, and adored the calf as a god.

The Lord told Moses to descend from the mountain because His people had sinned by committing idolatry. He said that He wished to destroy them from the earth because they were stiff-necked. But Moses prayed and appeased the Lord's anger. He descended from the mountain with stone tablets written by the finger of God. When, at the foot of the mountain, he saw the people worshiping the calf, he was moved to wrath through zeal and broke the tablets.

After he had rebuked Aaron for making the calf and Aaron had offered his excuse, Moses broke the calf. He commanded the Levites to take up swords with him and kill all who had committed idolatry, sparing no one, not even their parents. The Hebrews say that a golden hair appeared in the beards of the idolaters. Thus they were distinguished from the others, and twenty-three thousand men were killed because of this.

Moses then returned to the Lord upon the mountain and asked Him either to forgive the people that fault or to blot Moses himself out of the book of life. The Lord answered that He would blot out the one who offended Him, and that Moses should lead that people to the place He had named and His angel should go before him. All these things are in chapter 32.

After this Moses returned to the camp and pitched the tabernacle outside the camp. Whoever had some matter of inquiry went to him there. Entering the tabernacle, Moses consulted the Lord, and a cloud appeared before it in the form of a column. Moses spoke with the Lord, as is said in the text, face to face, just as a friend speaks with his friend. Nevertheless, it was an angel who represented the Lord.

When Moses asked the Lord to show him His face and His glory, He answered that a living man could not see His face. Moses was instead to place himself in the rock and, as He passed by, would see His hinder parts. He also said to him, “I shall show you every good.” This takes place in the vision of the divine essence. Hence both Thomas and Augustine say that Moses saw God by His essence in the present life. This is in chapter 23.

Afterward, at God's command, Moses made two stone tablets and ascended Mount Sinai with them. The Ten Commandments were carved upon them by God's work. God promised to lead the people into the land promised to their fathers, but commanded that they should neither worship the gods of that land nor contract marriages with its inhabitants. Their firstborn were to be offered to Him, and three times each year they were to approach the place of His name, that is, the place where the temple would be.

Moses remained on Mount Sinai for a second period of forty days, neither eating nor drinking. When he descended from the mountain, he told the people what the Lord had commanded. Because of the rays issuing from Moses' face, he appeared to have horns. Moses therefore veiled his face when he spoke to the people. These things are in chapter 34.

Moses admonished the people to offer as gifts whatever gold, silver, or other things they freely wished to give toward the construction of the tabernacle. They did so, as is contained in chapter 25. The four following chapters relate in detail how Bezalel and Oholiab, with their assistants, made the tabernacle and the other things that the Lord had commanded Moses to have made.

When these things had been completed, the Lord commanded Moses to erect the tabernacle itself, to place everything belonging to it as He had ordained, to consecrate Aaron and his sons, and to offer the appointed sacrifices. When this had been fulfilled and everything arranged, on the first day of the first month of the second year after the departure from Egypt, at the foot of Mount Sinai, a cloud filled the tabernacle. Because the glory of the Lord flashed forth, Moses could not enter the tabernacle.

Fire also descended from heaven and set the prepared sacrifices alight. This fire never failed until the Babylonian captivity of that people, although at God's command the priests fed it morning and evening by placing wood upon it. The erection of the tabernacle is treated in the fortieth and final chapter of Exodus.

§ VI

Because the Decalogue contains a brief summary of God's commandments, every person has always been and still is bound to observe it among all nations, since its commandments belong to natural law. Nor could an adult be saved otherwise than by observing them, according to Christ's words in Matthew 19 when He explains some of them: “If you wish to enter into life, keep the commandments.”

As for the observance of the Sabbath, it was ceremonial with respect to the determination of that particular day. Nevertheless, insofar as it required a person to devote some time to God and to his own salvation, it was moral and belonged to the dictate of natural reason. Therefore, a very brief exposition of the commandments will be set down from what is contained in the Decrees.

In the expression of the Decalogue itself God says: “I am the Lord your God, mighty and jealous, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children to the third and fourth generation of those who hate Me, and showing mercy to thousands among those who love Me and keep My commandments.” This is expounded in three ways.

First, the severity of divine justice is shown, for God visits--that is, punishes--sins committed not only in their first authors but also in the children of the fathers, or those who imitate their parents' wickedness. Hence He adds, “of those who hate Me.” Because people do not ordinarily live so long that more than a fourth generation descends from them, and because it commonly happens that children imitate the evil conduct of the parents whom they have seen, He therefore says, “to the third and fourth generation.”

Second, it is expounded as indicating God's clemency and long expectation of them for penance. He visits them by healing and curing the sins of their fathers, waiting for them as long as they are able to live, which extends to the third or fourth generation descended from them; if they are converted, He is ready to forgive them, as is contained in Cause 1, question 4, in the section *Contra*.

Third, it is expounded morally, as the gloss there notes, and well. For there is a fourfold process of sin, as though a fourfold generation. The first generation consists of the first movements of sin, which are themselves sometimes sins. The second generation is sensual complacency in the sin suggested, but short of the assent of reason. The third is the heart's consent to sin, which is mortal. The fourth generation is the deed. Therefore, God does not punish the first and second generations eternally, but He does punish the third and fourth, because mortal sin is there. Hence He adds, “of those who hate Me.”

The first commandment, therefore, is this, as is contained in Exodus 20: “You shall have no foreign gods before Me.” As though explaining this more fully, He adds: “You shall not make for yourself a carved image, nor any likeness of those things that are in heaven, on earth, or in the waters. You shall not adore them with the veneration of *latria*, nor worship them with interior worship.” By these words all idolatry and superstition are prohibited.

Augustine says in his book *On Christian Doctrine*: “Anything instituted by human beings that pertains to making and worshiping idols, or to worshiping a creature or any part of a creature as God, is superstitious. The same is true of consultations and certain covenanted or agreed compacts of signs with demons, such as the volumes of magical arts, which poets customarily mention rather than teach. To the same class, though one of seemingly more permissible vanity, belong the books of augurs and haruspices.”

He continues: “To this class also belong all bindings and remedies that the discipline of physicians condemns, whether they consist of incantations, certain marks called characters, or any objects hung or tied upon a person.” This is in Cause 26, question 2, *Illud quod est*. Augustine concludes that a Christian must flee all these things.

In the same Cause, question 5, chapter *Episcopi*, it is also said that bishops must expel from their parishes those devoted to magical arts and sorcery, together with those wicked women who say that they travel at night upon beasts and whom some call *streges*. It declares that this is not true, but that everything occurs through the illusion of demons, and that those women falsely think that what happens in the phantasms of dreams is really happening to them.

It adds that everyone must be publicly told that whoever believes such things, and things like them, loses the faith. At the end of the chapter it says: “Whoever, therefore, believes that any creature can be changed for the better or the worse, or transformed into another species or another likeness, except by the Creator Himself who made it, is without doubt an unbeliever and worse than an unbeliever.” Thus it is written there.

Augustine likewise says in Cause 26, question 7: “Do not observe the days that are called Egyptian, nor the Kalends of January,” and so forth. After enumerating many superstitions and observances--of auguries, fates, divinations, and inquiries through Pythagorean necromancy into someone's life or death, or into adverse or prosperous things to come; through books of dreams falsely entitled to Daniel; through lots called the Lots of the Apostles; through speaking superstitious charms while gathering herbs; or through placing little written tablets for any illness upon people or animals--he concludes there that those who believe or do these things, or go to the houses of people who do them, have denied the Christian faith and baptism.

The second commandment is: “You shall not take the name of your God in vain.” To this is referred what is said more openly elsewhere: “You shall not swear falsely in My name,” in Leviticus 19.

On this passage one must note what Jerome says upon Jeremiah when treating the words, “They shall swear in My name in judgment, justice, and truth”: “One must observe that an oath has these companions: truth, judgment, and justice. If they are absent, it will not be an oath but perjury.” This is in Cause 22, question 2, *Animadvertendum*.

In the following section it is said: “Since all who speak a lie are to be destroyed”--that is, damned--according to the Psalm, “You will destroy all who speak a lie,” those who are found to swear falsely while lying are much more deserving of damnation, because they take God's name in vain.

Likewise, in Cause 22, question 4, it is said: “A person who swears badly must perform a fitting penance, because against the Lord's commandment he has taken His name in vain.” Perjury therefore occurs when someone knowingly swears to something false; truth is then absent. According to Thomas in the *Second Part of the Second Part*, it is always a mortal sin.

Second, perjury occurs when someone swears that he will do something unlawful. Justice is then absent. This also appears to be a mortal sin when someone does it knowingly, since he is bound to do the contrary. Hence it is said in Cause 22, question 4, *You Shall Not Commit Perjury*: “The evil that someone has vowed he will do, he must by no means do, because foolish vows must be broken altogether.”

The conclusion of that whole fourth question is that unlawful oaths and promises are not to be kept and do not bind. Nevertheless, there is sin in making that unlawful promise, oath, or vow. This is proved by many chapters.

Third, the word “perjury” is used broadly when someone swears to something that is true and lawful, but without any urgent cause. Judgment--that is, discretion--is then absent. Such a person swears in vain, that is, uselessly, and this appears to be a venial sin.

It is also prohibited to swear by God's members, His head or hair, and other expressions that sound of blasphemy, in Cause 22, question 1, *Si quis per capillum*.

Second Title

Chapter Four: The Deeds of Moses

The third commandment is: “Remember that you sanctify the Sabbath day,” that is, set it apart for the worship of God by abstaining from manual works and also from criminal works.

Here note that the Sabbath day was changed by the Church to the Lord's Day. Hence it is said in *On Consecration*, distinction 3, *Pronunciandum*: “Every Lord's Day, from evening until evening”--that is, until late, lest people be taken by Judaism--“must be kept as a holy day.” The Sabbath was changed to Sunday out of reverence for the Resurrection of Jesus Christ, who rose from the dead on that day; on that day the blessed life, even as regards the body, was begun in human nature. He was also born on that day, sent the Holy Spirit on that day, and began the world on that day.

As is also said in *On Consecration*, distinction 3, *Ieiunia*: “On the Lord's Day nothing else is to be done except to be at leisure for God. No manual work is to be performed on that holy day, but the day is to be passed only with hymns, psalms, and spiritual songs.” The Church has also added a commandment binding under mortal sin, namely that Mass be heard by everyone on Sundays, according to *On Consecration*, distinction 2, *Missas*. This commandment appears to extend also to the other days that the Church has made holy days--that is, which the Church has commanded to be celebrated by cessation from work. These are treated in *On Consecration*, distinction 3, *Pronunciandum*, and in the Extra, *On Parishes*, *That on Sundays and Feast Days*.

The fourth commandment is: “Honor your father and your mother.” According to the doctors' exposition, this is understood of the honor of reverence and obedience. Under this commandment is understood to be included all spiritual or temporal assistance that a person is bound to furnish to his neighbor, as in the matters of fraternal correction, the giving of alms, the instruction of one's neighbor, prayer for others, and the like. But the first among the number of our neighbors whom we are bound to help first and more fully are our parents.

Ambrose says: “That liberality is to be approved by which you do not despise those nearest of your seed if you know them to be in need. For it is better that you yourself assist your own relatives, whom shame prevents from asking or seeking the aid of their need from others. This does not mean, however, that they should wish to be made richer from what you are able to bestow upon the needy.” This is in distinction 86, *Non satis*.

The same author says in the following chapter: “Moreover, it is God's tradition that you first feed your parents. For if, according to the divine oracle, an insult to a parent is paid for with death, how much more is hunger, which is much more grievous?” Thus he speaks.

Everyone must also obey his parents, but only in lawful things and in the things to which he is bound, namely those that pertain to the ordering of the household. For a person is free with respect to assuming a state, such as marriage, the clerical state, or the religious life. In matters of this kind he is not bound to obey his parents--for example, an order that he not enter religious life or that he contract marriage with a certain person. In other things that are not contrary to the Lord, he must obey.

Hence Jerome says upon the Epistle to the Ephesians: “If a master commands things that are not opposed to the Holy Scriptures, let the servant be subject to the master. If he commands contrary things, let the spirit obey rather than the master of the body.” He says the same concerning servants in relation to masters, wives in relation to husbands, and children in relation to parents: in those things alone are they to be subject to masters, husbands, and parents which are not contrary to God's commandments. Thus Jerome speaks in Cause 11, question 3, *If a Master*.

Under this commandment is also included the care and providence that carnal parents--and much more spiritual parents, such as prelates and rulers of cities--must exercise over those subject to them, both with respect to good conduct and with respect to sustenance. For the Apostle says to Timothy: “He who has no care for his own, and especially for the members of his household, has denied the faith”--that is, natural fidelity--“and is worse than an unbeliever.” Hence it is also said in distinction 30: “If anyone abandons his own children and does not nourish them or provide what piety requires, but thinks that they should be neglected under the pretext of continence, let him be anathema.”

Not only Eli, who did not harshly rebuke his delinquent sons, is censured, but David also. Although he was intent upon divine governance, he permitted his sons to use excessive freedom and vanity. He was punished in them, as is evident in Amnon and Absalom. Gratian notes this in distinction 47, § *Necesse*, and in Cause 23, question 4, *Duo ista*.

The fifth commandment is: “You shall not kill.” Augustine expounds this in Book I of *The City of God* as meaning, “neither yourself nor another.” For someone who kills himself kills no one other than a human being. Apart from those whom either a just law commands generally to be killed or the very fountain of justice, God, commands particularly to be killed, whoever kills a human being, whether himself or another, is held guilty of homicide. This is in Cause 23, question 5, *Si non licet*.

Homicide is sometimes committed in the heart alone. Hence Jerome says: “Although you do not kill with a sword, nevertheless you kill by your will.” This is in *On Penance*, distinction 1, *Omnis*. Those who bear hatred toward their neighbor are also called murderers in the distinction *On Murderers*. Augustine says in *On Penance*, distinction 1, *Homicidium*, that every wicked movement--namely, every deliberate movement--to harm one's neighbor appears to be counted in the class of homicide.

Homicide is sometimes committed by the mouth. Hence Augustine says: “Those who think that only people who kill a human being with their hands are murderers dangerously deceive themselves. Rather, those through whose counsel, fraud, or exhortation human beings are destroyed are also murderers.” This is in *On Penance*, distinction 1, *The Same*. When you persuade your brother to evil, namely to commit a mortal sin, you kill him spiritually.

Sometimes homicide is committed by deed, and this occurs in many ways. Hence Augustine says: “When a human being is killed by another human being, it makes a great difference whether this is done from a desire to harm or to take something unjustly, as by an enemy or a robber; in the order of vengeance or obedience, as by a judge or an executioner; or from the necessity of escaping or bringing aid, as when a robber is killed by a traveler or an enemy by a soldier.

“Sometimes the one who was the cause of the death is more at fault than the one who kills. An example is a person who deceives his surety, and the latter lawfully pays the penalty for him. Nevertheless, not everyone who is the cause of another's death is guilty. For example, suppose that someone solicits another for fornication and, if he does not obtain it, kills himself; or that a son, fearing his father's pious blows, dies by throwing himself from a height; or that another person inflicts death upon himself because a man has been freed or so that someone else will not be freed, and so forth. When these things occur, we ought to grieve for them with human sorrow, but we must not repress the will of those who act rightly merely to keep such things from happening.” Thus Augustine speaks in Cause 23, question 5, *When a Human Being Is Killed by a Human Being*.

The sixth commandment is: “You shall not commit adultery.” Isidore says upon Exodus that this means no one should unite with other women outside the covenants of marriage in order to satisfy lust. This is in Cause 32, question 6, *You Shall Not Commit Adultery*.

Augustine says in his book *On the Ten Chords*: “‘You shall not commit adultery’ means: you shall not go to any woman other than your wife. You demand this from your wife and are unwilling to render it to her. Although you ought to precede your wife in virtue, since chastity is a virtue, you fall under a single assault of lust. You wish your wife to be victorious while you lie conquered. Although you are the head of your wife, she whose head you are precedes you toward God.” Thus Augustine speaks in Cause 32, question 6, *You Shall Not Commit Adultery*.

Augustine expounds this commandment more completely in his book *Questions on Deuteronomy*, where he says: “The Lord prohibits there being prostitutes and going to prostitutes, whose shame is publicly for sale.” The gloss there says that this is contained in the Lord's words, “There shall be no prostitute among the daughters of Israel, nor any male prostitute.”

The text continues: “In the Decalogue, however, the Lord does not appear to have openly prohibited this under the name of adultery, because adultery is ordinarily understood to mean only violation of marriage.” And below: “But just as under the name of theft every unlawful usurpation of another's property is understood to be prohibited, the whole being understood from a part, so also under the name of adultery every unlawful act of intercourse and every illegitimate use of those members must certainly be understood to be prohibited.” Thus Augustine speaks in Cause 32, question 4, *Meretrices*.

Jerome also says against Jovinian, in Cause 32, question 7: “Natural use is lawful, as in marriage; it is unlawful, as in adultery; but what is against nature is always unlawful and without doubt more shameful and disgraceful.” The Apostle censured this both in males and in females, namely in Romans 1.

The seventh commandment is: “You shall not steal.” Augustine says in his book *Questions on Exodus*: “It is punishable to take something secretly; to seize it openly is deserving of a much greater penalty. Therefore, taking something from an unwilling person, whether secretly or openly, has its own commandment, for under the name of theft every unlawful usurpation of another's property is understood. He who prohibited theft did not permit robbery; he wished robbery also to be understood. For by a part he signified the whole: whatever of one's neighbor's possessions is taken unlawfully.” This is in Cause 14, question 5, *Penale*.

Jerome also says: “Let everyone learn that it is a sin resembling robbery if someone does not return things he has found.” This is in Cause 14, question 5, *Multi*. Ambrose says: “If anyone accepts usury, he commits robbery; he does not live the life”--namely, the life of grace. This is in Cause 14, question 4.

Augustine likewise says: “We judge that the things taken contrary to the law of human society by thefts, robberies, calumnies, oppressions, and invasions are to be returned rather than given”--namely, to the poor--“following the example of Zacchaeus, who said, ‘If I have defrauded anyone,’ and so forth, ‘I restore it.’” This is in Cause 14, question 5, *Non sane*. As the same Augustine says in question 6, *If Property*: “The sin is not forgiven unless what was taken is restored, if it can be restored.”

The eighth commandment is: “You shall not speak false testimony against your neighbor.” Augustine says in *The City of God*: “Because everyone receives from himself the rule for loving his neighbor, when it is said, ‘You shall love your neighbor as yourself,’ a person who falsely confesses against himself is no less guilty of false testimony than if he did this against his neighbor.” This is in Cause 22, question 5, *Si non licet*.

This commandment prohibits not only false testimony in court but also false testimony outside court in common speech, as when someone detracts from his neighbor. As Pope Adrian says in Cause 6, question 1: “Those who corrupt the life and conduct of good people”--namely, by detraction--“are worse than those who plunder the substance and estates of others.”

Not only detraction but also lying is prohibited, as the Master sets down near the end of Book III of the *Sentences*, because a word is the testimony of what is in the heart. Nevertheless, not every lie is a mortal sin. It is mortal when it is contrary to God's honor and to things pertaining to the faith and the good conduct necessary for salvation, or when one's neighbor is harmed notably in soul, reputation, or substance. Augustine sets down eight kinds of lies in Cause 22, question 2, *Primum*.

The ninth commandment concerns the will: “You shall not covet your neighbor's wife.” From Christ's saying, “Whoever looks at a woman in order to lust after her has already committed adultery in his heart,” Augustine shows openly that adultery is committed by sight alone when an unmarried woman is shamefully desired. This is in Cause 32, question 5, *Whoever Looks*.

In *On Penance*, distinction 1, *Si cui*, Augustine also says that if someone has the will to know another man's wife but does not act because of impediments, he is no less guilty than if he were caught in the deed. This is true before God and with respect to the kind of sin--that is, each is mortal--although the unfulfilled will is not equally grave.

The same must be said of the tenth commandment, namely that a deliberate desire to take another person's possessions in any unlawful manner is mortal just as the deed is, although it is not equally grave. This is the meaning of the chapter *Si propterea* in *On Penance*, distinction 1: the intention is reckoned as the deed.

Thus, in the tenth commandment an unlawful desire for another person's property is prohibited, just as the ninth prohibits an unlawful desire for any carnal vice. In this they are distinguished from the sixth and seventh commandments, which prohibit the external acts. A deliberate desire contrary to any of the other commandments, such as the desire for homicide or perjury, is also mortal, and the prohibition of that desire is included under the commandment itself. But in these two matters--namely, the concupiscence of the flesh and of temporal possessions--the desire itself was specifically prohibited in addition to the external deed because the mind takes more delight in desires of this kind than in other things.

All these commandments are treated at length in the First Part, in the title on the Mosaic law, and still more fully in the Second Part, under different titles and chapters according to the subject matter of the vices.

The things that follow in the text, namely the construction of the tabernacle and the things belonging to it--its boards, curtains, vessels, and other things--are all full of mysteries. They signify the Church and the different states and conditions of the faithful. Some exposition of these matters, as regards the tabernacle, is contained in the First Part, in the title on the Mosaic law. That these things were figures of things to come is found in *On Consecration*, distinction 1, at the beginning.

The tabernacle that God commanded to be made through Moses, as will be said below, signifies the Church Militant, or the synagogue in which the Church existed under the Old Testament. For just as that tabernacle was portable and was transferred from place to place, so the Church Militant is transferred by the doctors, through the teaching of the faith, from one region to another when people are converted to the faith. At last it is brought to a fixed place, namely the Church Triumphant, just as that tabernacle or ark was brought to Jerusalem with great solemnity.

The synagogue was also changed into the Church converted from the Gentiles. This was signified by Solomon's temple, built by Jews and Gentiles--namely, with the aid of Hiram, king of Tyre--through Christ. The sacraments of the Old Law signified the sacraments of the New Law. Aaron's priesthood signified Christ's true priesthood of the New Testament. The other ceremonial precepts signified the good conduct of Christians; the Jews' feasts signified the solemnities of Christians; and all that Jewish worship signified the just and holy life of the faithful. These matters are fully treated in the First Part, in the title on the Mosaic law; they may be seen there.

§ VII: On Leviticus

Jerome says that Leviticus has as many mysteries as it has words, for almost the whole book treats the ceremonial precepts, especially sacrifices. These signified Christ's Passion and the mortification of vices among the Christian people.

Thus the first nine chapters treat the different kinds of sacrifices and their modes, or the ceremonies to be observed in them. Chapter 10 relates that Nadab and Abihu, two priestly sons of Aaron, took their censers and put into them fire not from the altar but another fire that had been procured. When they presumed to offer incense before the Lord, they were miraculously consumed by fire sent by the Lord. After they had died, they were carried out of the tabernacle and buried, while Aaron and his other sons continued their sacrifices.

Chapter 11 treats the observances concerning foods. It explains which foods they could eat as clean and from which they were required to abstain as unclean.

Second Title

Chapter Four: The Deeds of Moses

Chapter 12 of Leviticus treats the sacrifice of a woman after childbirth and the requirement that, after giving birth to a male child, she abstain for forty days from approaching the tabernacle.

Chapter 13 treats the many kinds of leprosy, namely of the flesh, hair, garment, and house. It explains how the priest was to conduct himself in judging it, by what signs he was to judge, and what was to be done with lepers, namely that they were to be separated from others.

Chapter 14 sets down the sacrifice to be offered by a leper when he happened to be cleansed from leprosy. Chapter 15 treats how a person suffering a flow of seed was to conduct himself and the sacrifice to be offered when he was healed. It also treats how a woman menstruating either naturally or continuously was unclean.

Chapter 16 treats the solemn sacrifice to be offered on the feast of propitiation, namely two goats, of which one was sent into the desert and the other offered, together with a red heifer from which the ashes of sprinkling were made. On that day alone, once each year, the high priest entered the Holy of Holies.

Chapter 17 prohibits the eating of any blood or of anything that died by itself. Chapter 18 sets down the degrees of consanguinity and affinity within which, according to the law, people were required to abstain from contracting marriage with one another.

Chapter 19 sets down certain moral precepts that are reduced to the Decalogue and certain ceremonial observances. Chapter 20 prohibits certain vices under pain of death, especially those pertaining to lust and superstitions.

Chapter 21 treats certain observances to be kept by priests in contracting marriage and in other matters, and requires them to be free from certain bodily defects. Chapter 22 prohibits the people from eating things sanctified to the Lord and declares that animals offered in sacrifice had to be free from certain blemishes and defects.

Chapter 23 treats the solemnities to be celebrated, especially Passover or the feast of Unleavened Bread, Pentecost or the Feast of Weeks, the Feast of Booths or Tabernacles, and also the Feast of Propitiation, together with the sacrifices and other observances to be kept in them.

Chapter 24 treats the oil to be procured for lighting lamps in the temple, the changing of the twelve loaves of proposition, and the blasphemer who, when discovered, was stoned by the people at God's command.

Chapter 25 treats the observance of the Jubilee, namely the fiftieth year. In that year the lands were not to be cultivated, slaves became free, things that had been sold returned to their possessors, and many other matters of this kind were observed.

In chapter 26 the Lord promises many temporal goods--peace, victory, and abundance--to those who observe the law, but many great scourges if they transgress it. Chapter 27, the last, treats vows, the redemption of vows, and the obligation of vows and also of oaths.

§ VIII: On the Book of Numbers

In chapter 1 the Lord caused all males twenty years old and above who were fit for war to be numbered. From all the tribes of Israel six hundred thousand five hundred and fifty were found, excluding the tribe of Levi. The twelve princes of the tribes were also designated. The Levites, however, were twenty-two thousand.

In chapter 2 the Lord commanded that, when they encamped and settled in another place, they should arrange themselves around the tabernacle in such a way that three tribes encamped on the east, the first of which was the tribe of Judah; three on the west; three on the south; and three on the north, with their princes.

In chapter 3 He commanded that the Levites should likewise encamp all around the tabernacle, in the middle between the people and the tabernacle: one part on the east, one part on the west, one part on the south, and one part on the north.

Chapter 4 explains how, when they departed from one place for another, Aaron and his sons were to cover everything in the tabernacle with hyacinth-colored skins or other materials, and to assign different things to different men to be carried.

Chapter 5 treats the expulsion of lepers from the camp and the sacrifice of jealousy. Chapter 6 treats the vow of the Nazirites, the things they were to observe, their sacrifice when the vow had been completed, and the form of blessing to be given to the people by the priests.

Chapter 7 explains how, on the day the tabernacle was erected, the twelve princes of the tribes offered sacrifices, one on each successive day. Chapter 8 treats the arrangement of the lamps of the lampstand in the tabernacle, the application of the Levites to the worship of the temple in place of the firstborn of Israel, and their sanctification.

In chapter 9 the Lord commanded that whoever had not celebrated Passover at its proper time because of some impediment--namely on the fourteenth day of the first month--should make good the omission on the fourteenth day of the second month. It also relates that a pillar of cloud by day and of fire by night remained over the tabernacle. While it remained fixed, the people stayed there, arranged as described above; when it moved, they too departed from the place and followed it.

In chapter 10 Moses, at God's command, caused two silver trumpets to be made. They had four uses: to summon the multitude, to call the princes of the tribes, for war, and at the Kalends and solemnities. When the cloud over the tabernacle moved, they departed from Sinai into the desert of Paran. As the trumpets sounded, the tribe of Judah was the first to set out on the journey, and the other tribes followed successively.

In chapter 11 the people murmured and burned with desire for meat. Remembering the foods of Egypt, they grew weary of manna. Because of this, Moses, wearied, asked for helpers to govern the people. Seventy elders were appointed to assist his government. Two of them, Eldad and Medab [read: Medad], did not present themselves before Moses out of humility, but prophesied among the people in the camp.

The Lord sent quails. But, as the Psalm says, “While their food was still in their mouths, the anger of God rose upon them,” and fire sent from heaven burned up those gluttons.

Chapter 12 describes the murmuring of the prophetess Miriam and Aaron against Moses because of his Ethiopian wife, Miriam's punishment with leprosy for eight days, and her cleansing.

In chapter 13 they proceeded from Paran to Kadesh-barnea. From there Moses, by the Lord's command, sent twelve scouts, one from each tribe, to examine the Promised Land so that they might report its quality to the people and bring back some of its fruits. They went and traversed the whole land. After forty days they returned, praising the land but saying that they could not obtain it because of the strength of those peoples and their impregnable cities.

In chapter 14, when the people heard this, they began to lament and murmur against Moses and Aaron for having led them out of Egypt, and they considered returning to Egypt. Caleb and Joshua alone, from among those twelve scouts, contradicted the other ten. They comforted and encouraged the people to go into that land because the Lord would give it to them. The people, angered against those two, therefore wished as though to stone them.

The Lord in His anger wished to kill the people with pestilence, but when Moses prayed for them, the Lord was appeased. Nevertheless, He said that none of those twenty years old and above who had been numbered at the departure from Egypt would enter the Promised Land except Caleb and Joshua. The other ten scouts, who had caused the murmuring, died. The Lord therefore commanded them to return through the desert.

When the people wished to proceed toward the Promised Land contrary to Moses' ordinance, the Amalekites and Canaanites rose against them, defeated them, and compelled them to return.

Chapter 15 treats certain sacrifices to be made and their manner, the offering of the first fruits, the wearing of hyacinth-colored fringes upon garments, and a man who gathered wood on the Sabbath, whom the Lord commanded to be stoned.

Chapter 16 relates that Dathan, Abiram, and Korah, with two hundred and fifty Levites, began to murmur against Moses and Aaron because, they said, Moses and Aaron had usurped the leadership of the people and the high priesthood for themselves. When Moses summoned Dathan and Abiram and they excused themselves from coming at his word, the earth opened and swallowed them.

Korah and his two hundred and fifty followers offered incense in their censers with Aaron in the tabernacle. Fire came forth from the Lord and burned Korah with his followers. When the people murmured against Moses and Aaron because they had killed those men, fire devoured many of the people. But Aaron stood among them offering incense with a censer, and the plague ceased.

Chapter 17 relates that Moses commanded the twelve princes of the tribes to bring rods. Moses placed all the rods, together with Aaron's rod, in the tabernacle. Aaron's rod alone was found to have budded, produced flowers, and borne almonds. By this sign it was shown to the people that Aaron possessed the priesthood by the Lord's will.

In chapter 18 the Lord established that Aaron and all qualified Levites should serve in the tabernacle. They were to be content with the tithes, first fruits, and portions of the sacrifices that fell to them, so that they would otherwise have no possessions among the children of Israel. The Levites themselves were to give a tithe of the tithe to the high priest.

Chapter 19 treats the sacrifice of the red heifer that was to be burned. From its ashes was made the water of expiation, and the chapter explains from which impurities people were purified by those ashes.

Chapter 20 relates how Miriam died and how, when the people murmured because they lacked water, the Lord commanded Moses to strike the rock with his staff before the multitude. Because Moses and Aaron failed through unbelief, the rock produced no water when it was struck the first time, but did so the second time. On account of this unbelief, the Lord told Moses and Aaron that they would not enter the Promised Land.

Moses also sent messengers to the king of Edom, asking him to allow them to pass through his land. He refused and came against them in war, so they turned away from him. When they came to Mount Hor, Aaron died and was buried there. His son Eleazar was made high priest in his place.

Chapter 21 contains the victory the Israelites gained over the king of the Canaanites, Sihon king of the Amorites, and Og king of Bashan. These kings were unwilling to permit them passage and instead came to battle against them.

Moreover, when many of the people murmured because they had become weary from the labor of the journey, the Lord sent serpents among them whose bites killed them. But at the Lord's command a bronze serpent was made and placed on high; anyone who had been bitten and looked upon it was healed.

Chapter 22 says that, when the people of Israel came into the plains of Moab, Balak, king of the Moabites, sent messengers to the soothsayer Balaam, asking him to come curse God's people. At first Balaam was unwilling to go because he had been forbidden in dreams. But when the messengers returned a second time, he undertook the journey. On the way, as he urged the ass to proceed along the straight road, the ass upon which he sat spoke; afterward Balaam saw an angel with a drawn sword.

Chapters 23 and 24 relate that Balaam, after offering sacrifices to demons--for he was a soothsayer--began to speak in praise of the people of Israel and to bless them. He did this three times in different places from which he could see the people of Israel. Among other things he prophesied, “A star shall arise from Jacob,” and so forth. After leaving Balak, he gave him evil counsel, namely how to induce Israel to commit fornication.

Chapter 25 relates that the children of Israel fornicated with the Midianite women and adored their idols. Because of this, the Lord commanded that the twelve princes of the tribes be hanged. Phinehas, son of Eleazar, struck and killed one of the children of Israel while he was fornicating with a Midianite woman, and thereby appeased the Lord's anger. Twenty-three thousand Israelites fell because of this evil.

In chapter 26 the Lord again commanded that all males twenty years old and above be numbered by their individual tribes. In all, six hundred and one thousand seven hundred and thirty were found. They had not been numbered at the departure from Egypt, because all those previously numbered had died in the desert except Joshua and Caleb. The Lord declared that possession of the land should be given to the aforesaid tribes according to the lots that fell to them.

In chapter 27 the five daughters of Zelophehad asked for an inheritance. The Lord commanded that they be given the portion that would have fallen to their father and handed down a rule for the order of succession to an inheritance when someone died without male children.

Afterward He commanded Moses to ascend Mount Abarim and from there to look upon the land promised to the fathers, which he would not enter because of his unbelief at the Waters of Contradiction. He also commanded that Moses appoint Joshua as leader of the people in his place; in matters to be done, Joshua was to consult Eleazar the high priest. Moses died there.

Chapters 28 and 29 mention the sacrifices to be offered and their observances or modes. First they treat the daily holocaust, namely two lambs to be offered on the altar, one in the morning and the other in the evening; then the sacrifice to be made at the Kalends; and then the sacrifices to be made at the solemnities of Passover, Pentecost, Tabernacles, and the Feast of Propitiation.

Chapter 30 treats vows and oaths made by women while they are in their parents' house, married, or widowed, and explains how or when they can be made void by parents or husbands.

In chapter 31 many thousands from Israel were sent at the Lord's command to wage war against the Midianites. They defeated and killed all of them except the virgin women, captured the cities, took exceedingly great plunder, and divided it among everyone. With the others they also killed Balaam the soothsayer.

In chapter 32 the tribe of Reuben, the tribe of Gad, and half the tribe of Manasseh asked to be given possessions and dwelling places there, on this side of the Jordan. After rebuking them, Moses granted the request on the condition that they cross the Jordan to fight with the others until they obtained the Promised Land.

Chapter 33 treats the forty stopping places made in the desert over forty years and gives their names. Chapter 34 treats the boundaries of the Promised Land they were to possess and names those who were to divide the land among the tribes.

Chapter 35 treats the cities, towns, and suburbs that they were to give to the Levites, and the cities of refuge, three on this side of the Jordan and three beyond the Jordan. Chapter 36, the last, commands that men and women contract marriage only within their own tribe, lest an inheritance pass from tribe to tribe and the tribes thereby be confused and intermingled.

Second Title

Chapter Four: The Deeds of Moses

§ IX: On the Book of Deuteronomy

The book of Deuteronomy is called the “second law” because it is, as it were, a recapitulation of the law, but with many additions and explanations of the moral, judicial, and ceremonial precepts.

In chapter 27 Moses ordained that six of the tribes should ascend Mount Gerizim and that the Levites there, crying aloud, should invoke against transgressors of the law the many curses written in that place. Conversely, six other tribes were to ascend Mount Ebal, and the Levites, crying aloud, were to invoke the many blessings concerning temporal things that are narrated in chapter 28 upon those who observe the law.

Chapter 31 contains the song “Hear, O heavens.” Chapter 33 contains the blessings that Moses gave to the individual tribes before his death. The final chapter relates how Moses, ascending Mount Nebo at God's command, was shown the Promised Land by the Lord. He was gathered to his fathers, and his grave was not found. All Israel mourned him for thirty days, and Joshua assumed the leadership of the people. Jerome, commenting on Amos, says that Moses was taken up into paradise with Enoch.

§ X: In the Time of Moses

Helinand says that Abderas reigned in Crete. He founded a city and called it Abderas after his own name. The philosopher Democritus came from that city.

In Crete a certain most ancient king named Gargaris was the first to discover the practice of gathering honey. When his daughter had conceived a son through incest, out of shame for the crime she commanded that he first be exposed to various wild beasts so that he would be killed, and afterward to the waves of the sea. But the waves cast him onto the shore, and deer nourished him. At last he was caught in a snare with the deer among which he lived and was brought to the king. The king recognized and pitied him, appointed him as his successor, and gave him the name Avidis [read: Abidis]. He established laws for the people, taught them to tame oxen for the plow, and taught them to seek grain from the furrow.

In the thirty-fifth year of Moses, Cecrops reigned in Attica. From him until the capture of Troy were 375 years. From that time--that is, after the aforesaid year--is marked the beginning of the Athenian kingdom. While Cecrops reigned, Minerva was born, and from Minerva's name, which in Greek is called Athena, those regions were called Athens.

Seventeen kings succeeded Cecrops, one after another over many years. The last of them was Codrus, who was killed in the Peloponnesian War, something he himself arranged. For when an answer had been received from the gods that the army whose king was killed in battle would have the victory, Codrus wished his own army to have victory. He changed his appearance so that he would not be recognized, approached the enemy army, fought with one man, and was killed by him. When the victory had been obtained, the rule of the Cecropidae, which had lasted 437 years, was destroyed. After Codrus there were successively thirteen other kings at Athens; afterward there were princes and magistrates, and finally nine princes who were changed annually.

In the time of Moses, the first Hercules is reputed to have defeated Antaeus in a wrestling contest. Cecrops was the first who, when sacrificing an ox, called upon Jupiter. Deucalion began to reign among them and dwelt near Parnassus. In those days occurred the flood in Thessaly under Deucalion, the conflagration caused by Phaethon in Ethiopia, and many local pestilences, as Plato records. A temple to Apollo at Delphi was built by Cecrops.

Chapter Five

The book of Joshua contains the things done under his leadership over the people of Israel.

Chapter 1 relates that Joshua, appointed by the Lord as leader of the people after Moses, was encouraged by Him not to fear, because He would assist him in leading the people into the Promised Land. The Lord commanded him to observe God's law and imitate Moses' footsteps. All the people declared that they wished to obey him.

In chapter 2 Joshua sent scouts to explore Jericho. Rahab the prostitute received and concealed them in her house. They promised immunity to her, her household, and her family if she placed a scarlet sign in the window. She secretly let them depart.

Chapter 3 relates that they crossed the Jordan after a way had been made miraculously, with the Levites carrying the ark in front. Chapter 4 relates that after they had left the Jordan, Joshua caused twelve stones to be taken from the river and placed at Gilgal, and twelve others to be placed in the middle of the Jordan, as a memorial of the deed.

In chapter 5 circumcision was performed at Gilgal, because those born in the desert had not yet been circumcised. They celebrated Passover on the fourteenth day of the first month. They ate from the fruits of the land, and the manna by which they had been fed for forty years ceased.

Joshua saw an angel with a drawn sword, who told him that he had come to assist him. At God's command the fighting men circled the closed city of Jericho, sounding trumpets: once on each of six days, and seven times on the seventh. Jericho's walls fell entirely. Entering, they killed everyone and consigned the possessions to fire, except for Rahab's house and those with her.

Chapter 7 relates that when they proceeded to battle against Ai, they were put to flight and some were killed. When Joshua prayed because of this, it was revealed that something from what had been put under the ban at Jericho had been taken. When the culprit was sought by lots, Achor was found. He confessed the theft and was stoned by the people.

Chapter 8 relates that they obtained Ai through an ambush, pretending to flee so that they might lead everyone out of the city. When all had been killed, they captured the city and hanged its king.

Chapter 9 relates that the Gibeonites, pretending that they came from distant regions, entered into a covenant of peace with the Israelites and confirmed it with an oath. When the pious deception was uncovered, the Israelites preserved them because of the oath, although they subjected them to a certain servitude.

Chapter 10 relates that five kings came to besiege the Gibeonites because they had entered into a covenant with Israel. When the Gibeonites asked Joshua for aid, Joshua proceeded with his men against the five kings and defeated them. While he pursued them in flight and the sun approached its setting, at his prayer and request the sun and moon remained fixed in heaven for a great space of time. Finally, Joshua caused those five kings to be brought out from a cave in which they had hidden and hanged upon wood.

Chapter 11 relates that he captured many cities, killed the peoples and their kings, and subjected many places to fire and sword. Chapter 12 relates that he defeated and killed thirty-one kings who reigned in various cities in the Promised Land and captured their cities.

From chapter 13 through chapter 20 it is contained how Joshua and Eleazar the high priest, with the twelve princes of the tribes, divided the Promised Land among nine tribes and half the tribe of Manasseh, assigning to each its portion of cities and places. The land beyond the Jordan had already been given by Moses to the other two tribes--Reuben and Gad--and half of Manasseh.

Chapter 15 relates that Achsah, daughter of Caleb and betrothed to Othniel, at her own sighing and request received from her father the upper and lower watered ground. Chapter 20 designates the cities of refuge to which a person who had killed someone by accident could flee and remain safe until the death of the high priest.

In chapter 21 cities with suburbs but no other territory are assigned to the Levites, because in place of territory they were to have tithes, first fruits, and offerings.

In chapter 22 Joshua gave the two and a half tribes permission to return to the land granted to them beyond the Jordan. Near the Jordan they made an altar of immense size. Because of this, Joshua and the others suspected them of idolatry and sent messengers. When they learned from them that they had made the altar not for sacrificing, but as a memorial that they belonged to the people of Israel, they were pacified.

In chapters 23 and 24 Joshua, now old, gathered the people and encouraged them to observe the law and worship the true God, recalling the benefits God had bestowed upon them. They pledged themselves to obey God. Joshua then died at the age of 110 years. According to Vincent's *History*, he held the leadership of the people and governed them for twenty-six years. Cariatha, or Thana-saxa, was given to him as a possession, and according to Josephus, Shechem also. Joseph's bones, which the children of Israel had brought with them from Egypt, were placed in Shechem.

From the foregoing it appears that the rights of the firstborn consisted principally of three things: the firstborn possessed the kingdom, the priesthood, and the right to divide the inheritance.

The first, namely the kingdom, was given to the tribe of Judah. This appeared most fully in David, and much more in Christ, who reigns over all things. Judah merited this at the Red Sea, because when the others hesitated, Judah was the first tribe to enter the sea after Moses. The second, namely the priesthood, was given to the tribe of Levi. The third, namely the right to divide, was given to the tribe of Ephraim, because Joshua, who divided the land, belonged to the tribe of Ephraim.

§ I: After Moses and Joshua

The judges succeeded as leaders among the people. They possessed no regular jurisdiction over them and did not rule as Moses and Joshua had done. Rather, in their tribulations the people employed the judges' counsel and prudence.

It should be known that in the chronology of the Judges, a period of Jewish affliction is often placed between two judges. According to the Hebrews, the durations of these afflictions are added to the years of the later judges so that one may obtain precisely the number of 480 years from the departure from Egypt until the building of the temple, which is counted in the Third Book of Kings.

Thus, after Joshua's death foreigners held the Jews in subjection for eight years. According to the Hebrews, those years are joined to the time of Othniel, the first judge. Again, eighteen years of servitude are read between Othniel and Ehud, and according to them these are counted within Ehud's time. Similarly there are twenty years after Ehud, seven after Deborah, eighteen after Jair, and forty after Abdon. All these years counted together make 111.

Finally, if they are numbered separately from the years of the judges and together with them, there are 601 years from the departure from Egypt until the foundation of the temple. This count includes the ten years of Abialon, which are not contained in the Septuagint. We, however, following Eusebius the chronographer and in part the Hebrews, will number the years of the judges so as to obtain precisely the smaller number read in the Third Book of Kings. Thus Vincent's *History*.

Josephus says that the history of Micah's idol and of the Levite's violated wife, on account of which war followed and the tribe of Benjamin was almost destroyed, is narrated at the end of the book of Judges, but that these things happened after Joshua's death and before Othniel.

In the time of Joshua, Jupiter--who was regarded as a god among the pagans--shamefully united with Europa, daughter of the Phoenician king of Tyre and Sidon.

In Othniel's time Cadmus reigned at Thebes. From his daughter Semele was born Dionysius, Father Liber, under whom Linus the Theban was a musician. The things told of Demeter, whom they say was Isis, and of Danae, from whom Perseus was born, also happened in these times.

In the time of the judge Ehud, Erechtheus reigned at Athens as its sixth king. Boreas the Thracian carried away his daughter Orithyia; the fable invents that Boreas was a wind. The fable of Proserpina also belongs to this time.

In the time of the judge Deborah, Midas reigned in Phrygia. Ilium was founded by Ilus. The kingdom of the Argives came to an end and was transferred to Mycenae, where Perseus first reigned in the time of Gideon, judge of Israel.

Orpheus the Thracian was famous; his disciple was Musaeus. Linus also, the teacher of Hercules, became known to everyone. Hercules completed his contests, killed Antaeus, and laid Ilium waste. Varro, in Book IV of *Divine Things*, thinks that Hercules is called “victor” because he conquered every kind of animal.

But Hercules, the son of Jupiter, who was unconquered by other men, was subjected to the woman Omphale, who made him spin wool and perform women's tasks. Albert says of the same man that, after defeating Geryon and coming to Italy, Hercules was received by Evander, who was then king. When Hercules said that he was Jupiter's son and proved his valor by the death of Cacus, he was regarded as a divinity and earned the altar called the Great Altar, which was given to him. The Delphic Apollo had foretold that this would be his in Italy.

At last Hercules fell into a pestilential disease and, to remedy his pain, cast himself into the flames and so died. Hence Seneca, in his final tragedy, calls Hercules “Oetaean,” from Mount Oeta, upon which he was burned. Behold what kind of god the Gentiles had: effeminate and utterly unable to endure suffering.

The fabulous poets also hand down that this Hercules killed the serpent Hydra, which had nine heads and possessed the property that, when one was cut off, seven arose. Hence Hercules burned it. But the truth of the matter is that Hydra was a place that discharged waters and laid waste a neighboring city. When one channel was closed, many other channels broke out. Seeing this, Hercules burned those places and thus closed the channels of the water. For Hydra is named from water. According to Ambrose, it signifies heresy. Hercules lived until or about the time of Jephthah, judge of Israel. Thus Vincent's *History*.

§ II: The Judges after Joshua

The first judge was Othniel, Caleb's brother. But before his time, chapter 1 of the book of Judges relates that the tribe of Judah and the tribe of Simeon went up together into battle against the Canaanites and defeated them. They captured King Adoni-bezek and cut off the extremities of his hands and feet. He said that the Lord had justly done this, because he himself had held seventy captured kings, with the extremities of their hands and feet cut off, beneath his table.

Achsah, Othniel's wife, received from her father Caleb the upper and lower watered ground, as she had requested. It is also related there that the children of Israel did not entirely destroy those peoples in the Promised Land, but made many of them tributaries. The Lord permitted them not to be wholly destroyed so that He might train Israel through them.

Chapter 2 relates that an angel of the Lord appeared, rebuked them for transgressing the law, reproached them with the benefits bestowed upon them by the Lord, and moved them to weeping. There it is related generally how they repeatedly withdrew from God and for this reason were handed over in servitude to various tyrants; when they repented, they were freed by different judges, but after their deliverance they often relapsed into evil.

The first judge who freed them from the hand of Chushan-rishathaim, king of Mesopotamia, whom Israel had served for eight years, was Othniel. The land rested for forty years.

When they returned to evil, they were handed over for eighteen years into the hands of Eglon, king of the Moabites, and also into the hands of the Ammonites and Amalekites. But when they cried out to the Lord, they were freed by Ehud. Pretending that he wished to speak to King Eglon in a private chamber, Ehud killed him with a sword. Escaping through a rear door, he gathered an army and killed very many Moabites. The land rested for eighty years.

In chapter 4 Shamgar, the third judge, killed six hundred Philistines who wished to enter their territory, using a plowshare.

Second Title

Chapter Five

§ II: The Judges after Joshua

After this, when the children of Israel did evil, they were handed over into the hands of Jabin, king of Canaan, whose commander of the army was Sisera. Barak engaged him in battle at the persuasion of the prophetess Deborah and with her accompanying him. The Lord terrified Sisera's army. Sisera fled from the battle and hid in the house of Jael, the wife of Heber the Kenite. While he slept, Jael drove a nail through his temples. Chapter 5 contains Deborah's song, which she made in thanksgiving to the Lord for the victory of His people.

In chapter 6, when they returned to their former iniquities, they were handed over for seven years into the hands of the Midianites, whose princes were Oreb, Zeb, Zebah, and Zalmunna. But they were freed through Gideon, the fifth judge.

An angel appeared to Gideon while he was threshing wheat and foretold the deliverance that would be accomplished through him. The angel touched with his staff the meat, broth, and unleavened bread Gideon had placed upon a rock, and kindled a fire that consumed them. After this, as a sign of the future victory, Gideon asked that a fleece placed on the threshing floor be filled with dew while the floor remained dry, and then, in turn, that the opposite occur. All this was done.

Chapter 7 relates that, from the army gathered with Gideon, twenty-two thousand first withdrew because they were fearful. Second, the ten thousand who remained with him were led to the river to drink. Only those who did not kneel but brought water to their mouths with their hands while drinking were chosen. These were only three hundred, and with them Gideon waged war against the Midianites.

He was strengthened by a dream that he heard recounted in the enemy camp, namely that someone had seen a hearth-baked loaf strike the camp of Midian. When those three hundred sounded their trumpets, broke their earthen vessels against one another, and revealed the lighted lamps, the Midianites awoke from sleep and fled, killing one another in mutual slaughter.

Chapter 8 relates that the Israelites pursued them in flight. The men of the tribe of Ephraim quarreled with Gideon because he had not called them to the battle, but he placated them with humble and courteous words.

After 120,000 Midianites, together with Oreb and Zeb, had been killed, the five thousand who had escaped with Zebah and Zalmunna were resting as though secure. The Israelites killed these also. After plunder had been taken from the spoils, Gideon made an ephod from the golden rings given to him, and in it the people fornicated away from God. Gideon judged for forty years.

Chapter 9 relates that Abimelech, Gideon's illegitimate son, persuaded the men of Shechem to kill his seventy brothers, Gideon's legitimate sons, so that he alone might rule. They did so, beheading them upon a single stone, except for the youngest, named Jotham, who hid.

Jotham told the Shechemites a parable about the trees that went to the vine, the fig tree, the olive tree, and finally the bramble--that is, a thorn--to make one of them their king. Later, when Abimelech entered into conflict with the Shechemites, he set fire beneath the tower of Shechem, causing a thousand people to die. Finally, while Abimelech himself was besieging Thebez, a woman threw a fragment of a millstone from the wall and struck him on the head. So that he would not appear to have been killed by a woman, he caused his armor-bearer to kill him completely.

In chapter 10 the sixth judge was Tola, of the tribe of Issachar, who judged Israel for twenty-three years. After him the seventh was Jair, who judged for twenty-three years. He had thirty sons who rode upon asses and were princes of thirty cities, to whom he gave wives. After them the Israelites sinned against the Lord and were afflicted in many ways by the Ammonites and Midianites.

In chapter 11 Jephthah, an illegitimate man and a leader of robbers, was made commander of the army by the Gileadites so that he might fight against the Ammonites. Jephthah first sent messengers to the king of Ammon, showing by reason that they unjustly wished to usurp the lands the Lord had granted to Israel. When the king was unwilling to listen to him, Jephthah vowed to offer whatever first came from his house to meet him upon his victorious return. He then advanced against the Ammonites and defeated them.

As Jephthah returned, his virgin daughter came to meet him with a tambourine. To keep his vow, he sacrificed her: foolish in vowing, impious in fulfilling.

In chapter 12 a sedition arose between Ephraim and the Gileadites because Jephthah had not called the Ephraimites to battle against Ammon. Quarreling, they fought one another. The Gileadites occupied the fords of the Jordan. When scattered fugitives from the tribe of Ephraim wished to cross, the Gileadites, in order to learn whether they were Ephraimites, made them say “Shibboleth.” When they could not pronounce it but said “Sibboleth,” they killed them. Forty-two thousand Ephraimites were killed.

Jephthah, the seventh judge, judged Israel for six years. After him Ibzan of Bethlehem, the eighth judge, judged for seven years and had thirty sons and the same number of daughters. After him Elon the Zebulunite, the ninth, judged for ten years. After Elon, Abdon, the tenth judge, who had forty sons, judged for eight years.

Adding evils to evils, the children of Israel were handed over into the hands of the Philistines for forty years, but they were aided by Samson, the eleventh judge, from the tribe of Dan.

Chapter 13 relates that an angel of the Lord first appeared to Manoah's barren wife and afterward to Manoah himself, signifying to them that they would have a son who would be a Nazirite and would begin to free the people from the hand of the Philistines. When they offered the angel a cooked kid, a fire was kindled and the angel cast himself into the flame and disappeared. Manoah was terrified by this, but his wife comforted him.

Chapter 14 relates that when Samson had grown up, he took a wife from among the Philistines. As he went with his parents to see the Philistine city from which he took his wife, he turned away from his parents and killed a lion. On another occasion he found honey made by bees in the mouth of its corpse.

When the wedding was celebrated, he proposed a riddle to the seven companions who had been given to him. They did not know how to solve it, but Samson's wife importunately extorted its explanation from him. Through their entreaties and threats, the companions induced her to teach it to them.

Chapter 15 contains the account that Samson's father-in-law had given Samson's wife to another man. Because of this, Samson took three hundred foxes, tied them together in pairs by their tails, placed burning torches there, and sent them through the Philistines' fields. They burned all the crops.

Because of this the Israelites bound Samson and handed him over into the Philistines' hands. The Spirit of God suddenly broke his bonds. Taking up an ass's jawbone from the ground, Samson killed a thousand Philistines with it. When he became extremely thirsty from his labor, water came forth from that same jawbone after it had been thrown to the ground, and he drank from it.

Chapter 16 relates that Samson was shut within Gaza, the city to which he had gone down at night. Around midnight he arose, carried away the gates of the city with their bars upon his shoulders, and bore them up a mountain.

Afterward he loved a woman named Delilah in Sorek. At the Philistines' request and promise of money, she investigated through him the source of his great strength. At first he said that it lay in seven fresh sinews if he were bound with them; afterward, in new ropes; and after this, in the seven locks of his head woven into a web and fastened with a pin fixed into the ground. When all these things were tried, he suddenly broke them all.

At last, worn down by her importunity, he revealed that his strength lay in the hair of his head. When it was shaved while he slept in her lap, he was captured and blinded by the Philistines, who kept him in prison.

When a feast arrived in the temple of Dagon, the god of the Philistines, they brought Samson before the people to dance. By then the hair of his head had grown again. Touching the temple's columns, he first prayed and then said, “Let my soul die with the Philistines.” The temple collapsed, killing him and a great many Philistines. Samson judged Israel for twenty years.

Chapter 17 relates that a certain man named Micah, from Mount Ephraim, restored to his mother the eleven hundred pieces of silver that she had given him for safekeeping. From them she caused a carved image and certain priestly ornaments to be made, together with a little shrine or chapel in her house.

In chapter 18 the children of Dan, wishing to enlarge their borders, sent messengers or scouts to investigate places more suitable for them. When they turned aside for lodging into Micah's house, the priest explained to them how he came to be staying there. When they returned on another occasion, they took that priest with them and carried away Micah's idol and the other objects. Coming with an army to Laish, they captured its inhabitants, who lived securely and had no alliance with anyone.

Chapter 19 tells of a certain Levite who went to his father-in-law in order to reconcile to himself his wife, who had left him in anger. He was received amicably and departed kindly from him with his reconciled wife. When evening came, they turned aside for lodging at the city of Gibeah.

After a certain man brought him into his house, the city's most wicked men pounded upon the house and demanded that the man be brought out to them so that they might abuse him. When they would not yield to the host who prohibited this with entreaties, the Levite finally sent out to them his concubine--that is, his wife. She is called a concubine because perhaps she had not been taken with the lawful solemnity. They abused her for the entire night, and in the morning she fell dead before the door of the house.

The Levite placed her upon an ass and returned home. He divided her corpse into twelve parts and sent one part to each tribe.

Chapter 20 relates that, abhorring so great a crime, all the tribes gathered and sent messengers to the men of the tribe of Benjamin, demanding that they hand over the men of Gibeah to be punished. The Benjaminites refused and instead gathered to help them, so all the other tribes made war against them.

In the first engagement, the men of Benjamin killed twenty-two thousand of the remaining Israelites. In the second battle the Benjaminites again killed eighteen thousand Israelites; this happened because the Israelites trusted in their multitude. In the third battle, after prayer and humiliation, the Israelites deliberated and killed twenty-five thousand from the tribe of Benjamin. They burned the city of Gibeah and Benjamin's other cities.

Chapter 21, the last, contains the account that the children of Israel gathered at Shiloh and made lamentation for the destruction and extermination of the tribe of Benjamin. Only six hundred men had remained and escaped from them; these had fled into the desert.

When it was discovered that the men of Jabesh-gilead had not obeyed the edict commanding everyone to assemble, but had remained within their own territory, the Israelites sent fighting men against them. They put them to the sword, preserving only the virgins, who numbered four hundred. They gave these as wives to four hundred Benjaminites. They provided for the other two hundred men by allowing them, at a certain solemnity attended by many people, including virgin girls, to take wives for themselves from among those girls. This was done.

But this history of the Levite and the preceding history of Micah are said to have happened between Joshua's time and Othniel's time, in the intervening period.

After the book of Judges comes the book of Ruth, containing seven chapters. It contains the history of an event that occurred in the time of one of the judges, namely Eli the priest, who will be treated below.

Elimelech of Bethlehem in Judah, because of a famine or scarcity, sojourned in the land of the Moabites with his wife Naomi and his two sons, Mahlon and Chilion. Elimelech died there, and his sons married Moabite wives, one named Orpah and the other Ruth.

When those sons, Mahlon and Chilion, had died, Naomi wished to return to Bethlehem. She told her daughters-in-law to return to their parents' homes. Although both wished to follow her, Orpah finally left her. Ruth, however, with a steadfast heart, said that she would never depart from Naomi wherever she went.

Ruth therefore returned with her to Bethlehem. Because they were poor, Ruth went during harvest time into Boaz's field, following the reapers in order to gather the ears that remained. When Boaz learned of her goodness, in the evening he gave her some of the grain that had been gathered.

Finally, because Ruth's former husband had no closer kinsman than Boaz, he freely acknowledged before witnesses that he wished to have her as his wife. The custom then observed in such a matter was kept, namely that the man who yielded his right took off his shoe. Boaz contracted marriage with Ruth the Moabitess, and Obed was born to them. Obed begot Jesse, or Ishai, the father of David.

§ III: On the War of the Greeks against the Trojans, the Destruction of Troy, and Its Cause

According to Book III, chapter 62 of Vincent's *History*, and according to Helinand, Alexander--who was also called Paris, son of Priam--abducted Helen, wife of Menelaus, in the year in which Jephthah and Hercules died. On account of this a ten-year war arose.

From that year until the fourth year of Ahaz, king of Judah, which is the first year of the City--that is, of the founding of Rome--438 years are found in the chronicles. Nevertheless, according to Augustine, some wrote that Rome was founded under Hezekiah, the son of Ahaz.

Orosius says that 430 years before the City was founded, the Greeks formed a confederacy because of the abduction of Helen, assembled a thousand ships, and afterward conducted a ten-year siege. Dares the Phrygian, who wrote this history, says that there were forty-seven Greek leaders against Troy and that they brought 1,202 ships. Thirty-three leaders came to the aid of Priam, king of Troy.

The summary of the Trojan War from the history of Dares, which Cornelius translated, is as follows. When Castor and Pollux heard that their sister Helen, the most beautiful wife of Menelaus, brother of Agamemnon, had been abducted by Alexander or Paris, they boarded a ship and followed her. When they put out from the Lesbian shore, a very great storm arose, and they were never seen again. The Lesbians searched for them as far as Troy. When they did not find them, they believed that they had been made immortal gods.

The forty-seven Greek leaders therefore assembled at Athens with 1,202 ships. Diomedes and Ulysses were first sent as ambassadors to Priam so that satisfaction might be made for the injury. When the mission produced no result, they fought one another. In the first battle Hector, Priam's son, killed Protesilaus.

In the second battle Hector would have killed Patroclus, Minon, and Ajax the Telamonian, had he not recognized Ajax as being of his own blood. For Ajax was born of Hesione, Priam's sister. The first truce was granted at the Greeks' request for two years.

Second Title

Chapter Five

§ III: On the War of the Greeks against the Trojans, the Destruction of Troy, and Its Cause

In the third battle Hector killed the leaders Boechen, Archilochus, and Prothenor. In the fourth battle Alexander pierced Menelaus's thigh with an arrow. In the fifth battle Hector killed seven very strong leaders, Aeneas two, Achilles four, and Diomedes two.

In the sixth war they fought for eighty continuous days. The Greeks asked for a second truce of three years. When it was completed, the fighting began again. In the first line of battle Hector killed four very strong leaders. Achilles, who was on the Greek side, killed two men from the Trojan side. They fought for thirty days.

Priam requested a third truce of six months. Agamemnon, who was on the Greek side, then requested a fourth truce of thirty days.

In the ninth war Andromache, Hector's wife, wished to keep Hector back because she had seen in dreams that it was not expedient for him to go out to battle. When she could not do this, she placed their son Astyanax at his feet. But even in this way she did not restrain him.

Hector therefore went out to battle, killed three very strong leaders, and wounded two and a third, Achilles, by whom he was finally killed. The Greeks requested a fifth truce of two months. After the tenth war the Greeks requested a sixth truce for one year.

In the eleventh war Palamedes, who had been made king through an uprising, was killed. In the twelfth war Troilus killed many. In the thirteenth battle they fought for seven continuous days. Agamemnon requested a seventh truce of thirty days.

In the eighteenth war Troilus wounded Achilles, and they fought for seven continuous days. In the nineteenth war Troilus fell from his horse and was killed by Achilles. In the twentieth war Memnon, leader of the Persians, fell. Priam requested a tenth truce of thirty days.

In the twenty-first war Alexander killed Achilles in Apollo's shrine, where he had called him to a conference while feigning a reconciliation. The Greeks therefore requested an eleventh truce. In the twenty-second battle Alexander wounded Ajax; Ajax wounded and killed Alexander, and immediately died from his own wound.

In the twenty-third and twenty-fourth wars Penthesilea, queen of the Amazons, manfully wounded Neoptolemus, son of Achilles, by whom she was finally killed. Antenor, Polydamas, and Aeneas told Priam to make peace. When he refused, they betrayed their homeland.

After Troy had therefore been captured, Agamemnon divided all the booty equally. Thus the fighting at Troy lasted ten years, eight months, and twelve days. As Dares the Phrygian reports, 870,000 Greeks fell. Among the Trojans, 676,000 men fell before the city was betrayed; after it was betrayed, 276,000 Trojans were killed.

Aeneas was carried away in twenty-two ships, the same number with which Alexander had gone to Greece. A company of 3,400 Trojan men followed him. Two thousand five hundred followed Antenor. Helenus, with Cassandra, Andromache, and Hecuba, Priam's wife, sought Crimusium with 1,700 persons.

Homer says that after Troy was captured, Menelaus and his wife Helen turned aside to Thecur, king of Egypt, whom he calls Polybus.

Augustine says as follows about Diomedes and Ulysses with their companions in Book XVIII of *The City of God*: “When the victorious Greeks left Troy destroyed, they were torn and crushed by various and terrible disasters, and nevertheless they increased the number of their gods from among themselves. For they made even Diomedes a god, though it is reported that, by a punishment divinely inflicted, he did not return to his own people and that his companions were changed into birds. This is confirmed not by a fabulous and poetic lie but by historical attestation. Yet neither he himself, though made a god as they suppose, was able to restore their human nature, nor did he, as a new inhabitant of heaven, obtain this from his king Jupiter.” Thus Augustine.

A little later Augustine adds: “In order to establish this, Varro recalls other things no less incredible about that great and most famous Circe, who changed Ulysses' companions into beasts, and about Arcadians who, after being chosen by lot, entered a certain lake and were there changed into wolves. They lived with similar wild beasts in the wildernesses of that region. If they did not feed on human flesh, after nine years they returned to the same lake and were restored to human beings,” and so forth.

“When we were in Italy, we heard similar things about a certain region in those parts. They said that innkeeping women imbued with these evil arts customarily gave such cheese to whichever travelers they wished or could affect. The travelers were immediately changed into pack animals, carried whatever loads were necessary, and, after the work had been completed, returned to themselves again. Their minds, however, did not become bestial; their rational and human minds were preserved.

“Demons certainly do not create natures if they do any such thing. Rather, Circe changed Ulysses' companions in appearance, that is, according to what appeared. In this way it seems to me that it could have occurred, if it occurred at all.” Augustine thus concludes that these transformations were produced by the work of demons according to an appearance presented to the senses, not according to the truth of the thing. This is confirmed in Cause 26, question 5, *Nec mirum* and chapter *Episcopi*.

After Troy's destruction, which occurred in the third year of Abdon, judge of Israel, Aeneas was the first to reign among the Latins. Before him Janus, Saturn, Picus, Faunus, and Latinus had reigned for about 150 years. Aeneas reigned for three years, or, as some hold, for eight years, beginning three years after the captivity of Troy.

His son Ascanius reigned second for thirty-two years. After him thirteen others reigned successively, the last of whom was called Amulius. The period of the reigns of all these rulers from Aeneas to Amulius was about 423 years.

In the time of this King Amulius, Remus and Romulus were born from Mars and Ilia. They founded Rome. When it had been founded, the Latins were called Romans. Romulus was the first to reign over these Romans, after killing his brother Remus. He began to reign in the sixth year of Ahaz, king of Judah, and reigned for thirty-eight years.

After him six other kings reigned successively: Numa Pompilius, Tullus Hostilius, Ancus Marcius, Tarquinius Priscus, Servius, and Tarquinius Superbus. These seven kings ruled for 240 years, or thereabouts.

When royal dominion among the Romans had ended, consuls began with Brutus. Afterward tribunes of the plebs and dictators, and again consuls, governed the republic for almost 464 years, until Julius Caesar, who was the first to seize sole command for himself and from whom later emperors were called Caesars.

Vincent's *History* reports from a history of the Franks that Troy was built in the time of Ehud, judge of Israel, and, after standing for 185 years, was captured and destroyed in the time of Abdon, judge of Israel. After its overthrow a great multitude fled and divided itself into two peoples.

As regards those descended from Priam, one group followed Francus, grandson of King Priam and son of Hector; the other followed Turcus, son of Troilus, who was the son of King Priam. Some therefore hand down that the two peoples descended from these men were named the Franks and the Turks. Ascanius, son of Aeneas, founded Alba near Rome, but it was afterward destroyed by the Romans.

Chapter Six

Returning to sacred history, after Samson, Eli judged the people. He was also a priest and is named a priest rather than a judge from the more dignified office. When the priesthood was transferred from the sons of Eleazar, Eli was the first of the sons of Ithamar to seize it. Perhaps, when he himself had become judge, he transferred the priesthood to himself.

He began to judge in the 356th year after the departure from Egypt, in the 761st year of the Third Age--that is, from Abraham--and in the 2,709th year of the world. He judged for forty years. In his time occurred the history of Ruth treated above. Under him the prophet Samuel was born, as is contained in the First Book of Kings. We therefore proceed with Samuel's history from that book.

The first book relates that Elkanah had two wives, Hannah and Peninnah. Hannah was barren but was more loved by her husband. Peninnah was fruitful and reproached Hannah for her barrenness. Greatly saddened by this, Hannah approached the temple, prayed, and made a vow in order to obtain a son. When Eli the priest rebuked her for praying as though drunk, she humbly excused herself and disclosed her affliction.

The Lord heard Hannah's prayer and gave her a male child, the prophet Samuel. When he had been weaned, she offered him to the Lord at God's tabernacle and left him there to serve in it.

Chapter 2 gives the song “My heart has rejoiced,” and so forth, which Hannah composed while giving thanks to God. It then relates that Eli's two sons, Hophni and Phinehas, who ministered in the tabernacle, were gluttons. Through their servants they caused their own portion to be taken from animals offered in sacrifice before the animals were burned, contrary to the law. They also slept with women in the tabernacle, that is, in its courts. When Eli heard this, he rebuked them, but far too mildly.

In chapter 3 a certain prophet reproved Eli for his negligence in correcting his sons and foretold that they would be killed on account of their crimes. It also relates how Samuel, called three times in his sleep by the Lord, thought Eli was calling him and went to him. The third time, Eli taught him that if he were called again, he should say, “Speak, Lord, for Your servant hears.” When Samuel observed this, the Lord spoke to him about Eli's failure and that of his sons and their future punishment. When Eli questioned him, Samuel related everything.

In chapter 4 the Philistines proceeded to battle against Israel, put them to flight, and killed four thousand Israelites. Because of this, the Israelites caused the Lord's ark to be carried into their camp to assist them. When the people of Israel rejoiced over it, the Philistines were saddened, saying, “Woe to you,” and so forth. Nevertheless, they encouraged one another, entered battle against Israel, and defeated them. The ark was captured and Eli's sons were killed. When their father heard this, he fell backward and died.

In chapter 5 the Philistines carried God's ark to Ashdod and placed it in the temple of their idol Dagon. Twice they found Dagon cast down upon the ground before the ark. The Philistines were also struck with ulcers on their buttocks. Wherever they carried the ark, that plague followed, while mice arising from the earth gnawed them in their hinder parts.

In chapter 6 the Philistines, after taking counsel, sent the ark back with five golden buttocks and mice, according to the number of their five cities. They placed it upon a wagon drawn by two milk cows whose calves had been shut away from them. Lowing as they went, the cows carried the ark by a straight road to Beth-shemesh, which is in Israel. Fifty thousand of the Beth-shemites who saw the Lord's ark died.

In chapter 7 the ark was transferred from Beth-shemesh to Kiriath-jearim. Samuel admonished the people to cast aside their idols and return to the Lord by serving Him. They did this, celebrating a fast and performing penance. When the Philistines went against them in battle, Samuel prayed and offered a lamb for Israel. The Lord terrified the Philistines, and they were defeated. Samuel judged the people, traveling each year through different places to direct them.

In chapter 8 Samuel, now old, appointed his two sons in his place to judge the people at Beersheba. They turned aside into avarice and perverted judgment for gifts. Scandalized by this, the people asked Samuel to appoint a king over them. Samuel took this badly and consulted the Lord about it. The Lord answered that he should hear them, but should declare the king's right to them, namely that they would suffer many burdens from him. When Samuel had done this, they nevertheless asked that a king be given to them, just as the other nations had.

In chapter 9 Saul, of the tribe of Benjamin, taller than the others from his shoulders upward and a man better than whom there was none in Israel, went at the command of his father Kish to search for his father's lost asses. He came to Samuel with a quarter of a silver stater to inquire about the asses from him as one who knew hidden things. The Lord revealed to Samuel that this man was to be made king. Samuel therefore kept Saul with him to eat and placed before him the shoulder of a cooked animal.

In chapter 10 Samuel anointed Saul as king when they were alone. He foretold three things that would happen to him on the way as a sign of what the Lord had ordained. The third sign was that Saul would find a company of prophets--that is, persons like religious--who were prophesying with musicians, and that he would prophesy with them. This was fulfilled.

Finally, when all the tribes were gathered at Mizpah and lots were cast, the lot fell upon Saul. When he was not present there, the Lord revealed that he was hidden at home, namely out of humility. He was therefore brought forward and declared by Samuel to be king of Israel. When certain men despised him, he pretended not to hear them.

In chapter 11, after a month, Nahash, king of the Ammonites, proceeded to war against the men of Jabesh-gilead. When they sought terms from him and offered to serve him, he answered that he would make this covenant with them only if he tore out the right eyes of them all. The men of Jabesh therefore came to Saul for aid. Saul gathered a very great army of Israel, defeated Nahash, and freed them. Because of this victory the people renewed Saul's kingship at Gilgal.

In chapter 12 Samuel declared to the people the innocence of his conduct among them: in judging he had neither falsely accused anyone nor extorted anything from anyone. He then recalled the benefits God had bestowed upon that people and their deliverance from servitude to tyrants through the hands of the judges. Although they now had the king they had requested, if they withdrew from God's commandments, they would perish together with their king.

To show, however, that they had done wrong in asking for a king, Samuel caused rain to descend, thunder to roar, and lightning to appear while the air was clear. When he prayed for them, these things ceased.

In chapter 13 the Philistines gathered in a very great multitude to wage war against Israel. King Saul likewise gathered an army to resist them and waited seven days for Samuel at Gilgal. When Samuel had not come, Saul himself offered the sacrifice. Samuel afterward came and rebuked him for this, saying that his kingdom would not continue farther, but that the Lord had provided another king for Himself.

Second Title

Chapter Six

Chapter 14 relates that Jonathan, Saul's son, without his father's knowledge, approached a Philistine outpost with his armor-bearer by a very difficult path. He killed twenty Philistines with a bow in a small space. Because of this the Philistine camp was thrown into confusion, its men killing one another, and many Israelites who had fled returned to assist them.

As Saul pursued the Philistines, he issued an edict under pain of death that no one in the army should eat until evening. Jonathan did not know this. Finding a honeycomb from a beehive on the way, he tasted it with his staff and took a little honey. A great slaughter was then inflicted upon the Philistines.

After the army had rested, Saul consulted the Lord as to whether he should pursue the Philistines farther. When the Lord did not answer, Saul suspected that a sin had been committed. He therefore sought by lots to learn who was responsible. The lot fell upon Jonathan, who disclosed that he had eaten honey contrary to the prohibition. Saul wished to kill him, but the people did not permit this, because the victory had proceeded from him. Saul had many other victories against the Philistines.

In chapter 15 the Lord commanded Saul through Samuel to go against the Amalekites and put everyone and the pack animals to the sword, sparing no one. Saul defeated Amalek but preserved King Agag and certain better pack animals. When Saul returned from the battle, Samuel rebuked him on the Lord's behalf for his disobedience. When Saul excused himself, Samuel answered that obedience pleases God more than sacrifices.

When Samuel wished to depart from him, Saul held him by his cloak. When it was torn, Samuel told Saul that the Lord had torn his kingdom away and given it to a better man. Nevertheless, at his request Samuel accompanied him and killed Agag, king of Amalek.

In chapter 16 the Lord commanded Samuel no longer to mourn Saul, because He had cast him away, but to go to Bethlehem to anoint one of Jesse's sons as king of Israel. Samuel therefore went to Bethlehem as though to offer a sacrifice. When seven of Jesse's sons had been brought before Samuel at his request, the Lord revealed that he should anoint none of them, but the youngest of all, David, who was in the pastures. When David was finally brought, Samuel anointed him.

An evil spirit troubled Saul. When he heard that David, Jesse's son, played the harp well and was handsome, warlike, and prudent, he caused David to come to him so that the evil spirit's vexation would cease or be diminished through his playing of the harp. This occurred, and David was made his armor-bearer.

Chapter 17 relates that, when the Philistines gathered to battle against Israel, the giant Goliath came out from the Philistine army against Israel and challenged it to single combat. While David was in the pastures, his father sent him to visit his brothers, who were in the army with Saul. Seeing the giant run about, David asked about the matter and heard that whoever defeated him would become the king's son-in-law and possess great riches. David offered himself for the combat.

When he was presented before Saul, he told how he had killed both a bear and a lion in the pastures. Finally, casting aside the armor in which he had been clothed, he went against the Philistine for combat. David cast a stone from his sling and struck Goliath in the forehead. When Goliath fell to the ground, David cut off his head with Goliath's own sword and carried it to Saul. His army then advanced against the Philistines and laid them low.

In chapter 18, when David presented himself to Saul, Jonathan, Saul's son, who was present there, formed so great a friendship with him that he caused David to be clothed with all his own garments. When Saul and David ascended with the people into Jerusalem in victory, choirs of girls came to meet them, singing with musical instruments, “Saul has struck down a thousand and David ten thousand.” Saul was saddened through envy and feared that the kingdom would pass to David.

One day, while David played the harp before him, Saul sought to pierce him with a spear. Afterward he made David a commander over the armed peoples. Saul promised to give his daughter Michal to David as a wife if David brought him one hundred foreskins of Philistines. By this he intended that the Philistines would bring about David's death. David agreed and brought two hundred foreskins, having killed the men in a just war because they were enemies of the people of Israel.

In chapter 19 Jonathan, who loved David greatly, reconciled him by his words to his father Saul, who sought to kill him. After David inflicted a great slaughter upon the Philistines in battle, Saul again sought to transfix him with a spear while he played the harp before him, but David avoided the blow.

When David fled to his house, Saul sent attendants to capture and kill him. His wife Michal warned him and lowered him through a window. When Saul was told that David was at Naioth with Samuel, he sent several different groups of officials three times to capture him. On arriving, they found men prophesying with Samuel and David, and they too prophesied with them, praising God. Finally Saul himself came, and he too prophesied with them, stripping himself naked.

In chapter 20 Jonathan promised David, at David's request, that he would disclose Saul's disposition toward him, whether good or evil. David was to hide in a field on a certain day. Jonathan would signify Saul's disposition by means of three arrows he shot and by the way he spoke to the boy sent to gather them. If he said that the arrows were beyond the boy, this would be a sign of Saul's evil intention toward David; if he said that the arrows were this side of him, it would be a sign of reconciliation.

Jonathan did this and indicated that Saul was ill-disposed toward David. Finally, after swearing to show mercy to one another in themselves and in their offspring, they departed from one another after much weeping.

In chapter 21 David came to the priest Ahimelech. When David asked for something to eat, Ahimelech, having nothing else at hand, gave him and his companions the loaves of proposition, and also Goliath's sword. David then went to Gath. When the king learned of this and commanded that he be seized, David pretended to be a fool and thus escaped.

In chapter 22 Saul heard that Ahimelech had consulted the Lord for David and had given him the loaves and sword. He sent for Ahimelech and caused him to be killed with eighty-five other priests. He subjected their city, Nob, to sword and fire.

In chapter 23 David inflicted a great slaughter upon the Philistines who were besieging Keilah and liberated it. The Lord revealed that Saul was coming to capture him, so David withdrew. When Saul was told that David was in the desert of Maon, he came with an army to capture David and his companions. When he was on the point of capturing him, news came that the Philistines had come against Israel. Saul turned back and abandoned the siege and capture of David.

In chapter 24 Saul heard that David and his men were at En-gedi and came there with three thousand men to capture him. On the way Saul entered a certain cave to attend to the needs of nature. David was in the inner part of it with some companions. They urged him to kill Saul, but he refused and secretly cut off only the edge of his cloak.

When Saul left the cave and continued his journey, David called after him. He explained how he could have killed him and complained of Saul's unjust persecution. Hearing this, Saul confessed with tears that he had done wrong.

In chapter 25, when Samuel died, all Israel mourned him. David heard that Nabal was holding a great banquet on Mount Carmel while shearing his many flocks of sheep. He sent messengers to ask Nabal to send some of the feast to him and his men. Nabal refused and spoke harsh and insulting words to them. Angered by his words, David arranged to go with his men to kill him.

Abigail, Nabal's very beautiful and prudent wife, perceived her husband's hardness. She went to David with asses laden with food, met him on the way, offered him everything, and begged him to spare her husband for that inhumanity. Pacified by her words, David did so. When she returned and told her husband of the danger, he died from fear. David afterward took Abigail as his wife.

In chapter 26, when the Ziphites told Saul that David was in the desert of Ziph, Saul came with an army to capture him. While everyone slept at night, David secretly entered Saul's tent with Abishai. Although Abishai urged him to kill Saul when he was able, David refused. Taking the spear and cup that were beside Saul's head, they withdrew without anyone noticing.

From a distance David called to Abner, reproaching them for their negligence in guarding their lord. He told how he had entered Saul's tent and could have killed him. Hearing this, Saul groaned, accusing himself and praising David.

In chapter 27 David, lest he fall into the hands of Saul who pursued him, went with his men to Achish, king of Gath, and asked for a dwelling in one of his cities. Achish gave him Ziklag. Although David frequently carried out slaughters and raids against the Philistines, he told King Achish that he had done them against the people of Israel.

In chapter 28 the Philistines gathered for battle against Israel, and Saul came with his men to Gilboa. Fearing the Philistine camp and unable to receive an answer concerning the battle's outcome either through prophets or through priests, Saul approached a female diviner in a changed disguise. By her art he caused Samuel, already dead, to be raised. Samuel foretold that Saul and his sons would be killed in battle and Israel defeated. Whether it was the true Samuel who appeared or the devil in his form is treated in Cause 26, question 5, *Nec mirum*.

In chapter 29 the Philistines gathered with their satraps, among whom was Achish, king of Gath. When the satraps saw David and his Hebrews with Achish, they complained, thinking that he would not act faithfully but fraudulently against them. They therefore commanded Achish to send him back and not allow him to be with them in battle. Achish immediately did so.

In chapter 30 David returned to Ziklag and found it burned by the Amalekites, who had captured it and carried away its possessions, David's wives and sons, and those of the others. The troubled army wished to stone David. But strengthened by the Lord and given God's answer that he would overtake the Amalekites, David proceeded against them.

On the way he found an Egyptian servant of one of the Amalekites who had taken the plunder. Because he was weak, his master had abandoned him, and he was in danger from hunger. After the man had been refreshed, he showed David the Amalekites' way. David fell upon them with him, defeated them, and recovered everything that had been taken. He gave a share of the plunder to the two hundred men who had stopped when exhausted in order to guard the baggage.

In chapter 31 Saul and his three sons, Jonathan, Aminadab, and Melchishua, were killed by the Philistines in battle on Mount Gilboa. Saul, wounded by them, fell upon his own sword to kill himself. Because he was not entirely dead, he commanded a certain Amalekite servant standing near him to kill him completely. The servant did so, and all Israel was put to flight and defeated.

§ I: On the Second Book of Kings

Chapter 1 of the Second Book of Kings relates that the young Amalekite who, at Saul's request, had completed his killing came to David and reported it as though it were good news. Grieving on account of this, David caused him to be killed. David and his men wept over the deaths of Saul, Jonathan, and the others among the people of Israel; they tore their garments and fasted.

The era of the kings therefore began with Saul, and the era of the prophets so called began with Samuel. While Samuel lived, Saul reigned for seventeen years, and after Samuel's death for two years. The Third Age, containing nine hundred years, ends at Saul's death.

Homer is thought to have lived at this time. Among the Athenians he was held to be insane because he said that the gods had waged war against one another. As they say, he was unable to explain some slight question sailors proposed to him. When they mocked him more shamelessly and at greater length, this man of modest disposition was as though pierced to death by the poisoned dart of confusion and breathed out his spirit, as Valerius reports.

Flavianus asserts this of Plato in his book *On the Footsteps of the Philosophers*, saying that it was fabricated by Xenophontines against Plato's glory. There were those who thought that Homer was a synonym for Plato.

In these times two kingdoms began, namely those of the Lacedaemonians and the Corinthians. According to Eusebius in the *Chronicles*, in the fifteenth year of Saul's reign Eurystheus was the first to reign at Lacedaemon. Eight men reigned successively after him. The last was called Thalchamenes, under whom that kingdom failed in the forty-ninth year of the reign of Uzziah, king of Judah.

At the same time, namely in the fifteenth year of Saul's reign, Alethes was the first to reign at Corinth. Ten kings reigned successively after him. The last of them was called Telestes, under whom the kings of the Corinthians failed in the forty-second year of the reign of Uzziah, king of Judah.

Third Title: On the Fourth Age of the World

Chapter One

The Fourth Age begins with David and lasts until the Transmigration for 484 years according to the Hebrews, and one year longer according to the seventy interpreters. David, the first from the tribe of Judah to reign among the Hebrews, reigned forty years: seven in Hebron over the tribe of Judah and thirty-three over all Israel.

Third Title: On the Fourth Age of the World

Chapter One

The Fourth Age begins with David, not because he was the first of the kings, but because he was the first of the kings from the tribe of Judah. For an express promise was made to him concerning Christ, who was to be born from the tribe of Judah. His deeds are contained throughout the Second Book of Kings and will be placed here very briefly in summary.

Thus chapter 1 of the Second Book of Kings relates that when David heard of Saul's death, he mourned with his men, fasted, and composed a song of lamentation.

In chapter 2 David, by the Lord's counsel, ascended with his men to Hebron. There he was anointed king over the tribe of Judah alone. Through the work of his uncle Abner, Saul's son Ish-bosheth was made king over the other eleven tribes of Israel and reigned for two years.

The armies of David, under Joab, the commander of his army, and of Ish-bosheth, under Abner, the commander of his army, assembled. By common agreement twelve men from one side and twelve from the other wrestled with one another, and each killed his opponent with a single blow. When those who were with Abner fled, Asahel, Joab's brother, pursued Abner and refused at his entreaties to cease pursuing him. Finally Abner struck Asahel in the groin with the reversed end of his spear, and he died.

Chapter 3 relates that a long contest arose between Saul's house and David's house. David advanced and always became stronger in himself, while Saul's house diminished daily. David's sons born at Hebron were Amnon the firstborn, Chileab the second, Absalom the third, Adonijah the fourth, and others by his several wives.

Abner, who governed Ish-bosheth's house, was reproved by him because he had known Saul's concubine. Angered against him, Abner approached David and promised to bring all the people of Israel under David's subjection. When he was arranging this, after David's wife Michal had been restored to him, Joab treacherously killed Abner in vengeance for his brother Asahel. This displeased David. He caused Abner to be honorably buried, accompanying the corpse with his men, mourning and fasting on account of his death.

In chapter 4, while Ish-bosheth lay in his house, two leaders of robbers, Rechab and Baanah, secretly entered it while the doorkeeper of the house slept and killed him. They carried his head to David at Hebron, but David caused them to be hanged.

In chapter 5 all the tribes of Israel anointed David king over all Israel. He and his men captured Jerusalem, which was occupied by the Jebusites. Joab was the first to ascend into the fortress of Zion, for which reason he was made commander of the army. David built his dwelling in Zion after Hiram, king of Tyre, sent him craftsmen and timber.

Eleven sons were born to him at Jerusalem, for he took several wives, among them Bathsheba, by whom he had Solomon. This is understood to have occurred by God's dispensation concerning the plurality of wives. David twice waged war against the Philistines, defeated them, and put them to flight.

In chapter 6 David caused the Lord's ark to be brought back to Jerusalem with great solemnity. But because Uzzah was struck by the Lord for rashly holding the ark when it tilted as the oxen kicked, David placed it in the house of Obed-edom. After three months he again arranged that it be brought back to Jerusalem. He did so with very many sacrificial animals on the road and with musical instruments. David danced before it with the people and, while naked, played instruments. His wife Michal saw him through a window and despised him. When he entered his house and she reproached him for this, he answered by scorning her words.

Chapters 15 and 16 of the First Book of Chronicles relate that David caused the Levites to place the ark in the tabernacle he had prepared for it. He appointed Levites to serve in the tabernacle before the ark by offering sacrifices and praising God, playing different kinds of musical instruments, such as trumpets, organs, and cymbals. Thus David first invented the practice of chanting the divine offices in the Church.

In chapter 7 David consulted the prophet Nathan about building a temple to the Lord. Nathan answered that he should do so, because this would be pleasing to God. But the Lord spoke to Nathan, telling him to signify to David on His behalf that David himself would not build Him a house, that is, a temple. Rather, his son Solomon would do so. God would be a father to Solomon and Solomon would be His son, and He would establish Solomon's kingdom forever. If Solomon sinned, He would correct him, but He would not take His mercy from him. David gave magnificent thanks to God for this.

In chapter 8 David defeated the Philistines, to whom Israel had been made tributary. He also struck the Moabites and Hadadezer, king of Zobah, and made Syria, the Ammonites, and the Edomites tributary. He reserved the plunder of gold, silver, and bronze for the construction of the temple and administered justice to all the people.

In chapter 9 David heard that Mephibosheth, son of Jonathan, Saul's son, survived and was lame in both feet. He made him his table companion and caused all Saul's possessions to be restored to him. He commanded Ziba, Saul's servant, to serve Mephibosheth with his sons.

In chapter 10 David heard of the death of his friend Nahash, king of the Ammonites, and sent envoys to console his son Hanun over the death. On the counsel of others who said that they had been sent not to console him but to spy upon him, Hanun dishonored the envoys by shaving half their beards and cutting their garments up to the buttocks. When David heard this, he gathered an army and sent Joab to battle against the Ammonites.

Chapter 11 treats the adultery David committed with Bathsheba, wife of Uriah, and her conception. Wishing to conceal it, David sent for Uriah, who was fighting faithfully with Joab against the Ammonites. When he could not persuade Uriah to go home and know his wife, David sent letters by Uriah to Joab ordering him to place Uriah in a dangerous position in battle so that he would be killed. This was done. After Uriah had been killed, David took Bathsheba as his wife, and she bore him a son.

In chapter 12 the prophet Nathan, sent by the Lord, reproved David for the adultery and Uriah's death. He spoke under the parable of a rich man who killed a poor man's ewe in order to prepare a banquet for a guest. When David humbly confessed his sin, Nathan said, “The Lord has taken away your sin.” Nevertheless, because of this the Lord would raise up evil for him from his own house. This was Absalom's persecution and conspiracy against him.

David prayed and fasted so that his newborn and sick child might be healed, but upon hearing of its death, he arose to eat. Afterward Solomon was born to him from Bathsheba. David then came with an army to capture Rabbah, the principal city of the Ammonites, and very many were killed.

In chapter 13 David's firstborn, Amnon, was captured by love and grew ill from his love for his sister Tamar. When she visited him on their father's behalf, he overpowered her. Because of this, Absalom concealed his grievance. Two years later, when he had his flocks sheared, he invited all his brothers to a banquet and caused his servants to kill Amnon there. He then fled to the king of Geshur.

In chapter 14 Joab sent a widow from Tekoa to David. She pretended that she had a case of this kind: one of her sons had been killed by the other, who was therefore sought for death, and she asked David for mercy so that he would not be killed. She applied the case to Absalom so that David might spare him. Understanding that this had proceeded from Joab, David commanded Absalom to be recalled from exile.

But after Absalom returned to Jerusalem, David did not send for him to see his face. Absalom caused Joab to come to him by burning the crops in Joab's field, and made him a mediator in reconciling his father David so that he might see him. He obtained this.

In chapter 15 Absalom drew Israel's goodwill to himself by various flatteries. After making a conspiracy against his father, he told him that he was going to Hebron to fulfill a vow. Gathering a very great multitude of Israel with Ahithophel, he was made king at Hebron.

When David heard this, he fled from Jerusalem with his men. He sent back to Jerusalem the priests who followed him with the Lord's ark. He likewise sent his friend Hushai so that he might destroy Ahithophel's counsel.

In chapter 16 Absalom entered Jerusalem and, on Ahithophel's counsel, went in to his father's concubines before the people. As David fled with his men through the mountains, Ziba, Saul's servant, met him with pack animals laden with food and offered it to refresh them. Ziba falsely accused Mephibosheth of having refused to meet David, because of which David gave all Mephibosheth's goods to Ziba.

Shimei also met David, cursed him, and threw a stone against him. When Abishai wished to go kill him, David did not permit it, but patiently bore the injury so that he might appease the Lord.

In chapter 17 Absalom sought counsel about what should be done. He rejected Ahithophel's counsel to lead an army against his father and capture him. He followed Hushai's contrary counsel, which was presented under the appearance that they would be able

to capture David better after some time. Both plans were communicated to David through the sons of the priests Abiathar and Zadok. Ahithophel hanged himself. Barzillai the Gileadite and certain others refreshed David and his weary men.

In chapter 18 David arranged the battle and divided his army into three parts. When he wished to go with them into battle, they did not permit it. David commanded them to preserve Absalom. But when Absalom's army had been defeated and he fled riding a mule, he remained suspended by his hair in the branches of an oak. When someone reported this to Joab, Joab threw three spears into him and killed him. When Cushi went to report it to David, David lamented Absalom's death most bitterly.

In chapter 19, while David mourned his son, Joab entered and rebuked him, admonishing him to arrange for the people's return to him, lest no one remain with him. David did this through Abiathar and Zadok as regards the tribe of Judah. He promised Amasa, who had been commander of Absalom's army, that he would make him his commander in Joab's place, so that Amasa would restore Israel to obedience to him.

David also spared Shimei when he met him and asked forgiveness for the injury he had inflicted. When Mephibosheth came to him and excused himself because he had been unable to go with David, David established that he should divide his possessions with Ziba by halves. In restoring David as king and recognizing his dominion, the tribe of Judah and the other tribes of Israel contended with one another.

In chapter 20 a certain most wicked man named Sheba sounded a trumpet and said, “We have no share in the house of David.” He caused a schism and separated Israel from Judah. Joab and Abishai pursued Sheba with their armies as he ran through the cities to induce them to follow him. At last they besieged him in the city of Abel. The citizens cut off Sheba's head and threw it over the walls to Joab, who abandoned the siege. Earlier on the way, however, Joab had treacherously killed Amasa, who was to be appointed commander of the army in Joab's place.

In chapter 21 a famine arose in Israel and lasted for three years. When David consulted the Lord about it, He revealed that it had occurred because Saul had killed Gibeonites contrary to the oath Joshua had given them. Therefore, at the Gibeonites' request, David delivered into their hands two sons of Saul by a concubine and five sons of Saul's daughter. They crucified them. When this had been done, the Lord was again propitious to Israel. David spared Mephibosheth because of the oath given to his father Jonathan.

There follows an account of three wars waged against certain Philistine giants, and of a fourth in which, when one of them struck David, Abishai defended him. Afterward they did not permit David to go to battle, lest he be killed.

Chapter 22 contains the song David made when he was freed from Saul's hand. It is Psalm 17: “I will love You, O Lord, my strength.” Chapter 23 treats the thirty-seven strongest men in war who were with David. Three stood above the others. When David desired water from the cistern at Bethlehem, where the Philistines were, these three passed through the midst of the enemy, drew water from that cistern, and brought it to David, who refused to drink it.

In chapter 24, the last, David caused Joab to number the people subject to him out of pride. On account of this sin an angel was sent by the Lord to give him the choice of one of three things: seven years of famine in Israel, three months of persecution and flight from enemies, or three days of pestilence among the people. David chose the last, and within three days seventy thousand died from the pestilence.

When David saw the angel extending his hand to strike Jerusalem, he asked that the angel strike instead his own household and himself, who had sinned. The Lord was appeased and prohibited the angel from striking. At God's command through Nathan, David bought a property from Araunah the Jebusite at the threshing floor where he had seen the angel. There he built an altar to the Lord, where the temple was afterward built.

Chapters 22 and the following chapters through chapter 29, the final chapter of the First Book of Chronicles, relate that David told his young son Solomon how he himself had planned to build a temple to the Lord. The Lord had prohibited him because he had shed much blood in wars, but his son Solomon, reigning in peace, would build a temple for Him.

For this reason David had prepared exceedingly great expenses in gold, silver, bronze, and iron. He admonished Solomon to execute the work and explained the building's arrangement to him. David also appointed singers in the temple and players of organs and other musical instruments under Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun.

He divided the priests from among the Levites into twenty-four families. One person who was first in each family was chosen by lot to minister in the temple with his assistants during his own week. David also encouraged the barons and princes of the tribes to assist Solomon in the work of the temple and ordained their offices in which they would serve Solomon.

Chapter Two

Third Title: On the Fourth Age of the World

Chapter Two (continued)

On Solomon's reign, with which the Third Book of Kings begins. Chapter 1 says that when David, because of old age, could not be warmed by clothing, an exceedingly beautiful girl was sought for him: Abishag the Shunammite, a virgin who would sleep with the king and warm him. Nevertheless, he did not know her.

Adonijah, David's son, made chariots and horsemen for himself, seeking to take the kingdom for himself. He had with him Joab, commander of the army, and Abiathar the priest. When a great banquet had been prepared, he invited all his brothers except Solomon. On hearing this, Bathsheba, Solomon's mother, entered David's presence on the advice of the prophet Nathan and disclosed how Adonijah had taken the kingdom for himself without David's knowledge. David swore to her that Solomon would reign after him. He therefore commanded his servants to place Solomon upon his mule and Zadok and Nathan to anoint him king. This was done, with all the people acclaiming, “Long live King Solomon!”

When Adonijah heard this, he feared Solomon and fled to the temple. But after security had been given to him, he too approached and honored Solomon as king.

Chapter 2 relates that, when David had been brought to the end of his life, he exhorted Solomon to observe the law. He reminded him of the evils Joab had done, the injuries inflicted by Shimei, and Barzillai's benefits.

After David's death, Adonijah asked Bathsheba to intercede with her son Solomon so that Solomon would give him Abishag as a wife. When she did this, he did not hear her request, but caused Adonijah and likewise Joab to be killed. He sent Abiathar into exile. Under pain of death he commanded Shimei not to leave Jerusalem. When Shimei departed after some years to recover servants who had fled, Solomon had him killed.

In chapter 3 Solomon took the daughter of the king of Egypt as his wife and, according to the Hebrews, had a son by her in the eleventh year of his age. He ascended to Gibeon, where Moses' tabernacle and bronze altar were, though the ark of God was not there. After a thousand victims had been sacrificed there, the Lord appeared to him in a dream and told him to ask of Him whatever he wished. Solomon asked for wisdom to govern his people. The Lord told him that, because he had not asked for riches, glory, the death of his enemies, or a long life, but for wisdom, his request had been heard. Nevertheless, the Lord would also give him riches and glory above all men, provided that he observed the law.

The first judgment in which his wisdom was shown concerned two prostitutes who had sons. When one son had been smothered by his mother during the night, they disputed about which of them possessed the surviving child. Solomon pronounced sentence that the child be divided into two parts. The true mother then begged that the whole living child instead be given to the other woman. From this Solomon judged her to be the true mother and ordered the child to be given to her.

In chapter 4 his officials and his glory are set forth. He had twelve prefects who provided him with provisions, each one for a single month. The extent of his dominion is described, as is the daily food of his court: thirty cors of fine meal, sixty cors of flour, ten fattened oxen, twenty oxen from the pastures, and one hundred rams, apart from hunted deer, roe deer, and fattened birds. He had forty thousand chariot horses and ten thousand cavalry horses.

Solomon's wisdom surpassed the wisdom of all the peoples of the East and the Egyptians, and he was wiser than all men. He discoursed about trees, from the cedar of Lebanon down to the hyssop. He discussed beasts, birds, reptiles, and fish, and he spoke three thousand parables and five thousand songs. He had peace round about, and people streamed from everywhere to hear his wisdom.

In chapter 5 Solomon sent Hiram to the king of Tyre and Sidon so that the king, through his men, might have cedar and fir timber cut for Solomon from Mount Lebanon, in order that he might build the Lord's house from it. This was done.

Solomon began to build the Lord's temple in the fourth year of his reign, which was the four hundred and eightieth year after Israel's departure from Egypt, the nine hundred and eighty-fourth year from Abraham's birth, and the two thousand nine hundred and thirty-third year from the beginning of the world. This is according to the computation of the Hebrews and certain of our own writers. According to Bede's computation, however, which the Church commonly follows, the number exceeds the one just stated by one thousand and thirty-six.

He completed the work of the temple in seven and a half years. Afterward he built his own house in thirteen years, as well as the House of the Forest. Chapters 6 and 7 treat buildings of this kind. The following is a brief summary of the temple's construction, according to Vincent's *Historical Mirror*, book 3.

This temple was built at Jerusalem on Mount Moriah, where Abraham wished to sacrifice his son, Jacob saw in a dream a ladder extending from heaven to earth, and David saw the angel at Ornan's threshing floor cease to strike the people with the sword of pestilence.

It was built of white marble called Parian marble. The windows were beveled in the temple's walls: narrow on the outside and widened within, of the sort commonly called arrow slits. Its length was sixty cubits, its width twenty, and its height one hundred and twenty.

It had this arrangement: from the pavement next to the ground up to the first floor was a height of thirty cubits; from the first floor or story to the second was a height of thirty cubits; and from this second story to the third, which was the temple's roof, was a height of sixty cubits. It therefore had two stories between the pavement and roof. On each story and upon the roof was a walkway round about on the outside. This walkway is called in the Gospel the pinnacle upon which Christ was placed when tempted by the devil. It projected outward by five cubits, and there were railings there so that those walking upon it would not fall.

The lowest part, or first chamber, was covered throughout on the inside with cedar or fir boards, upon which gold plates were fastened with golden nails. The pavement also was so covered. This chamber was divided into two parts: the Holy Place, which was the first place entered upon coming into the temple from the east and was forty cubits long, and the Holy of Holies, which was twenty cubits long.

In the middle, between the Holy Place and the Holy of Holies, was a wall made of cedar boards and afterward covered with gold plates. It was twenty cubits high. Before it hung a delicate and exceedingly beautiful woven veil, which was torn from top to bottom at the time of the Passion.

Within the Holy of Holies was the Lord's ark made by Moses. It stood in the middle between two cherubim carved from olive wood and covered with gold. They stood upright and extended two wings above the mercy seat. This mercy seat was like the lid of a chest raised upright above it when it is open, just as the painted panels of altars are arranged. Their wings were extended so that one wing of one cherub touched a wing of the other, while the other extremities of the wings touched the temple wall. Each of them was ten cubits long. The tablets of the Decalogue were in the ark.

Only the high priest entered the Holy of Holies, once a year at the Feast of Atonement, with great solemnity and in the most ornate vestments, as is clear above. Priests alone entered the Holy Place around the veil frequently during certain sacrifices and to light the lamps. There, on the south side, stood the golden lampstand made by Moses with seven lamps, and on the north side the golden table for the loaves of proposition. In the middle was the golden altar made by Moses.

Solomon, however, added ten other golden lampstands of the same design but greater size, five on the right and five on the left. He similarly added ten larger golden tables. Amid them stood an altar of incense made from stones, covered with cedar boards and afterward with gold. Incense of aromatic spices was offered upon it. Perhaps the small golden altar made by Moses was in the Holy of Holies, because, according to the Apostle in Hebrews, the golden censer was there.

On the temple's inner walls were exceedingly beautiful carvings of cherubim, palms, and other things. Above the temple roof, round about, was a golden *nerva* as tall as a man, so that from afar it appeared like a golden forest. Along the outer edge round about were golden vines with golden grapes and vine leaves.

At that summit next to the roof, when the temple was completed, was placed that stone rejected by the builders, which joined the two walls at the corners. How the two chambers or stories above the first one described were arranged, or what they contained, is not recorded. One ascended to those places by stairs made within the temple wall in the manner of a snail's shell.

The temple doors, made from fir wood, covered with gold plates, and carved with cherubim and palms, were on the east. At the temple's front was a portico, called in the Gospel the temple vestibule, which had bronze columns. Among them were two more wondrous than the others, with exceedingly beautiful carving in their middle. The one on the right was called Jachin, and the one on the left Boaz.

This portico was twenty cubits long, corresponding to the measure of the temple's width, and ten cubits wide before the temple's facade. One ascended into this vestibule or portico from the priests' court by twelve steps, though according to others by seven.

Beyond the vestibule Solomon built thirty small chambers which, joined to one another, surrounded the whole space of the temple externally. Each chamber was five cubits long, five wide, and fifteen high. He arranged their entrances so that one passed from one to another with some interval between them. Above these another set was built, equal in dimensions and number, so that the temple's three sides were covered round about by these chambers up to the first external floor. The remaining upper part of the temple could be freely seen. These rooms were sleeping chambers and dining rooms for those serving by weekly turns, as well as treasuries for vessels and priestly vestments.

There were several courts around the temple. The first was the court of the priests, and this first court is mentioned in the Book of Kings. It was a broad, spacious plaza extending in a square around the temple on every side. It extended farthest before the temple doors on the east because the bronze altar stood there, where the priests sacrificed--that is, burned--animals as sacrifices. This altar

was twenty cubits long, equally wide, and thus square, and ten cubits high. It was hollow and had a grating on top, through which the ashes fell below and were removed through a door beneath it. The bronze sea and the lavers were also there.

Along the temple's two broad sides, namely north and south, the plaza was not so broad; on the west it was narrower still. The pavement of this plaza was laid everywhere with varied marble and figured with different images. A low wall three cubits high, covered round about with cedar boards, enclosed this court so as to prevent the others from entering among the ministers. The singers leaned upon this wall, and, facing the people, spoke while inclined over it. The circuit of this wall was therefore called by the proper name Gyon.

It had only one entrance, on the east, opposite the temple gate, with an opening twenty-five cubits wide. Men and women carrying their offerings to the ministers who met them ascended to this entrance by fourteen steps. Within this court, as has been said, there was not only a bronze altar much larger than the one Moses made; that earlier altar was also preserved in another part of the court.

There was also the bronze sea, made like a cauldron and measuring ten cubits from one rim to the rim opposite. It was round, and its circumference was thirty cubits. Solomon placed it on the right side of the temple upon twelve bronze lion cubs. There the priests washed their hands and feet before ministering. He also made ten bronze lavers--that is, basins--five on the right and five on the left, where the flesh of the animals that they burned upon the bronze altar was washed. The outsides of the animals, however, were first washed in the Sheep Pool at Jerusalem.

Beyond this, beneath the first court, was another and much larger court on every side. It surrounded the temple on every side and contained the first court within it. Its enclosing wall was twenty-five cubits high. On the temple's western side it had no gate but was entirely closed. On the south side it had four gates, and likewise four on the north. On the east, before the temple's facade, in the middle was the gate called Beautiful, while at the corners of this side were two small gates.

On these three sides--north, south, and east--were porticoes, where men remained during rain. When the weather was clear, they remained in the open air to pray. Only clean men were permitted to remain in this court. This court of the laity is called in the Gospel the temple in which Christ often preached. On the eastern side of this court remained the money changers and those selling animals to be offered, whom Christ is said to have cast out of the temple, that is, out of this court.

In the porticoes and around the gates of this court were various chests for offerings. One was called Musach, where the offerings of kings and of others, even those made on feast days, were received. Another was called Corban, where priestly and votive offerings were placed. Concerning this they said of the thirty pieces of silver, “It is not lawful to put them into the corban.” A third, which was properly called the treasury, received the offerings of the poor and daily offerings, or those intended for the use of the poor.

On the sides of this court--namely, the southern and meridional sides--were *pastophoria* in the porticoes: suitable places in which clean laypeople ate the portions of the animal sacrifices that fell to them. In those porticoes were also three kinds of seats. The first were called chairs, where teachers sat in the school. The second were called *synedrae*, where listeners sat in the consistory. The third were called *exedrae*, where assessors sat with a judge to discuss some matter secretly, according to Isidore.

Beneath this court was another, or third, court on the lower part of the mountain. It likewise had a greater circumference, for it contained the second court, but it was not so beautiful. It had the same construction as the second but was not so ornate. There only clean women prayed and remained.

Third Title: On the Fourth Age of the World

Chapter Two (continued)

Beneath this was also a fourth court, whose wall ran round about on the outside at the foot of this hill. It ascended four hundred cubits to the summit of the hill where the temple was situated. Thus this wall did not prevent a view of the temple or of those ministering in the inner court. Here unclean men and women and gentiles who came to worship in the temple prayed.

The first court is set forth in chapters 6 and 7 of the Third Book of Kings. Josephus sets forth the second. Vincent sets forth the other two in the *Historical Mirror*, as has been said.

Solomon also had many vessels made for the temple's use, some golden, some silver, and some bronze or made of brass. It is also said in chapter 6 of the Third Book of Kings that, during the temple's construction, neither hammer nor axe nor any other iron tool was heard, for they fashioned everything beforehand. There were also many carvings of cherubim and palms in the temple's walls, bronze columns, and various places. These are omitted for the sake of brevity.

Concerning the house he made for himself and his wife, Pharaoh's daughter, and concerning the House of the Forest: aromatic substances and pigments for the temple's use were kept in the lower part of the House of the Forest. In the upper part, or story, were weapons not only for fighting but also for display and ornament. Two hundred golden shields and three hundred golden

bucklers, like small round shields, were kept there. Solomon's pages carried these before him on horseback when he left the house in his chariot. Around this House of the Forest was an exceedingly beautiful pleasure garden.

When the temple had been completed, Solomon caused the Levites to carry the Lord's ark into the Holy of Holies, with all the people assembled amid the greatest solemnity and innumerable sacrificial animals. He conducted the temple's dedication for seven days. A cloud filled the temple, and fire descended from heaven to consume the burnt offerings. The priest kept this fire alive by placing wood upon it morning and evening. This fire was extinguished when Jason lost the high priesthood, as is said in Cause 1, question 1, *Sicut*.

This temple signified the holy Church built by Christ, the peace-making King, as Rabanus explains point by point on the Book of Kings. Solomon prayed to the Lord that He would hear those praying in the temple, or toward the temple if they were far away, in their various needs: whether because of wars, enemies persecuting them, pestilence, famine, drought, or other tribulations, provided that, returning to penitence, they acknowledged their sin, as is clear in chapter 8 of the Third Book of Kings.

Chapter 9 relates that the Lord appeared to Solomon in a dream, saying that He had heard him, provided that Solomon himself and the people walked in His commandments. Otherwise, if they turned aside to foreign gods, He would destroy them and cast away the temple made for His name.

Solomon gave Hiram, king of Tyre, who through his men had labored greatly on Solomon's buildings, twenty towns in the land of Galilee as recompense. He made all the Canaanite peoples tributary to himself. He wished no one among the children of Israel to serve him, but appointed them his soldiers, ministers, and leaders. He also sent a fleet with the servants of Hiram, king of Tyre, to Ophir, bringing much gold from there.

Chapter 10 says that the Queen of Sheba, having heard Solomon's fame, came from the ends of the earth to hear his wisdom. He satisfied her concerning everything about which she questioned him. Seeing the order of his house and household and hearing his wisdom, she praised him greatly. They gave one another great gifts.

Solomon also made an ivory throne approached by six steps. The quantity of his revenues and the magnificence of his equestrian retinue are also set forth. All people from every land desired to see his face.

Chapter 11 records his wantonness and punishment. He took very many foreign wives, contrary to God's command. He had seven hundred wives and three hundred concubines, to whom he clung with exceedingly ardent love, so that to please them he worshiped their gods. Because of this, God was angered and, near the end of Solomon's life, stirred up various wars against him from the neighboring peoples.

Jeroboam, whom Solomon had placed over the tribe of Joseph, met the prophet Abijah. Tearing his new cloak into twelve pieces, the prophet gave ten to Jeroboam, saying that the Lord had given him the kingdom of the ten tribes of Israel but had reserved the tribe of Judah for David's stock. When Solomon heard this, he sought to kill Jeroboam, but Jeroboam fled into Egypt.

There are differing opinions about whether Solomon was saved. Some say he was not. Others, such as Jerome, Ambrose, and Chrysostom, say that he was, because before death he did penance for his wantonness and sins. For this reason the Hebrews also entitle his book Ecclesiastes “On Solomon's Penance.”

Chapter Three

Chapter 12 relates that, after Solomon died, having reigned forty years, his son Rehoboam took up the kingdom. From this it is apparent that what Josephus says in the *Antiquities* is false--namely, that Solomon reigned eighty years and lived ninety-four--since the Third Book of Kings and the Second Book of Chronicles say that he reigned forty years.

The people of Israel assembled before Rehoboam and asked him to lighten his father's yoke, that is, the levies. After three days, he rejected the advice of the elders who had been with his father, which was to answer the people kindly. Following the young men's advice about the response to make, he answered harshly, saying that he would burden the people still more. Because of this a schism followed in Israel. The ten tribes afterward called Israel made Jeroboam their king, while the tribe of Judah together with Benjamin remained with Rehoboam. When Rehoboam prepared to wage war against Israel with his army, the Lord prohibited it through a prophet.

Jeroboam, reigning over Israel, feared that if the people of Israel went to the temple in Jerusalem according to the Law's command, they would withdraw from his lordship and return to Rehoboam. He therefore made two golden calves, placing one at Dan and the other at Beersheba on Israel's borders, and commanded that they be worshiped as gods.

In chapter 13 a certain prophet from Judah, sent by God, came into Samaria. He reproved King Jeroboam as he stood at the altar to sacrifice to idols and foretold that a king named Josiah would be born from Judah, who would burn the bones of the idolatrous priests upon that altar. When the king extended his hand, signaling that the prophet should be seized, his hand withered. It was healed when the prophet prayed for him.

Because this prophet ate in that place contrary to the Lord's command given to him about this, although invited by another man falsely prophesying on the Lord's behalf that he should eat with him, a lion met him on the road and strangled him for the disobedience just mentioned.

In chapter 14, when Jeroboam's son became ill, the boy's mother and Jeroboam's wife approached the prophet Ahijah in disguise. Because of old age he could not see, but in spirit he recognized her, revealed who she was, announced the boy's death to her, and reproved her husband for idolatry.

Rehoboam, Solomon's son, reigned over Judah for seventeen years and committed idolatry with his people. Because of this the king of Egypt came to Jerusalem and plundered all the treasures of the temple and the royal house. Rehoboam also always had war with Jeroboam.

In chapter 15, after Rehoboam's death, his son Abijah reigned over Judah for three years and did evil in the Lord's sight with his people. Jeroboam, king of Israel, launched war against him with eighty thousand fighting men in his army, while Abijah had forty thousand. When Jeroboam's army fought against Abijah both from the front and from behind in ambushes, Abijah commended himself to the Lord and placed his trust in Him. The Lord terrified Jeroboam's army, and fifty thousand of them were slain, as is related in chapter 13 of the Second Book of Chronicles.

After Abijah's death, his son Asa reigned over Judah for forty-one years. He removed the effeminate men from the land, together with the idols, and deposed his mother Hacha from authority so that she would not be chief in the rites of Priapus.

After Jeroboam died, having reigned over Israel for twenty-two years, his son Nadab reigned for two years. Baasha killed him together with all his offspring and reigned over Israel for twenty-four years.

While Asa reigned and conducted himself well according to the Lord's law, Zerah the Ethiopian went out against him with his army of one million men and three hundred chariots. Asa went to meet him with his army and called upon the Lord, who terrified the Ethiopians and turned them to flight, as is related in chapter 14 of the Second Book of Chronicles. The prophet Azariah met Asa as he returned victorious from battle, strengthened him, and prophesied about the time near the world's end, as is related in chapter 15 of the Second Book of Chronicles.

In the thirty-sixth year of Asa's reign, Baasha, king of Israel, ascended into Moab and sought to surround Ramah with walls, thereby enclosing Judah so that no one could enter or leave it. Terrified by this, Asa took a great quantity of gold and silver from the temple treasuries and called Ben-hadad, king of Syria, to his aid against Baasha. When Ben-hadad came and invaded Israel's cities, Baasha was compelled to abandon the building he had begun so that he could resist the king of Syria. Meanwhile Asa built Geba and Mizpah for himself from the materials prepared there, as is related in chapter 13 of the Third Book of Kings.

Chapter 16 of the Second Book of Chronicles adds that the prophet Hanani reproved Asa on the Lord's behalf because he had placed greater trust in a man than in the Lord. Angered by this, Asa put the prophet in the stocks. When Asa became ill with an exceedingly severe pain in his feet for a year and longer, he did not seek the Lord in his illness but instead placed greater trust in the physicians' art. After he died and was buried with great pomp, his son Jehoshaphat reigned over Judah.

After Baasha died, as is related in chapter 6 of the Third Book of Kings, his son Elah reigned in Israel for two years. Zimri, commander of a part of Elah's army, killed him when he became drunk and destroyed his entire house. Zimri reigned for seven days. When Omri, commander of Israel's army, besieged him in Tirzah, Zimri saw that the city was being captured and burned himself with his palace.

The people of Israel divided into two parties, one of which followed Tibni to make him king, while the other followed the aforesaid Omri. But the party following Omri prevailed, and he was made king of Israel. He reigned twelve years. After he died in wickedness, his son Ahab began to reign in the thirty-eighth year of King Asa's reign and reigned for twenty-two years. Ahab's wife was Jezebel, daughter of the king of the Sidonians, a most wicked woman devoted with her husband Ahab to the idolatry of Baal.

In the third year of his reign, Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, sent priests and Levites throughout the kingdom of Judah to teach the people the Lord's law. All the surrounding peoples feared him, including the Philistines and Arabs. He had one million one hundred and sixty thousand men in his armies.

Chapters 17 through 23 relate the deeds of Elijah, concerning whom nothing appears in Chronicles. Elijah the Tishbite foretold, at the Lord's command, that it would not rain in Israel. He hid in the torrent Cherith, where a raven carried him bread and meat morning and evening. When the torrent's water failed, he was sent to Zarephath of the Sidonians, to a widow who fed him during the famine. Her handful of flour and little oil did not fail but sufficed for herself, her son, and Elijah, because she first fed Elijah from that little amount.

The widow's son became ill and died, but Elijah raised him. This boy is said to have been the prophet Jonah.

In chapter 18 Ahab, king of Israel, sent the prophet Obadiah, steward of his house, to seek grass for the horses. Elijah met him and told him to report this to Ahab. This Obadiah had fed one hundred men who worshiped God and hidden them from Jezebel when she commanded the Lord's prophets to be killed.

When Ahab came to Elijah, Elijah commanded him to assemble all four hundred and fifty-one prophets of Baal, four hundred priests of the sacred groves, and all the people of Israel on Mount Carmel. When this was done, Elijah gave the people a choice. If the prophets of Baal could cause fire to descend from heaven through their invocations to burn their sacrifice, namely one ox, the people would worship Baal. But if they could not do this and Elijah did, they would worship his God.

The priests of Baal invoked him for a long time but accomplished nothing. Elijah, however, by a brief prayer caused fire to descend, which consumed the sacrifice. At this all the people worshiped and confessed Elijah's God. When this had been done, Elijah killed all those prophets of Baal at the torrent Kishon. Then by his prayer he caused a great rain to come after the three and a half years in which no rain had fallen upon the earth. Ahab returned home with Elijah going before him.

In chapter 19 Jezebel, having heard of the killing of her prophets, sent a messenger to Elijah, threatening him with death on the following day. Fearing this, Elijah went into the desert. When he fell asleep beneath a juniper tree, an angel awakened him and exhorted him to eat bread baked beneath the ashes and sent to him by God. In that food's strength he walked as far as Horeb, the mountain of God, where he had a wondrous vision. He was commanded to depart from there and anoint Elisha as prophet in his own place. He did this when he found Elisha with twelve plowmen, and Elisha followed him.

In chapter 20 Ben-hadad, king of Syria, gathered his army together with thirty-two kings assisting him and came against Ahab, king of Israel, in battle. Through a prophet the Lord foretold Ahab's victory, which occurred when the Syrians were put to flight.

Within a year the king of Syria restored his army and came again to wage war against Israel in the valleys. The Syrians said that Israel's gods were gods of the mountains and that this was why they had previously been defeated. But the Syrian army was vanquished, and one hundred thousand of them were killed. The seventeen thousand who remained fled into a city, where the city wall collapsed and crushed them. Ben-hadad, king of Syria, went into hiding and sent messengers clothed in sackcloth, with ashes sprinkled upon their heads, asking for mercy. Ahab granted it and released him.

Third Title: On the Fourth Age of the World

Chapter Three (continued)

A certain prophet reproved Ahab for this while in disguise. Through a parable about someone entrusted to another's custody under pain of death, he concluded that because Ahab had released Ben-hadad, who was worthy of death, Ahab himself and his people Israel would perish in his place.

In chapter 21 Naboth the Jezreelite had a vineyard near the house of King Ahab. Ahab wanted it and asked Naboth to sell him the vineyard so that he might make a garden. When Naboth refused to consent, Ahab was saddened. On hearing this, his wife Jezebel consoled him and arranged for false witnesses to accuse Naboth of blasphemy against God. When this had been done, the innocent man was stoned. When Ahab went to take Naboth's vineyard, the Lord sent Elijah to him to foretell the destruction of Ahab and his house because of so great a crime.

In chapter 22, after Ahab outwardly humbled himself at Elijah's reproof, the Lord said that the sentence would be deferred. Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, had become Ahab's son-in-law and went to visit him in Samaria. Ahab wished to recover Ramoth-gilead, which the king of Syria had taken from him, and asked Jehoshaphat to go with him into battle. Jehoshaphat consented, but admonished Ahab first to consult the Lord about it.

Four hundred prophets of Baal were summoned. They advised him to go and said that the Lord would deliver that land to him. But when Jehoshaphat asked for counsel from a prophet of the Lord, the prophet Micaiah was brought to answer about the matter. When adjured to speak the truth, he foretold that Ahab would be killed there in battle, setting forth a vision of the manner in which Ahab would be deceived through the false prophets.

Because of this, Zedekiah the false prophet struck Micaiah on the jaw. At the king's command Micaiah was sent to prison with bread and water. When the king of Judah and Ahab, king of Israel, went together to war against the Syrians, Ahab was wounded in battle and died from it.

Chapter 19 of the Second Book of Chronicles adds that, when Jehoshaphat returned to Jerusalem, the prophet Jehu reproved him for the friendship he had contracted and the assistance he had given to the impious Ahab, king of Israel. For this he had merited the Lord's anger, had his good works not appeased the Lord. His great diligence in directing the people to observe the law is also set forth there: he placed judges throughout the cities and admonished them to do justice to everyone.

Chapter 17 says that he sent priests throughout the cities with the Book of the Law to instruct the people. Because of this he was held in great veneration and fear by everyone, even the neighboring nations, and possessed riches and great glory.

Chapter 20 of the Second Book of Chronicles relates that innumerable peoples of the Ammonites, Moabites, and Syrians came to battle against Jehoshaphat. He proclaimed a fast to the people and stirred them to pray to God. When the people assembled at Jerusalem to pray and he exhorted them to trust in God's aid, a certain prophet, namely Jahaziel, foretold victory over their enemies to them on God's behalf.

Strengthened by this, they went against their enemies singing with trumpets and praising the Lord, saying, “Give thanks to the Lord,” and so forth. Their enemies fought and killed one another. After all of them had been slain, the whole people spent three continuous days stripping away the spoils while praising God.

§ I. On the Fourth Book of Kings

Chapter 1 of the Fourth Book relates that after Ahab's death his son Ahaziah reigned in his place over Israel. He reigned two years and conducted himself wickedly like his father. When he became ill, he sent to consult Beelzebub about whether he would recover from his illness.

Elijah the prophet met the messengers on their way and told them on God's behalf to return to their lord, signifying that Ahaziah would not be healed because he had sent to consult Beelzebub and not the true God. When they reported this, Ahaziah recognized from certain signs that it was Elijah and sent for him a captain of fifty with fifty men. When the captain approached to summon him, he and his men were consumed by fire descending from heaven at Elijah's prayer. When a second captain with his men was sent, the same happened to them. A third was sent and humbly commended himself to Elijah so that what had happened to the others would not happen to him. Admonished by an angel, Elijah went with him to the king and declared that he would die. This occurred, and Ahaziah's brother Joram reigned in his place.

While Joram reigned, as is related in chapter 2, Elijah journeyed with his disciple Elisha. When they came to the Jordan River, Elijah struck the waters with his cloak, a path opened, and they passed through the middle. After they crossed, Elijah told Elisha to ask what he wished before Elijah was taken from him. Elisha asked for a double portion of his spirit, that is, in working wonders and prophesying. Elijah answered that he would receive this if he saw him when he was taken away.

As they spoke together, a fiery chariot with fiery horses appeared. Elijah ascended into it and was taken into heaven, that is, into the earthly paradise, where he remains alive with Enoch until the time of Antichrist, against whom he will descend to preach. Elisha saw this and cried, “My father,” and so forth. He took up Elijah's cloak, which had fallen from him. Returning to the Jordan and touching the waters with the cloak, he divided them a second time.

When Elisha came to live at Jericho, at the inhabitants' request he healed the very bad waters of that place by casting into them a new earthenware vessel containing salt. Afterward, as he ascended to Bethel, boys mocked him and said, “Go up, bald head!” He cursed them, after which two bears came out of the forest and tore forty-two of those boys.

Joram, Ahab's son, as is related in chapter 3, reigned together with Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, and the king of Edom. He launched war against the king of Moab because that king had ceased paying him the customary tribute. As they advanced with their armies, they ran out of water and approached Elisha to consult him. When a psaltery was brought before him and played, Elisha prophesied, telling them to dig in the torrent there and that they would find water. This was done.

When the Moabites prepared for battle, early in the morning they saw the waters red like blood. Thinking that those kings and their men had fought and killed one another, they approached the camp to carry away plunder. The king of Israel and his men fought against them and defeated them, devastating and capturing everything as far as the destruction of the city of Moab.

In chapter 4 a widow commended herself to Elisha because of her husband's debt. He commanded her to borrow empty vessels into which she was to pour the little oil she possessed. As this was done through her son, the vessels were suddenly filled by a miracle. From the price of the oil she sold she paid the debt to the creditors and lived with her son upon what remained.

Afterward, he obtained a son for a barren Shunammite woman who received him in her house with great devotion and generosity whenever he passed through Shunem, and he foretold this to her. The child was born and after some time died. But when his mother went to Elisha, explained what had happened, and prayed, he came to her house and raised him.

Later, when the sons of the prophets ate cooked herbs mixed with bitter colocynth and perceived the bitterness, Elisha ordered flour to be cast into the pot, and the stew became sweet. Afterward he multiplied loaves offered to him so that one hundred men ate from them and some of the loaves remained.

In chapter 5 Naaman, commander of the Syrian king's army, became a leper and approached the king of Israel with letters of recommendation so that he might be cured of leprosy. When he arrived at Elisha's house, Elisha commanded him to wash seven times in the Jordan and be cleansed. Although Naaman was at first indignant and would not consent, at last, persuaded by his servants, he went to the Jordan, washed, and was cleansed of leprosy.

He returned to Elisha and offered him many things, but Elisha would accept nothing. After Naaman departed, however, Gehazi, Elisha's disciple, secretly approached him and, claiming to act on Elisha's behalf, asked certain things from him and carried them to his house. Elisha exposed this crime, and Gehazi was therefore struck with leprosy.

In chapter 6, when the sons of the prophets went with Elisha to cut wood beside the Jordan so that they could make cells for themselves, the iron head of one man's axe flew from its handle and sank in the water. Elisha cast a piece of wood into the water, and the iron floated so that the man recovered it.

When the king of Syria fought against the king of Israel and laid ambushes to capture him, Elisha revealed the ambushes to the king of Israel. On hearing this, the king of Syria sent an army to capture Elisha. When Gehazi saw them besieging Elisha's house and grieved, Elisha's prayer caused him to see the mountain near the house filled with fiery horses and chariots. The Syrian army was struck with blindness.

In chapter 5 Elisha himself led that Syrian army into Samaria before its king, and their eyes were opened. He nevertheless commanded the king not to strike them, but to feed them and dismiss them to return to their own people.

When Ben-hadad, king of Syria, besieged Samaria, a severe famine arose. One woman agreed with another that they would eat her son and afterward the other's son together. When one son had been eaten and the other woman refused to give hers, the first laid her complaint before the king of Samaria. On hearing this, the king angrily sent a messenger to behead Elisha, which Elisha foretold to his companions.

When the king came to him, Elisha foretold that there would be a very great abundance on the following day. This occurred. For the Lord sent into the Syrian camp a sound like that of many peoples coming against them. Fearing this, they all fled and left all their possessions behind. Four lepers perceived this and reported it in the city of Samaria. The inhabitants investigated lest this had been done as an ambush, but when the truth was discovered, everyone went out to take the spoils. Thus a very great abundance of provisions followed. One of the commanders, who had not believed, was trampled by the multitude at the city gate and died.

In chapter 8 Elisha commanded the woman whose son he had raised to sojourn abroad during that famine. When she returned, the king ordered her lands restored to her after hearing from Gehazi how Elisha had raised her son.

Afterward, when Ben-hadad, king of Syria, became ill, he sent Hazael to Elisha to inquire whether he would recover. Elisha foretold to Hazael that he would reign in Syria and inflict many evils upon Israel. Hazael returned and said that the king would recover, but on the following day he smothered him and reigned in his place.

Edom withdrew from Judah and appointed a king for itself in the time of Joram, king of Judah. Joram reigned eight years, and his wife was Athaliah, daughter of Ahab, king of Israel. He also killed all his brothers, the sons of Jehoshaphat, as is said in chapter 21 of the Second Book of Chronicles. Because of his sins, God raised the Philistines and Arabs against him. They devastated the land of Judah, plundered the king's property, and captured his sons and wives. He himself was stricken by an incurable plague and over the course of two years gradually discharged his entrails. After his death, his son Ahaziah reigned in his place.

In chapter 9 Elisha commanded one of the sons of the prophets to go to Ramoth-gilead, which Jehu, commander of the army of Joram, king of Judah, was besieging, and to announce Jehu as king of Israel, who by God's command was to destroy all Ahab's seed. He did so. When Jehu reported this to the army, they all accepted him as king.

Jehu and his army entered Israel, where King Joram lay sick from a wound received at Ramoth from the Syrians against whom he had fought. Ahaziah, king of Judah, had come there to visit him. When Joram heard that Jehu was coming to Jezreel, he and Ahaziah went out to meet him. Jehu struck Joram with an arrow and killed him, and caused the fleeing king of Judah to be pursued and killed. When Jehu entered the city of Jezreel, he caused Joram's mother Jezebel, who rebuked him from a house window, to be thrown down by her servants.

In chapter 10, at Jehu's request, the men of the city of Samaria killed Ahab's seventy sons who were in Samaria and sent their heads to him in baskets. Going from there to Samaria, Jehu met forty-two brothers of Ahaziah, king of Judah, on the road and caused them all to be killed.

Afterward Jehu pretended that he wished to worship and honor Baal more than Ahab had done. He therefore caused the prophets and priests of Baal to assemble to offer Baal a solemn sacrifice. He had garments given to them so that they might be clearly distinguished from the others. When the burnt offering was completed, he caused all the priests of Baal to be killed, destroyed Baal's temple, and made it into latrines.

Jehu reigned over Israel for twenty-eight years. Nevertheless, he followed the idolatry and sins of Jeroboam. Because of this zeal exercised for God's honor, however, the continuation of the kingship in Israel to the fourth generation was promised to him.

In chapter 11 Athaliah, Ahaziah's mother, on hearing that her son had been killed, slew all the royal seed so that she herself might reign over Judah--that is, the sons of Ahaziah, who had reigned only one year in Judah.

Third Title: On the Fourth Age of the World

Chapter Three (continued)

But while Ahaziah's sons were being killed, Jehosheba, Ahaziah's sister and the wife of the high priest Jehoiada, stole one of Ahaziah's sons and hid him for the seven years during which Athaliah reigned in Judah. His name was Joash.

In the seventh year of Joash's age, Jehoiada revealed the king's son to certain men and gave instructions for Athaliah's death. This followed, and Joash was accepted as king by all the people. All the people of the land entered the temple of Baal and destroyed it. They forcefully shattered its altars and images and killed Mattan the priest before the altar. All the people of the land rejoiced, and the city rested. Athaliah was killed by the sword in the king's house. Joash was seven years old when he began to reign.

In chapter 12 Joash reigned over Judah for forty years and conducted himself rightly all the days in which Jehoiada the priest taught him. He also caused the Lord's house and its vessels to be repaired, rebuking the priests for their negligence in this matter.

After Jehoiada died at the age of one hundred and thirty, Joash was softened by the compliant services and flatteries of the princes and departed from God's way. Because of this, when the prophet Zechariah, son of the aforesaid Jehoiada, reproved him and the people for their transgressions, he was stoned in the temple court at King Joash's command, as chapter 24 of the Second Book of Chronicles adds.

It is further related there that, after a year had passed, the king of Syria came against Joash with few men, although Joash had a very great army. After taking great plunder, killing many, and treating King Joash disgracefully, the king departed. Joash's servants killed him after he had been left suffering from illnesses.

In Israel, after Jehu's death, as chapter 13 says, his son Jehoahaz reigned in his place for seventeen years and followed the sins of Jeroboam, Israel's first king. After his death his son Joash reigned in his place for sixteen years and did evil in the Lord's sight.

When Elisha became mortally ill, King Joash visited him, grieving over his death. Elisha told him to strike the ground with an arrow shot from a bow. When he did this three times and no more, Elisha was angry and said, “If you had struck five or six times, you would have destroyed Syria completely; now, however, you will strike it three times.”

Elisha died and was buried. When men were carrying a dead man to burial, they saw raiders coming against them from Moab and cast the corpse into Elisha's tomb. That dead man immediately arose.

In the kingdom of Judah, after Joash's death, as chapter 14 of the Fourth Book of Kings relates, his son Amaziah reigned in his place for nineteen years. He gathered thirty thousand fighting men from Judah and one hundred thousand from Israel so that he might advance to war against Edom. But a prophet told him on God's behalf not to take with him those hired from Israel, because he would be defeated. Although he had already given the hired men wages of one hundred talents of silver, the Lord was able to repay him.

He obeyed and went against the Edomites, gaining victory and killing twenty thousand of them. On returning to Jerusalem, however, he adopted as his gods the idols of the Edomites whom he had conquered. When a prophet reproved him for this, he did not listen but threatened him with death, as is said in chapter 25 of the Second Book of Chronicles.

Amaziah sent to Joash, king of Israel, proposing that they meet at a certain place to see one another. Joash answered that Amaziah should remain in his own place and not be puffed up with pride because of his victory over the Edomites. Amaziah refused to consent but came to Beth-shemesh, where Joash, king of Israel, struck Judah and led the captured King Amaziah to Jerusalem. He destroyed four hundred cubits of its walls, took away the treasures of the temple and royal house, accepted hostages, and returned to Samaria. Amaziah was afterward killed when his own men conspired against him at Lachish.

After Joash, king of Israel, died, his son Jeroboam reigned in his place for forty-one years and did evil like his predecessors. After Jeroboam's death, his son Azariah reigned in his place for fifty-two years.

In chapter 15, after Amaziah's death, his son Uzziah, who is also called Azariah, reigned in his place in Judah for fifty-two years. As chapter 26 of the Second Book of Chronicles says, he did many good things and had frequent victories against the Philistines, Arabs, and Ammonites. He had three hundred and seven thousand five hundred fighting men in his army. He greatly enlarged the city and increased its wealth.

But at last, elevated in pride, he entered the temple to offer incense before the Lord and threatened the priest Azariah when he reproved him. Because of this, Uzziah suddenly became a leper. He lived separately throughout the whole remainder of his life, and his son Jotham reigned in place of his leprous father.

In Israel Azariah reigned for six months. Shallum conspired against him and killed him. Shallum reigned for one month in Samaria, but Menahem killed him and reigned in his place for ten years. After Menahem's death his son Pekahiah reigned in his place for two years. Pekah, son of Remaliah, conspired against him, killed him, and reigned in his place.

In Pekah's time Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, came against Israel and captured Galilee, all the land of Naphtali, and many cities of Israel. He transferred those people into Assyria. Hoshea conspired against Pekah, killed him, and reigned in his place.

In Judah, after Uzziah's death, his son Jotham reigned in his place for sixteen years. He did what was right before the Lord, built many cities and fortresses, and fought the Ammonites, making them tributary, as chapter 27 of the Second Book of Chronicles adds.

In chapter 16 of the Fourth Book of Kings, after Jotham was taken from this life, his son Ahaz reigned in his place in Judah. He gave himself to idolatry and consecrated his son by passing him through fire.

When Pekah, son of Remaliah and king of Israel, went up against him in battle, as is related in chapter 28 of the Second Book of Chronicles, he killed one hundred and twenty thousand fighting men of Judah in a single day. They took limitless plunder and led two hundred thousand boys, girls, and women captive to Samaria. A certain prophet reproved them for such great cruelty, especially concerning the captives they had taken, advising them to release the captives lest the Lord be angered against them. They did so, feeding and clothing them and leading them to their own people at Jericho.

The king of Syria likewise came against Judah and took great plunder, as did the Philistines and Edomites. Again Pekah, king of Israel, and Rezin, king of Syria, came against Ahab in battle. Ahab stripped the Lord's temple and his own house and sent very great gifts to Tiglath-pileser, king of the Assyrians, so that he would come to his aid against the king of Syria. Tiglath-pileser came, captured Damascus, Syria's royal city, and killed its king Rezin.

Ahab went to visit Tiglath-pileser and congratulate him on his victory. Seeing the altar of the gods of Damascus, Ahab commanded the priest Uriah to have a similar altar constructed in the Lord's house. Sacrifices were offered there, while God's altar was abandoned. This was done for idolatry, as is related in chapter 16 of the Fourth Book of Kings.

Under this King Achas, Rome was founded by the twins Romulus and Remulus on the Aventine Hill, as will be said below.

After the death of the most wicked Achas, as chapter 17 relates, his excellent son Hezekiah reigned in Judah. In his time Hoshea reigned over Israel after Pekah and planned to rebel against Shalmaneser, king of the Assyrians, to whom Hoshea was tributary. Shalmaneser came against him. In the ninth year of Hoshea's reign he captured Samaria and transferred Hoshea and all the people of Israel into Assyria and Media, leaving only the tribe of Judah with Benjamin.

It is there explained at length that the cause of this captivity was their sin and obstinacy, especially their idolatry. The king of the Assyrians sent people of the Babylonians and other nations to live in Samaria and those regions. Because they did not observe the Law's ceremonies, the Lord sent lions that tore them apart. The king of the Assyrians therefore sent there some of the Israelite priests who had been transferred into captivity so that they would teach the worship of God according to the Law. When they did this, the plague ceased. Nevertheless, together with this worship they adored various idols.

In chapter 18 Hezekiah began to reign in Judah in the third year of Hoshea, king of Israel. He reigned twenty-nine years and did exceedingly well. He destroyed the high places, shattered the statues, cut down the sacred groves, and broke the bronze serpent Moses had made in the desert, all of which had come to pertain to idolatry. Among all the kings of Judah none was like him.

He rebelled against the king of the Assyrians. Sennacherib, king of the Assyrians, came up against him, but Hezekiah asked him to withdraw in return for whatever burden he wished to impose. He sent Sennacherib the three hundred talents of silver and thirty of gold that had been demanded, taking the gold and silver in the Lord's temple and the king's house.

Not content with these things, Sennacherib sent his spokesmen to Jerusalem to persuade Hezekiah and the people to surrender to the king of the Assyrians. They said that their God could not free them from the Assyrians' hand, just as the gods of the other nations Sennacherib had subjugated had been unable to prevent him from subjecting those nations to himself. They spoke many other things in blasphemy against God.

In chapter 19, when Hezekiah heard this, he tore his garments, put on sackcloth, and entered the temple to pray to God. He sent messengers to the prophet Isaiah so that he would pray for the people placed in so great a danger. Isaiah strengthened them, saying that they should not fear the king of the Assyrians because he would not capture the city but would depart in confusion.

This happened. In one night an angel of the Lord killed one hundred and eighty-five thousand men of Sennacherib's army. Seeing this in the morning, Sennacherib returned in confusion to Nineveh. While worshiping in the temple of his god, he was killed by his sons.

In chapter 20 Hezekiah became mortally ill. This is said to have happened because of his pride over so great a victory, as is stated in chapter 33 of the Second Book of Chronicles, or because of his ingratitude, according to Josephus. He was told by Isaiah on God's

behalf that he would die. As he wept most bitterly, Isaiah announced on the Lord's behalf that pardon had been obtained and that he would not die then but would survive for fifteen years.

As a sign of his healing, the sun moved backward ten degrees in the sky. This was fulfilled. After he was healed, he composed that canticle, “I said in the midst of my days,” and so forth, which is found in Isaiah 38.

At that time Merodach-baladan, king of Babylon, sent letters and gifts to Hezekiah to rejoice with him over his recovery. Hezekiah showed his envoys all his treasures and precious things. Isaiah came to him and foretold on God's behalf that in the future everything the king of Babylon's envoys had seen, as well as Hezekiah's sons, would be carried away into Babylon.

But at the beginning of his reign, as is related in chapter 29 of the Second Book of Chronicles, Hezekiah stirred the people to worship the true God and the priests diligently to fulfill their office in praising God and offering solemn sacrifices.

Chapter 30 says that he sent messengers throughout all Israel's borders from Dan to Beersheba, telling everyone to come celebrate the Passover of the Lord in Jerusalem and urging them to return to penance so that God might forgive them. Many people from the different tribes came to celebrate the Passover. Hezekiah prayed for those who celebrated it without having been sanctified as the Law commanded.

People came not only from Judah but also from the other tribes to overthrow the idols, as chapter 31 of the Second Book of Chronicles says. He carefully ordered the provision of the Levites in sacrifices and first fruits.

At last Hezekiah slept with his fathers, as chapter 21 relates, and his son Manasseh reigned in his place when he was twelve years old. He reigned in Jerusalem for fifty-five years and committed innumerable evils. He rebuilt the high places his father had destroyed, constructed altars to Baal, worshiped the entire host of heaven, made his son pass through fire, practiced soothsaying, observed auguries, consulted mediums, and filled Jerusalem with innocent blood. The people followed him in all things so as to transgress God's law.

Chapter 33 of the Second Book of Chronicles adds that when the Lord spoke through prophets to Manasseh and the people so that they would return, they refused to listen. Indeed, Manasseh commanded that the prophet Isaiah be cut apart with a wooden saw for greater torment, Jerome says. Because of this the Lord brought the Assyrians' princes against him. They captured him, led him bound into Babylon, and kept him in fetters.

When Manasseh was greatly distressed in that prison, he prayed to the Lord and performed great penance before God. His humble prayer is found at the end of the Second Book of Chronicles. God therefore had mercy on him, brought him out of that captivity, and restored him to Jerusalem and his kingdom. After returning, he removed everything pertaining to idolatry and amended his life for the better.

After Manasseh's death his son Amon reigned in his place for two years in Jerusalem and did evil in the Lord's sight. He sacrificed and rendered service to all the idols his father Manasseh had fashioned. He did not revere the Lord's face as his father Manasseh had, namely by returning to penance. Perhaps he promised himself the vain hope of returning to penance in old age as his father had done, but this hope deceived him, for his servants conspired against him and killed him in his house.

The rest of the people killed Amon's murderers and appointed his son Josiah in his place, as is related in chapter 22. Josiah was eight years old when he began to reign and reigned exceedingly well for thirty-one years. At the beginning he caused the damaged roofs of the temple, that is, its ruins, to be restored.

Third Title: On the Fourth Age of the World

Chapter Three (continued)

Hilkiah the high priest sent to King Josiah the book he had found in the Lord's house, namely Deuteronomy. When Josiah had it read and heard from it the Lord's threats against transgressors of the law, he tore his garments, greatly fearing the Lord's judgments. He commanded Hilkiah to consult the Lord concerning himself and the people, considering the Lord's anger that was to descend upon them.

They approached the prophetess Huldah, wife of Shallum. She answered them on God's behalf that all the evils they had read in the Book of the Law would come upon that place and its inhabitants because of their crimes. But because King Josiah had feared and humbled himself before God upon hearing the book, he would die in peace so that he would not see those evils.

Josiah therefore, as is related in chapter 23 of the Fourth Book of Kings, caused all the people to assemble and had the book read to them. He and the people with him entered a covenant before the Lord to observe the Lord's commandments. He purged the temple

of every impurity of idolatry and destroyed the soothsayers and those who burned incense to Baal, the sun, the moon, the twelve signs of heaven, and the entire host of heaven.

He also destroyed the small house of the effeminate men that was in the Lord's house, together with other places devoted to idolatry. Moreover, he went to Bethel, where Jeroboam had made an altar for idols, and destroyed it. He commanded that the tomb of the prophet who had gone from Judah to rebuke Jeroboam for idolatry, had been strangled by a lion on the road, and had also prophesied Josiah's name and this deed to be done by him, should be left undisturbed. He acted likewise in the cities of Samaria.

He also commanded the Passover to be celebrated according to the Law. No such Passover had been celebrated since the days of the judges who judged Israel or in the days of all the kings of Israel and Judah. Josiah did this in the eighteenth year of his reign.

After this, as chapter 35 of the Second Book of Chronicles says, Necho, king of Egypt, went up to fight at Carchemish. Josiah went against him in battle. The king of Egypt sent messengers to him saying that he was not coming against Josiah, but that the Lord had urgently sent him against another people, namely the king of the Assyrians. Josiah should therefore cease hindering him lest he be killed.

Josiah refused to hear Necho's words from God's mouth. Going against him to battle in the field of Megiddo, he was wounded by archers. On perceiving this, he told his servants to lead him from the battle because he had been gravely wounded. Transferred from one chariot to another, he died in Jerusalem. All Judah and Jerusalem mourned him, and Jeremiah above all, whose lamentation over Josiah all the male and female singers repeat down to the present day, as is stated there.

After Josiah had been killed, Necho, king of Egypt, as is related in chapter 24 of the Fourth Book of Kings, entered Jerusalem and led Josiah's son Jotham, whom the people had appointed king in his father's place, bound into Egypt. He imposed upon the land a tribute of one hundred talents of silver and one of gold.

He appointed Eliakim king in Jerusalem, called him Joachim, and identified him as that ruler's brother and a son of Josiah. This Joachim was evil and reigned for eleven years. The king of Babylon came against him and made him tributary, but when he rebelled against the king of Babylon after three years, that king came against him at Jerusalem.

In the fourth year of this Joachim's reign, while Jeremiah was confined, he commanded Baruch, son of Neriah, to write everything Jeremiah told him on the Lord's behalf and to read it before all the people. The message of the writing was that the people should return to penance so that they might escape the evils the Lord had threatened against them.

After this was done, when the book was later read before King Joachim, the king tore it apart, had it burned upon a brazier filled with coals, and caused Jeremiah and Baruch to be sought for capture. Because of this Jeremiah prophesied against him that the king of Babylon would come and that Joachim's slain corpse would be cast out into heat and frost. The Lord again caused the same words and many others to be written, as is related in Jeremiah 37.

The king of Babylon made Joachim's son, also called Joachim, king in his place. But after departing, he reflected and feared that the son might perhaps rebel in vengeance for his father's death, and so he returned to Jerusalem. Joachim, afraid, went out to meet him on Jeremiah's advice, together with his mother and many others. The king of Babylon led Joachim captive to Babylon together with one thousand craftsmen and smiths, strong fighting men, Daniel, Hananiah, Azariah, Mishael, the prophet Ezekiel, and also Mordecai.

He appointed another of Josiah's sons king in Jerusalem, a man called Mattaniah, whom he named Zedekiah. He reigned eleven years in Jerusalem, did evil in God's sight, and rebelled against Nebuchadnezzar, to whom he had promised fidelity.

In chapter 25, in the ninth year and tenth month of Zedekiah's reign, Nebuchadnezzar came up against him and surrounded the city of Jerusalem. As famine prevailed within, the city was captured in the eleventh year. The Chaldeans pursued the fleeing King Zedekiah, captured him, and brought him to Nebuchadnezzar at Riblah. Nebuchadnezzar caused Zedekiah's sons to be killed before him, then blinded him, bound him, and led him into Babylon.

Nebuzaradan, commander of the Chaldean army, burned the Lord's temple after its vessels and ornaments had been carried away. He burned the royal house and the whole city and destroyed its walls. The king of Babylon placed Gedaliah, son of Ahikam, over those who remained.

When some of the nobles who had escaped--namely Ishmael, son of Nathaniah, and others--came to Gedaliah, he promised them security. Johanan, son of Kareah, advised Gedaliah to beware of Ishmael because Ishmael sought his death. Gedaliah did not believe him, but this nevertheless occurred. Ishmael treacherously killed Gedaliah and the Jews and Chaldeans whom he found with him.

On the following day, when this was not yet known, eighty men from Shechem and Samaria came with shaven beards and torn garments to offer in the Lord's house. Ishmael met them weeping and said that he would accompany them to Gedaliah. In the middle of the city he killed them, apart from ten who promised to reveal to him treasures in fields of wheat, barley, honey, and oil. For this reason he did not kill them.

Ishmael led the remaining people with him as captives toward the land of Ammon. When Johanan, son of Kareah, heard this, he advanced against him with many fighting men. Seeing this, Ishmael abandoned the remnant and fled, while Johanan led the remnant back into the city.

Because they feared the Chaldeans on account of Gedaliah's death, they asked Jeremiah to pray for them and consult the Lord about whether they should remain or go into Egypt. He answered them on God's behalf that they should remain. They refused to consent and said that he had invented a falsehood from himself and had not received the answer from God, as is related in Jeremiah 41 and the two following chapters.

Thus Judah was transferred from its land to Babylon. After many of the principal men had been killed, four thousand six hundred souls were transported to Babylon together with the blinded and imprisoned King Zedekiah, as is related in Jeremiah 52.

Jeremiah himself, when King Joachim was first transferred to Babylon, foretold, as is clear in Jeremiah 25, that this Babylonian captivity must last seventy years, after which they would be led back to Jerusalem. Hence many false prophets in Jerusalem seduced the people and King Zedekiah by falsely saying on God's behalf that those already taken captive with Joachim would be freed.

Thus a certain false prophet named Hananiah publicly said on God's behalf in Zedekiah's fourth year that after two more years the people would be led back from Babylon together with King Joachim. He broke the wooden chains Jeremiah wore around his neck to signify the yoke of servitude that would endure under Nebuchadnezzar. The Lord therefore told Jeremiah that he would make iron chains in their place as a sign of servitude under Nebuchadnezzar. Because Hananiah had prophesied without being sent by God, Jeremiah foretold that he would die that year. This was fulfilled, as is related in Jeremiah 28.

While Zedekiah reigned, Jeremiah also wrote to those already transferred to Babylon with Joachim, telling them to build houses, plant gardens, take wives in Babylon, seek Babylon's peace, and pray for it. They were not to believe prophets who foretold their swift liberation, because it would not occur until the seventy years were completed.

He also foretold that two false prophets in Babylon who announced to the Jews living there that they would soon be freed would be delivered into Nebuchadnezzar's hands and publicly killed. They were called Zedekiah and Ahab. As Jeremiah 29 relates, they are said to have been those two wicked old men who accused Susanna of adultery. They were first stoned by the people and afterward fried in oil by Nebuchadnezzar.

Because Jeremiah preached that the city would be captured by the Chaldeans, they wished several times to kill him, but he escaped in various ways. On one occasion, at the people's leaders' request, King Zedekiah consented that he should be put in prison. He was cast into a cistern where there was no water but mud so that he would die there.

Ebed-melech, an Ethiopian man and the king's eunuch, reported this to the king and denounced their wickedness before him. The king caused Jeremiah to be drawn out. Speaking with Zedekiah secretly when the king questioned him, Jeremiah advised him to offer himself voluntarily to the king of Babylon. In this way he would not die and the city would not be exposed to fire; if he did not do so, he would not escape. Jeremiah remained in prison until the city was captured.

Then Nebuchadnezzar commanded him to be freed, treated humanely, and left at liberty to go to Babylon or remain if he wished, as is related in Jeremiah 38. The prophets Ezekiel and Daniel were led to Babylon with King Joachim. Hananiah, Azariah, and Mishael likewise prophesied there, as is clear in Ezekiel 1 and Daniel 1.

In the thirty-seventh year after King Joachim's transfer, Evil-merodach, reigning in Babylon after Nebuchadnezzar, elevated Joachim, brought him out of prison, and set his throne above the thrones of the kings in Babylon. Joachim ate with him, as is related in Jeremiah 52.

Moreover, Jeremiah prophesied Babylon's destruction, as is clear in Jeremiah 50 and 51. This was fulfilled in the time of Belshazzar, Babylon's last king, when the city was captured by Cyrus and Belshazzar was killed by him, as is related in Daniel 5.

At the transfer of the Hebrews to Babylon with Zedekiah, the last king, the Fourth Age, which had begun with David, ended. It contained twenty-one kings of Judah beginning with David. According to the Book of Kings, the reign lasted not quite five hundred years, but according to Josephus five hundred and twenty-three years, six months, and ten days. From the departure out of Egypt there were one thousand and sixty-two years, six months, and ten days.

There were fifteen high priests in succession from Zadok, whom Solomon appointed, to Seraiah, father of Jehozadak, whom Nebuchadnezzar killed.

Earlier, when Pekah, son of Remaliah, reigned in Israel--which was the second year of Uzziah, king of Judah--Tiglath-pileser, king of the Assyrians, came into Israel. He led captive the two and a half tribes who lived across the Jordan. Devastating Galilee as well, he transferred many people from Zebulun and Naphtali to Nineveh. Tobit was among the other captives taken.

Then, in the ninth year of Hoshea, who reigned after Pekah, son of Remaliah, and was the last of Israel's kings, Shalmaneser, king of the Assyrians, discovered that Hoshea, whom he had previously made tributary, planned to rebel against him. He came against

Hoshea, captured him and Samaria in Hezekiah's sixth year, and transferred into Assyria the seven tribes of Israel who remained. The other three had already been transferred. Thus the tribe of Judah remained with Benjamin. They too were afterward transferred to Babylon, as was said above.

Because certain apparent contradictions arise in the Books of Kings when the years of the kings of Judah and Israel are computed and compared, Peter Comestor says in the *Scholastic History* that wherever no determination or reconciliation of such a contradiction is found, we believe it arose from a copyists' error, for they often make mistakes in proper names and numbers.

Some other apparent contradictions can be determined and reconciled either through synecdoche, because certain kings reigned jointly with their fathers before they reigned there alone, or because those kingdoms were sometimes without a king. In this way Comestor reconciles several contradictions at the end of the Book of Kings, as is clear there.

Chapter Four

Although the lives of the holy fathers of the Old Testament were, as it were, prophetic, some among them nevertheless shone through the prophetic spirit, announcing and leaving in writing many mysteries of Christ and the Church and matters pertaining to good morals.

After Moses, who existed before the time of the judges and was simply the greatest of the prophets according to Thomas in the *Summa*, the prophets shone forth most especially and abundantly in the age of the kings. The first, and in a certain respect the greatest, namely with regard to the mysteries of Christ, was David, king of Israel. His Psalter is the sum of theology concerning the mysteries of faith and moral teaching.

According to Augustine, David composed all one hundred and fifty psalms, although Nicholas of Lyra and certain others assert that not all were composed by him but some by others according to their titles. Some verses from the Psalms that express the articles of faith quite openly will be set forth here.

Concerning the article of Christ's humanity with respect to His Incarnation and Nativity, David says in Psalm 71, “He shall descend like rain upon the fleece,” and so forth. Here he seems to touch upon what was given to Gideon as a sign of victory: dew descended from heaven upon a fleece placed on the threshing floor while the floor remained dry, and a basin was filled from the dew wrung out of the fleece. This signified that the dew of the divine Word, descending into the Virgin's womb and joining itself to the fleece of our mortality, left the ark of the virginal body immaculate.

Third Title: On the Fourth Age of the World

Chapter Four (continued)

When this fleece, namely His body, was compressed upon the cross, the Church's basin was filled from the dew of His grace. In the following verses of that Psalm, David shows Christ's universal dominion, namely over all who are converted to the faith. The first of these were the Magi, kings of Tarshish, who came from the East and offered gifts to Him at His birth.

Concerning the article of His Passion, who speaks more openly than David himself when, in the person of Christ upon the cross, he says in Psalm 21, “God, my God, look upon me. Why have You forsaken me, far from my salvation, the words of my offenses?” He calls the sins of the human race, for which He suffered and which made Him far from bodily salvation, His own offenses. And below: “They have pierced my hands and my feet,” namely with nails upon the cross, where, when His limbs were violently stretched, men numbered all His bones, something not read of anyone else.

Concerning His descent into hell he says in Psalm 15, “My flesh shall rest in hope,” namely of the Resurrection, “because You will not leave my soul in hell,” namely the soul descending there, “nor will You allow Your holy one,” namely My body, “to see corruption.”

Concerning the Resurrection, according to Augustine in *The City of God*, he says in Christ's person in Psalm 3, “I slept,” namely by taking the sleep of death upon the cross, when, inclining His head like one sleeping, He gave up His spirit. “And I was in a deep sleep,” namely by undergoing the great sleep of forty hours, during which He remained dead. “And I arose,” not indeed through the proper power of the humanity that had fallen in death, but through the power of His divinity. He expresses this by adding, “Because the Lord received me.”

Concerning the Ascension he speaks to Christ Himself, saying in Psalm 77, “You have ascended on high,” namely to the highest heaven. “You have taken captivity,” namely the multitude of fathers who were held captive by the devil in limbo. “You have given gifts to men,” according to another translation, namely by abundantly pouring the gifts of the Holy Spirit into the disciples.

Concerning His coming to judgment, in Psalm 109, after indicating Christ's sitting at the Father's right hand by saying, “The Lord,” namely the Father, “said to my Lord,” namely Christ, “Sit at My right hand,” he intimates Christ's eternal generation from the Father when he says, “With You is the beginning,” and so forth; “from the womb,” namely the mind of the Father hidden from us, “I begot You.” He also describes Christ's priesthood, by which He offers us to God, when he says, “You are a priest forever according to the order of Melchizedek.”

At last he indicates Christ's future judgment, saying, “He shall judge among the nations.” Christ Himself will fill the ruins of all the angels from among His elect, to whom He will say, “Come, blessed of My Father; receive the kingdom,” and so forth. “He shall crush the heads,” that is, the minds and bodies of the wicked, namely the reprobate, to whom He will say, “Go, accursed, into eternal fire.” He will do this “in the land,” namely the infernal land.

As for the articles of the divinity, concerning the unity of the divine essence the Lord says in Psalm 80, “If you hear Me, there shall be no new god in you, nor shall you worship a foreign god. For I am the Lord your God,” namely the one God.

Concerning the Trinity of Persons in the unity of essence, he says in Psalm 66, “May God,” namely the Father, “bless us; our God,” namely the Son, who is ours through the humanity He assumed, “may He bless us,” namely the Holy Spirit. He would not have named God three times without purpose unless he wished to signify the Trinity of Persons. Lest anyone believe from each divine Person's being called God that three gods exist, he therefore adds in the singular, to show the unity of divinity and essence, “and may all the ends of the earth fear Him,” not them. God's blessing is the conferral of good upon both body and soul, and therefore he asks twice for a blessing.

Concerning the Persons' own names, with respect to the Father he says of Christ in Psalm 88, “He shall call upon Me: You are My Father.” With respect to the Son, in Psalm 2 he says, “The Lord,” namely the Father, “said to Me: You are My Son; today,” that is, eternally, “I have begotten You,” for in eternity all things are present. With respect to the Holy Spirit, Psalm 103 says, “Send forth Your Spirit, and they shall be created.”

Concerning the article of the creation of things, Psalm 101 says, “In the beginning, O Lord, You founded the earth, and the heavens are the works of Your hands. They shall perish,” not indeed with respect to their substance, but with respect to their present form. “But You remain,” namely immutable.

With respect to the article of the conferral of grace by which the Church is justified, he says in Psalm 84, “God, turning,” namely toward us, “You will give us life,” namely through Your grace. Hence another translation reads, “You will justify us, and Your people,” namely the Church, “will rejoice in You.” Psalm 28 also indicates the Church's seven sacraments, through which the Church is justified by grace, in the seven voices noted there. He sang of the Word's Incarnation and the gathering of the Church from various peoples in Psalm 44, as Augustine explains in *The City of God*. Finally, concerning the conferral of final glory, he says in Psalm 83, “The Lord will give grace and glory.”

After David, his son Solomon shone with the prophetic spirit in three books undoubtedly produced by him: Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs. They belong to the canon of Scripture and are therefore authentic even according to the Hebrews. Although their teaching is especially moral, it nevertheless belongs to prophecy because it was revealed by the Holy Spirit, not discovered or acquired.

The first of them, Proverbs, pertains to the formation of morals and the eradication of vices and is therefore adapted to beginners. The second, Ecclesiastes, leads to contempt for the world and shows vanity in all lower things; it is suited to those making progress. The third looks more to the perfect, because it treats the fervent love of God for the soul and conversely.

Nevertheless, mysteries pertaining to Christ and the Church are also indicated in them. In particular, the final chapter of Proverbs, describing the strong woman and her qualities, signifies the Church and Christ, her husband or bridegroom. Chapter 9 of Ecclesiastes signifies Christ's Incarnation in the poor wise man who frees a city besieged by a great king, namely the devil. The whole Song of Songs is expounded concerning Christ and the Church.

Although some say that the book entitled Wisdom was also produced by Solomon, others deny this. Hence, according to Jerome, it is not among the Hebrews' authentic books. The Jews themselves affirm that it was composed by a certain Greek named Solon. It contains many moral teachings and speaks with considerable eloquence. From chapter 6 through chapter 8 inclusive it wonderfully exalts Wisdom and describes her virtues or effects, which are understood either of the Son of God, who is the Wisdom of God the Father, or of the wisdom infused into us through saving grace.

Chapter 2 especially treats the counsel the Jews formed to kill Christ, where they conclude by saying, “Let us condemn Him to a most shameful death.” Augustine notes this in *The City of God*.

The book called Ecclesiasticus, as everyone holds, was produced by a certain man named Jesus son of Sirach, who lived in the time of Simeon, son of Onias, after the Jewish people's return from Babylon. Although it is full of moral wisdom and therefore received by the Church for reading, it is nevertheless not authentic for proving matters that enter into disputes about the faith. Hence its first chapter says, “The fountain of wisdom is the Word of God on high.”

Chapter Five

Among the four prophets called major because their prophecies are manifold and contain much writing, the first is Isaiah. He describes the mysteries of Christ's Incarnation and Passion so openly that, according to Jerome, he appears to compose the Gospel's history rather than prophetically announce future things. As he was noble by birth because he came from royal seed, so he maintained urbane eloquence in his prophetic discourse without any rusticity mixed into it.

He had a wife and sons and prophesied at Jerusalem in the times of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, Hezekiah, and Manasseh, kings of Judah. Because he rebuked the idolatry and other crimes of the last of these, although Manasseh was his kinsman, Manasseh cut him into two parts with a wooden saw so that he would suffer more greatly, according to Jerome. As is said in the *Scholastic History*, when Isaiah, thirsty from the distress of his punishment, asked for water to refresh his mouth, the exceedingly cruel Jews refused to grant it to him, but God sent water from heaven into his mouth.

From chapter 13 through chapter 23 Isaiah prophetically describes the burdens of the Jews, that is, the judgments and future destructions of the nations near them, which he names: Babylon, Moab, Damascus, Egypt, the desert of the sea, the valley of vision, Tyre, and others.

§ I

Isaiah also prophesied about the destruction and scourging God carried out against many cities through Nebuchadnezzar as the instrument of His justice. For this reason the Lord said, “Assur is the rod of My wrath,” because through him, the king of the Assyrians, He scourged many people. He adds, “But he,” namely Assur, “did not know Me,” because he attributed that power and victory not to God but to his own strength. He did these things not as a minister and executor of the divine will, but to satisfy his ambition and greed.

At last he himself was scourged by God when, according to his own and others' imagination, he was turned into a beast. Of him it is also said in Isaiah 14, “How have you fallen from heaven, O Lucifer,” and so forth. These words have a twofold literal sense. One concerns the devil falling through pride and is thus a prophecy about the past. The other concerns the proud Nebuchadnezzar, and from these words he appears to be damned in hell.

But since Augustine says in Cause 23, question 4, that Nebuchadnezzar merited fruitful penance, and Gratian says the same in *On Penance*, distinction 1, it is necessary to say that this is understood of his grandson Belshazzar. Or, if it is understood of the great Nebuchadnezzar, it must be said that he afterward relapsed into sins of idolatry or other sins.

§ II

The Lord spoke to Ahaz, saying, “Ask a sign for yourself from the Lord your God,” and so forth. To explain this, it should be known that this Ahaz, king of Judah, was impious and idolatrous. The Lord therefore delivered him into the hands of the king of Syria and the king of Samaria the first time they came against him in battle, for they captured a large part of his army, as is related in the Fourth Book of Kings.

When the aforesaid two kings came against Ahaz a second time to depose him from the kingdom, the Lord consoled Ahaz, who feared them, by promising his deliverance from them. Because he did not firmly believe, Isaiah said to him on God's behalf, “The Lord spoke: Ask a sign for yourself.” That is: If you do not believe my words, to confirm the truth I have told you--namely, that you will be delivered--ask whatever sign you wish so that you may be compelled to believe.

“Into the depth of hell,” that is, let the earth be split and hell's mouth open, as the earth opened and swallowed Dathan, or let Samuel be recalled from below at Saul's request. “Or into the height above,” that is, from heaven, as Hezekiah asked and obtained a sign in the sun, which moved backward ten lines.

But Ahaz, as an evil man, answered, “I will not ask,” namely for a sign from God. As if excusing himself under the appearance of piety, he added, “I will not tempt the Lord,” as though to say that asking would be to tempt God, which is not lawful.

He did not refuse to ask for this reason, however, but in truth because he was evil, turned away from God, and given to idolatry. He did not wish to ask for a sign because he feared that God would be glorified in it and his idols, in which he trusted, would be debased. Hence another text reads, “Nor will I exalt the Lord.” Or it was because he trusted in his kingdom, his own power, or the king of the Assyrians and not in God, and thus cared nothing for God's aid.

Isaiah said to him, “Hear, therefore, O house of David.” He did not say, “Hear, Ahaz,” but “house of David,” either because everyone of his house consented to him in his wickedness or because Christ had been promised to David, and Christ was therefore given to the house of David as a sign.

“Is it a small thing for you,” so as to merit divine anger, “to be troublesome to men,” whom you have despoiled, or to the prophets, whom you have not believed? “For you are also troublesome to my God” by abandoning Him and serving idols. “Therefore the Lord

Himself will give you a sign" of your coming deliverance. That is: Even if because of your wickedness you do not wish to ask for a sign lest God be exalted through it, He Himself will nevertheless give one.

He will give the greatest sign: the universal deliverance of the world from sin and the devil. Through this greater deliverance you can perceive that He can also accomplish the lesser, namely deliver us from the temporal power and wickedness of those two kings. This sign is: "Behold, a virgin shall conceive and bear a son," and so forth.

Here it should be known that the Jews, obstinate in their unbelief, raise many objections about this prophecy to deny or obscure the mystery of the Incarnation contained in it.

Their first objection is this: the Lord intended to give a sign of Ahaz's deliverance from the hands of those two kings, as was said, but Christ's Incarnation has no correspondence with that deliverance. It must be answered that the Incarnation signifies that deliverance through an argument from the greater: if God will give His Son for the salvation of the whole world, He will much more be able to save them from that particular and temporal affliction.

Second, they object that the sign given concerning the virgin who would give birth was given to people then present, but the Incarnation did not occur in their time, and thus it appears to be no sign. The response is that although the Incarnation did not occur while the people of that time were present, it nevertheless occurred while the house of David remained. Hence the prophet pointedly says, "Hear, therefore, O house of David."

Third Title: On the Fourth Age of the World

Chapter Five (continued)

Third, they object that the Hebrew text does not have "virgin" but *almah*, which among them signifies a young woman. But even if "young woman," which among them signifies a virgin, is read, it is not necessary that she conceived while remaining a virgin; she could first have been a virgin and afterward conceived from Joseph's seed. Yet let the unbelieving Jew who says that Christ was born from Joseph's seed blush. If this were so, it would have been no sign or wonder, because it happens naturally, whereas the Lord wished to signify something great when He said, "Ask a sign for yourself."

Fourth, they object by saying that the prophet speaks of Hezekiah. But this cannot stand, because, as is clear in chapter 18 of the Fourth Book of Kings, when Ahaz began to reign Hezekiah was already nine years old. He had therefore already been born when Isaiah said this to Ahaz.

Moreover, how can the other things said below about this child to be born be verified of Hezekiah? Chapter 8 says, "Before the child knows how to call upon father and mother, the strength of Damascus and the spoils of Samaria will be taken away." But Hezekiah was thirty-one years old when Samaria and Damascus were devastated by the king of the Assyrians.

In a certain sermon Augustine shows that this was spiritually fulfilled in the Virgin's Son when He was worshiped by the Magi, who were powerful kings but unbelievers. Through the faith they had in the child Christ, who then appeared not to know how to call upon His putative father Joseph and His true mother the Virgin, although He knew all things, the souls of those strong, unbelieving gentile Magi were taken from the devil's power, offered to Christ, and stripped of vices.

Fifth, others say it is understood of Isaiah's son, because chapter 8 says that Isaiah approached the prophetess, namely his wife, and she bore a son. But that would not have been a sign, because it was natural for Isaiah to have a son by his wife. Nor can the things said there be verified in any manner of Isaiah's son.

Isaiah's approach to the prophetess is instead wonderfully expounded of the Virgin, who possessed the spirit of prophecy and every kind of holiness. Isaiah approached her through the faith and understanding of the mystery given to him by God. This Virgin conceived Jesus from the Holy Spirit, and the name of the child to be born was called, "Hasten to take the spoils," namely human beings; "quickly seize them," namely by drawing them away from the devil; "hurry to plunder," namely hell. All these effects of the Incarnation are included in the name Jesus imposed upon Him.

Chapter 8 says that for this Isaiah took two faithful witnesses, namely Uriah the high priest and Zechariah, son of Barachiah. This does not seem capable of being understood well according to the surface of the letter, because that Uriah was not a faithful witness and Zechariah had long been dead. Likewise, it appears absurd that these two were introduced as witnesses of Isaiah's carnal approach to his wife, as though he had known his wife in their sight.

Rather, by those two witnesses the prophet intended to bring forward the law and the prophets as testimony to that mystery, namely Christ conceived and born of the Virgin prophetess. The law is designated by the priest Uriah, for it pertained to priests to explain the law to the people, while prophecy is designated by Barachiah. Each frequently renders testimony concerning Him.

It should be known that, as was said, the Hebrew does not have “virgin” but *almah*. According to the Hebrew language this word has a twofold meaning. In one manner it means the same as “young woman,” and perverse Jews so understand it. According to another meaning, *almah* is the same as *apocrypha*, that is, hidden, closed, or concealed, which is principal among virgins. Hence the Blessed Virgin was enclosed and hidden in a private room when the angel came to her. In the Punic language as well, the word *almah* signifies a virgin, while in Latin it sounds like “holy.” The Jews use nearly all languages.

A certain learned Jew once said that here in Isaiah *almah* is written with a closed letter *mem*, by which *almah*, that is, a virgin, is indicated. It is therefore expounded according to Catholic teachers: “Behold, a virgin,” remaining a virgin, “shall conceive,” which is a miraculous work and a wondrous sign, “and shall bear,” remaining a virgin, which is miraculous.

“And His name shall be called Emmanuel.” Matthew the Evangelist interprets this name when he introduces this authority of Isaiah and says, “God with us,” that is, God in human nature, so as to signify the divinity in the Virgin's Son. “He shall eat butter and honey,” that is, He will be fed with infants' food, with the sweet milk from the Virgin's breast filled from heaven, so as to signify true humanity.

Or it may be understood thus: from human nature He will not take the whole, namely penalty and guilt, but He will take butter, which is the flower of milk, namely innocence from guilt. He will nevertheless take every penalty by which our sins may be purged, because butter is purgative. He will also take the sweet honey of benignity, according to the Apostle's words to Titus, “The benignity and humanity of God our Savior appeared.”

Hence, as if explaining, Isaiah adds, “That He may know how to reject evil,” namely the evil of guilt, by not assuming it or by making Himself immune from it, “and to choose the good” of grace and punishment, through which He may make satisfaction for us. That punishment is therefore good.

§ III

In chapter 9 there is a singular prophecy concerning Christ's Nativity, His divinity, and the fruits of the Incarnation, when it is said, “A child is born to us, and a son is given to us,” and so forth. A little before these words Isaiah says, “The people who walked in darkness have seen a great light,” and so forth. Matthew the Evangelist introduces this prophecy in chapter 4, showing it fulfilled when Christ, after His Baptism and temptation in the desert, began to preach and become renowned in the regions of Galilee through doctrine, miracles, and holiness of life.

But because the literal sense is sometimes twofold, as was said elsewhere, beyond the preceding sense it may also be said that from the beginning of chapter 9, where Isaiah says, “At the first time,” and so forth, down to the place “A child is born,” he first denotes the captivity of three tribes from Israel, and after it, under Shalmaneser, king of the Assyrians, the captivity of the other seven tribes.

Second, he denotes the great tribulation of the kingdom of Judah under Hezekiah from Sennacherib's siege of Jerusalem. This affliction is called darkness and the shadow of death because of the very great danger that the city would be captured, when no human means could resist the power of a man who had one hundred and eighty-five thousand fighting men in his army.

In that darkness a great light is said to have arisen for them because a luminous angel of the Lord appeared in one night and killed that entire army of Sennacherib, who returned to his own country in confusion. The people were enriched and gladdened by the plunder their enemies left behind.

The prophet touches very briefly and obscurely upon this history of things truly done so that it might be a figure of the thing to be accomplished: the liberation of Jerusalem, that is, the Church and the faithful, from the hands of Satan and his armies of demons, who besieged the human race and sought to subject it entirely to themselves.

We were virtually freed from this oppression through the Nativity of Christ, who is called the Angel of Great Counsel. An angel appeared on the night of His Nativity amid a great light and announced to the shepherds the world's salvation through the child who had been born, singing with the other angels of peace to men. Hence, after narrating the aforesaid history, the prophet adds, “For a child is born to us,” as though to say: I relate these things because they signify the liberation to be accomplished through Christ who was to be born.

The prophet uses a verb of past time for the future according to the prophets' custom. Because of the certainty of the things they announce, since they see them in the book of God's foreknowledge, which is infallible, they speak of the future with verbs of past time. Thus the Psalm says, “They have pierced my hands and my feet,” that is, they will pierce them, for Christ's Passion was then still a thousand years or a little less in the future.

Thus, “A child is born to us” means that a child will be born, small in body but greatest in holiness, power, and wisdom. He was born temporally from the Virgin Mary. Hence Isaiah himself says in his final chapter, “Before the time of her delivery came,” that is, the opening and breaking of the virginal seal, “she bore a male,” Jesus, wholly virile. For the Lord entered through the closed gate of the virginal womb, taking flesh from her, and went forth through it closed when He was born.

Because Jesus' birth from the Virgin is beyond nature, Ambrose says in *On Consecration*, distinction 2, that just as He truly went forth from the tomb when it was closed after He rose, so Isaiah adds, “Who has ever heard such things?” as though to say: no one.

“He is born to us,” that is, for our benefit, so that “a son,” namely the Son of God by excellence, “is shown. A son is given to us,” namely by grace alone and not by our merits. Because this person is God and man, He must therefore be exalted. Hence the prophet indicates that very exaltation which appeared shameful, namely upon the cross, but was nevertheless glorious in power, adding, “And the government was placed upon His shoulder,” that is, the cross upon which He principally triumphed.

Because of the cross the Lord exalted Him and gave Him the name above every name, for upon the cross He conquered the world and the devil, and through the preaching of the cross the apostles subjected the whole world to Christ. It was “upon His shoulder” because He carried the cross itself upon His shoulders and was stretched upon it.

“And His name shall be called,” and so forth. Through the following six names His divinity, humanity, and magnificence are indicated. The first name indicates His wondrous divine wisdom. For it is wondrous and most worthy of all wonder that God became man. Maximus says in a sermon: “Our venerable fathers saw God's great and innumerable wondrous works, but it was granted to none of them to see this: that the Only-begotten of the Most High, whom the powers of the archangels receive with trembling, should receive humanity and present Himself to human beings.

The second name is “Counselor,” in which His human wisdom is shown in His teaching. He adds most useful counsels to the commandments and does not compel people, because the counsels are more difficult.

The third name is “God,” expressing divine power, because He is the Creator of all. It belongs to God alone to make something from nothing. Hence Genesis 1 says, “In the beginning God created heaven and earth,” and John 1 says, “All things were made through Him,” the Word whom he had called God.

The fourth name expresses human endurance, because He is “Strong.” Through this strength in His humanity He endured so many reproaches and afflictions so manfully. The Psalm says, “The Lord is strong” in enduring “and mighty” in conquering “in battle,” namely the battle He waged against the devil upon the cross. Augustine says, “With an unarmed hand fastened to the cross He defeated the powers of the air.”

The fifth name, “Father of the Future Age,” contains the abundance of goodness with respect to the divine nature, because the Lord alone begets children for heavenly felicity.

Sixth, He is named “Prince of Peace,” expressing the abundance of goodness with respect to human nature, insofar as He is the mediator of God and men and our peace, because He made both one.

The seventy translators did not dare to say of this child that He was to be called God. In place of these six names they therefore put one: “Angel of Great Counsel.” They did this lest Ptolemy, at whose request they translated the Old Testament from Hebrew into Greek, believe that the Scripture posited several gods, and lest they give what is holy to dogs, namely unbelievers, if they disclosed the mystery of the Incarnation so openly. According to this translation, the Church places this authority in the entrance chant of the Mass of the Lord's Nativity.

“His empire shall be multiplied,” for all nations and kings will serve Him. Through the preaching of the apostles and their successors, the faithful subject to His empire were multiplied in merit and number. “And there shall be no end of His peace” in this world, namely of interior peace, because the Church will never fail and the good, namely the faithful, always possess interior peace. Although external wars sometimes exist and rise against her, the peace of Christ that is in His servants always remains. Or His peace will have no end with respect to the peace of the heavenly homeland that the truly faithful will possess.

“He shall sit upon the throne of David and over his kingdom.” The nobility of the kingdom is expressed in this, because He shall rest and reign over the congregation from David's people and from the gentiles, which congregation, the Church, is signified in David's house. Because the promise was made to Abraham that Christ descends from the house of David, it appears that when the kingdom is treated it ought to be referred to David. If all nations come and worship Him, then those nations are blessed in Abraham's seed and consequently He ought to reign over them.

“That He may confirm it” for restoring it against unbelievers and heretics until the end, “and strengthen it” by fighting against demons and vices, “in judgment and in justice,” that is, through judgment, so that He may give to everyone according to merits or demerits, “from now and forever,” from the time of the Incarnation into eternity.

Finally, the prophet sets forth God's motive for giving us His Son to become man, saying, “The zeal of the Lord of hosts will do this,” that is, God's most intense love. Hence in Jeremiah 31 God says, “I have loved you with an everlasting charity; therefore, taking pity, I have drawn you.” John 3 says, “God so loved the world that He gave His only-begotten Son.” And the Apostle says, “Because of the exceedingly great charity with which He loved us, God sent His Son.”

Here it should also be carefully noted that where our translation reads, “His empire shall be multiplied,” the Hebrew has *lemenbre*, which in Latin means “for multiplying.” This letter *mem*, as Jerome says, is shaped or formed differently when placed at the beginning or middle of a word and when placed at the end. At the beginning it is formed open, but at the end it is formed closed.

Third Title: On the Fourth Age of the World

Chapter Five (continued)

In this place, however, in *lemenbre*, *mem* is placed in the middle of the word and is nevertheless written closed. This is contrary to the nature of the letter and the Hebrew manner of writing, so as to indicate that the Christ of whom the prophet speaks was to be born from a closed, that is, unviolated, virgin and contrary to the manner of nature, and that the mystery of the Incarnation itself was closed and secret.

For just as poets signify something to subtle readers through grammatical figures, so prophets sometimes designated hidden mysteries through such an unusual manner of writing. Thus Moses, to designate the mystery of the divine Persons in the unity of essence, joined the word *Elohim*, which is plural in number from *Eli*, to a singular verb, saying, “In the beginning *Elohim* created,” that is, the gods, meaning the divine Persons, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, “heaven and earth,” and so forth.

Modern Jews, however, corrupt the letter of Scripture. In place of what was said, “His name shall be called Wonderful,” and so forth, they have in their books, “And he”--namely, He who is the Wonderful Counselor, God, and so forth--“shall call his name,” namely the name of that child who was born, “Prince of Peace.” For in place of our nominative “Prince of Peace,” they have the accusative “a prince of peace.”

They say that these things spoken of this child are understood of Hezekiah, king of Judah, whom God called a prince of peace because under him He gave peace to the people when Sennacherib's army was destroyed. Or, if they understand these things of Christ, they say that His divinity is not apparent from them. This is one of their errors, for they do not concede that the Christ whom they still mistakenly await is God.

Because, as has been said, the Hebrews corrupt the text, recourse must be had to the translations of others. According to the translation of the Seventy made into Greek, the text does not say “he shall call,” as the Hebrews have, but “he shall be called,” as we have. In place of our six names, however, they put “Angel of Great Counsel” for the reason already given. This signifies implicitly and in a veiled manner the same thing that those names expressing the divinity signify explicitly and manifestly, because before it was fulfilled the mystery of the divine Incarnation was the greatest secret and divine counsel. It therefore cannot be understood of Hezekiah.

That they put “Prince of Peace” in the accusative ought instead to be in the nominative. The following words also show such an exposition concerning Hezekiah to be false, when it is said, “His empire shall be multiplied, and there shall be no end of peace,” for the peace under Hezekiah lasted only a short time.

The falsity of the Hebrew Scripture as corrupted by them is also evident from the Chaldean translation, which is authentic among them. For it says there, “His name shall be called,” not “he shall call the child's name,” “Wonderful Counselor, mighty God, enduring forever, the Messiah, in whose days peace shall be multiplied.”

§ IV

In chapter 53 Isaiah speaks so openly of Christ's Passion that he appears more an evangelist recounting the history of something accomplished than a prophet announcing the future. Because in the beginning few believed this mystery, namely a crucified Christ who is God and man, Isaiah begins the chapter thus: “Lord, who has believed?” that is, who believes “our report,” meaning the things we have heard from You or those the Jews hear from us? As though to say: few. He adds what those few believe, namely matters concerning Christ's Incarnation and Passion.

“And to whom has the arm of the Lord been revealed?” The Son of God is called the Lord's arm because all things were made through Him and God sustains all things by His Word, just as one works and holds things with an arm. Just as a man embraces another with his arm and draws him close, so through the Son we have been embraced by the Lord, reconciled, made like the Son, and united through grace.

He leads us in this arm like sheep. Isaiah 40 says, “In His arm He will gather the lambs.” In this arm God made such an anointing with blood that He healed the Church's whole body. “To whom has it been revealed?” As though to say: this arm was covered with assumed flesh and therefore must be revealed. Isaiah wishes to indicate that faith comes from revelation, not acquisition. Hence in the preceding chapter he says, “The Lord has prepared His holy arm in the eyes of all nations, and all flesh shall see the salvation of our God,” which the gloss expounds of the Son of God revealed to the gentiles.

First Isaiah treats Christ's Incarnation, saying, “He ascended like a shoot before Him.” The place and manner of His conception are indicated here. The place is indicated because He was conceived at Nazareth, which is interpreted “shoot” or also “flower,” and because He was conceived in March, when flowers begin.

The manner is indicated because He was conceived and born of a virgin without human work, just as a shoot springs from the earth without human work. “Before Him,” that is, before God, because He was born of the Virgin to fulfill the Father's will.

“And like a root.” A root is hidden from sight but shows its power in its effect. Thus Christ's divinity lay hidden in His flesh. Isaiah 45 says, “Truly You are a hidden God.” But when He supplies the moisture of grace to His branches, that is, His members, and displays the fruit of glory, He shows His power.

Just as a root is the more despised part of a tree but nevertheless sustains the tree, so Christ is called the last of men by reason of His shameful Passion and yet is the foundation of the Church. From this root every tree, that is, every human being, receives fruit. This root ascended “from a thirsty land,” that is, from the Blessed Virgin, whose womb was not moistened by male seed; or from a thirsty land, that is, from the Blessed Virgin thirsting and hungering for the salvation of the human race.

After the prophet has set forth Christ's Nativity, he immediately descends to the Passion. Gregory says, “His being born would have profited us nothing had His dying not profited us.” “There is neither form nor comeliness in Him,” namely in the Passion. Hence few among the Jews believe what we preach, namely Christ the Son of God, because there was no form or visible comeliness showing divinity in Christ as a man so dishonored and dead.

“And we saw Him, and there was no sight,” namely of the divinity in Him when He was so treated with contempt. During the Passion He especially concealed the power of His divinity. Hence the Jews said in mockery, “If He is the Son of God, let Him come down from the cross,” while He remained fixed upon it as though powerless.

Because the prophet by the light of grace saw that shameful Passion would free the world, he adds, “And we desired Him, despised,” and so forth--not by rejoicing in or desiring His afflictions, but by attending to the fruit of the Passion. “And His face was as though hidden,” that is, the manifestation of His divinity. He says “as though,” not simply, because even during the Passion His face did not lie entirely hidden, as appeared in the darkening of the sun, the prostration of the betrayer, and other signs. “Hence we did not esteem Him,” namely to be God. He says this in the person of the unbelieving Jews.

The prophet further shows that Christ suffered these things not for His own sins but ours, adding, “Truly He took our infirmities,” that is, removed from us our inveterate sins, for an infirmity means an inveterate sickness, “and He carried our sorrows,” that is, carried them away. Thus “infirmity” may be referred to original sins and “sorrow” to actual sins.

Or, “He took our infirmities and carried our sorrows” insofar as He bore all our sins in His body upon the wood of the cross, as Peter says in his canonical epistle. That is, He endured in Himself the punishment owed to us for sins. He did this truly, not in appearance.

“And we esteemed Him as though a leper and struck by God.” The prophet says this in the person of unbelieving Jews, who considered Him a leper, that is, a sinner struck by God for His own sins. Hence they said, “If this man were not an evildoer, we would not have delivered Him to you.” Thus they cast Him outside the camp, that is, the city, as though a leper.

Or the prophet can be said to speak in the person of those who first judged Him condemned in this way because of His own sins, but afterward, converted by the signs, said: We thought thus, but now we know that He suffered this not because of His own sins but because of ours.

Hence it follows, “He was wounded for our iniquities,” namely by the lance and nails, and “He was bruised” by scourges and blows “for our crimes,” namely that they might be purged. “Iniquities” are referred to lesser offenses and “crimes” to greater ones.

“The discipline of our peace was upon Him.” War existed between God and human beings because of the sins of those human beings rebelling against God, according to Isaiah's words, “Our sins have divided,” that is, made a division, “between us and our God.” This peace could not be made except through divine justice, which is called “discipline” in the text.

To establish this peace, therefore, God disciplined the incarnate Son, who held the place of the entire human race because He is our head. By this peace was made. Hence He is called “our peace, who made both one.” From this it followed that “by His bruise we are healed.”

We are healed in three ways. First, by way of provocation to charity, which is the cause of the remission of sins, because by enduring the Passion for us He provokes us to love Him above all things. Second, by way of redemption. Because Jesus is our head, through His Passion, which He endured from charity and obedience, He freed us as His members from sins, as though by the price of His blood.

Third, we are healed through Christ's Passion by way of efficiency or instrumentality. Insofar as Christ endured the Passion, it is the instrument of the divinity. Thus all His sufferings and actions operate by divine power to expel sin.

This discipline of the Passion was necessary for everyone so that all might be led back from the way in which they walked, namely transgressions, into the way of salvation and the virtues. Hence he adds, “All we like sheep have gone astray,” for all sinned in Adam as in the first sheep. “Each one turned aside into his own way” of his proper will and sensuality. “And the Lord laid upon Him the iniquity of us all,” namely when the shepherd seeking the sheep that had strayed found it and placed it upon His shoulders, that is, by sustaining the burden of its sins, namely their punishment.

Modern Jews falsely say that those who lived rightly in the Old Testament went directly to glory. But since it is said here that “all we have gone astray,” namely by sinning, and since no one can go to glory with such an error before this common error is purged--a purgation accomplished only through Christ's Passion--no one went to glory before the Passion.

For even if sins were removed through animal sacrifices *ex opere operante*, that is, by the devotion and compunction of those offering, they were nevertheless not removed fully. Vitiated nature still remained to be purged completely through the true sacrifice, Christ, the immaculate sheep and lamb figured in those sacrifices.

He voluntarily endured this immolation, that is, the Passion. This is what follows: “He was offered because He Himself willed it.” He willed to suffer for our liberation, but He did not will the evil intention of the Jews who killed Him. That He appeared voluntarily is evident in His patience during the Passion, which he shows by saying, “He shall be led like a sheep to slaughter and like a lamb,” and so forth, neither defending Himself nor murmuring, but permitting everything.

“From distress,” namely the Passion, “and from judgment,” namely Pilate's unjust judgment against Him, “He was taken away,” namely in the Resurrection.

The prophet next sets forth His greatness, saying, “Who shall recount His generation?” Christ's generation can be spoken of in three ways. The first is eternal, by which the Word is eternally begotten from the Father. The second is temporal, by which the Word became flesh temporally from His mother. Not only is the first indescribable and incomprehensible to us, but so also is the second: how that union of the Word with flesh occurred and how He was conceived and born of the Virgin.

The third is active generation, by which He begets adopted sons from faith. Who will recount even this generation--how many faithful sons of His were multiplied from the Passion, and how this generation occurs in the human mind? As though to say: no one.

This was accomplished through the Passion, as the prophet shows by adding, “Because He was cut off from the land of the living,” namely removed through His death from the society of human beings. Because this generation of spiritual children cannot occur unless their sins have been purged, a purgation virtually accomplished through the Passion, he adds, “For the crime of My people I struck Him,” speaking in the Father's person. I, the Father, struck Him, that is, permitted Him, My incarnate Son, to be struck by Jews and others for the crime of the people, namely that it might be erased.

Because God did not permit the wickedness of those striking Christ to go unpunished, the prophet adds, “He shall give the impious for His burial.” Christ will give the impious Jews to the Romans under Titus and Vespasian “for His burial,” that is, because they persecuted Christ even to the death from which He was buried. He will give them captive and afflicted. They persecuted Him even after death by fortifying the stone of the tomb with guards.

“And the rich for His death,” that is, He will give to death the scribes, Pharisees, and chief priests who gloried in the ways of the law's teaching, because they delivered Him to death. The reason they unjustly delivered Him to death is assigned: “because He committed no iniquity, nor was deceit found in His mouth.” This can be said of no one else, because no one is clean from stain, at least original stain.

Because the prophet said above, “All we like sheep have gone astray,” while Christ was without sin, he sufficiently shows from this that Christ is not a mere man but God and man, by reason of which union He is without sin. Yet although He was without guilt, “the Lord willed to bruise Him in infirmity,” that is, permitted Him to be bruised in that part in which He was weak, namely in the flesh He assumed.

“If He shall lay down His soul for sin,” that is, if He voluntarily gives His life to death to erase human sin, “He shall see a long-lived seed,” that is, His spiritual sons, the faithful, down to the end of the world; or He shall see His seed, that is, the Gospel or the Gospel's teaching, remain until the end.

Third Title: On the Fourth Age of the World

Chapter Five (continued)

Hence the Jews argue that these things cannot be understood of Christ the Nazarene, since He had no sons but remained a virgin. Yet because they savor and understand the Scriptures carnally, they therefore take this as referring to carnal sons, although the prophet speaks of spiritual sons and spiritual seed.

“And the will of the Lord”--namely, that will by which He wills all men to be saved--“shall be directed in His hand,” that is, it shall be fulfilled in His work, namely His Passion, because, as regards merit, that Passion is sufficient to save all. The reason for this is “because His soul has labored.” Behold the fruit of His labor: “He shall see,” namely Christ Himself, that for which He labored--the Church gathered and converted from the Gentiles throughout the whole world. He hungered and thirsted for this conversion of men, and therefore “He shall be satisfied” by their conversion, delighted by it.

And because the just man lives by faith, Christ therefore justifies men by it. Hence it follows: “In His knowledge shall My just servant justify many.” In the knowledge of His teaching and in the faith infused into men--which knowledge is from God--He shall justify, that is, He shall make the unjust just. It says that the just one shall justify because God alone is He who justifies; therefore our Christ is God. The Son of God is called the servant of God because He assumed the form of a servant. It says “many,” not all, because many are called but few are chosen, owing to a defect in men.

“And He shall bear their iniquities,” namely those of the persons to be justified: as regards the efficient action of cleansing, He shall bear the penalty by making satisfaction for them. Divine justice required this, for Christ, as head of human nature, made Himself a debtor to God by reason of the union and on account of the defects of human nature; and for it He willed to sustain in Himself the penalty that divine justice required. In this way He appeased divine justice and consequently justified many by bearing the penalty of their sins--not all, but those who are joined to Him through the sacraments devoutly received, in which their power has remained.

And because Isaiah had said that the Father had given the Jews to the Romans as spoil and unto death, he consequently shows how God the Father will compensate Him among the Gentiles, saying, “I will distribute to Him very many.” These are the words of God the Father speaking of Christ, as if to say: If the Jews are negligent and do not come through faith to Christ, in place of those Jews “I will distribute,” that is, I will compensate for the ruin of the Jews with the multitude of Gentiles coming to the faith of Christ. “And I shall divide the spoils of the strong,” that is, of the demons: the human race, which the devil had seized for himself by deceiving it, shall be snatched from the devil and entrusted to the apostles and their followers as a dominion, for the apostles were the first to preside over the converted Gentiles.

This shall happen “because He has delivered His soul,” that is, His life, “unto death, and was reputed with the wicked,” namely with the thieves by the Jews; “and He has borne the sins of many,” that is, He has taken them away, or sustained their penalty. “And He prayed for the transgressors,” saying, as is found in Luke 22, “Father, forgive them.” At this utterance, according to the Gospel of the Nazarenes, many of the Jews were converted.

From this prophecy Isaiah clearly shows that Christ was and is true God and true man, contrary to the Jews who refuse to assent that Christ ought to suffer, whom they still await as one to come in their error. Rather, they say that He ought temporally to possess great power in the world as a great temporal lord. They also deny that He is true God and say that He is a mere man.

§ V

How God would bear witness to Christ through the fruit of His Passion, after the Jews had been abandoned because of their faithlessness, by means of the conversion of the Gentiles, Isaiah declares in the following chapter, namely chapter 54, saying: “Praise, O barren one who bears not; sing praise, you who did not travail, because the children of the deserted woman are more numerous than those of her who has a husband.”

For an explanation of this, it must be known that according to the prophets and in Scripture mention is made of two congregations or peoples, namely the Israelite and the Gentile, and each people took its origin from Noah. At that time Gentility, instructed by Noah in his sons, adored the one God, Creator of all, and this nation was the bride of the one true God, to whom it was joined through faith.

At the time of the building of Babel, however, the Gentility whom the Lord had espoused to Himself in Noah and his sons, as though fornicating in her youth, withdrew from God and adhered to the devil through idolatry. She was deserted by her bridegroom, God, until the Incarnation; and the Jewish people alone were chosen as though as a bride by God when men were dispersed through the various regions of the world and through various rites of idolatry, while true faith in the one God and His worship remained in the house of Heber alone, afterward in the family of Abraham, and finally in the house of Jacob and those descending from his twelve sons.

Thus Gentility became as a widow by withdrawing from God, whence neither could she bear spiritual children for God, which is done through faith. The Jewish people, on the other hand, were as though married to God through true faith and bore for God spiritual children who were to be saved in faith in the Christ to come, and this continued until the time of Christ.

But after Christ's Passion, through the preaching of the apostles, Gentility was converted to the faith and espoused to God through faith, and she generated very many children, namely all those converted from her to the faith. Jewry also generated some, but only those who believed in Christ. And because these were few in comparison with those converted from Gentility, Isaiah therefore says: “Praise, O barren one,” that is, you, Gentility, who formerly were barren after deserting God your bridegroom; “and deserted,” that is, abandoned by God because you had abandoned God--praise God. For many children have been born spiritually through faith, that is, far more than to “her who has a husband”: the congregation of the Jews, who had God as husband or bridegroom until the time of Christ, and afterward insofar as concerns those converted from Judaism, who nevertheless were fewer than the converted Gentiles.

§ VI

Concerning the luminous advent of Christ through His teaching, miracles, and holiness of life--an advent by which the Jews were darkened by the shadows of errors and faithlessness and covered by the gloom of vices, but the Gentiles were illuminated, whose firstfruits were the holy Magi who came from distant parts to adore the newborn Christ and venerate Him with gifts, which sufficiently openly signified the true faith they had concerning Him--Isaiah speaks in chapter 60, where he says: “Arise and be illuminated, Jerusalem, because your light has come,” and so forth.

Concerning the fullness of sevenfold grace bestowed upon Christ insofar as He is man, the prophet Isaiah speaks in chapter 11: “A rod shall come forth from the root of Jesse,” that is, the Virgin Mary from the lineage of Jesse, who was David's father; for he was called by two names, Jesse and Isai. “And a flower from his root,” that is, Christ, descending according to corporeal substance from that lineage, not propagated carnally, but conceived and born without human operation like a flower from a rod, that is, from the Virgin Mary.

“And the Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon Him.” It says that He shall rest because He will find in Him no restlessness or goad of sin, something that occurs in no one else, at least as regards original sin: “the Spirit of wisdom and understanding, the Spirit of counsel and fortitude, the Spirit of knowledge and piety; and the Spirit of the fear of the Lord has filled Him.”

Concerning His preaching it is said in chapter 61: “The Spirit of the Lord is upon Me, because He has anointed Me; He has sent Me to announce to the meek, to heal the contrite of heart, and to preach release to captives,” and so forth. The prophet speaks in the person of Christ, who insofar as He is man was anointed with the anointing of grace by the Holy Spirit and sent to preach. Hence, as is read in Luke 4, when Christ once entered the synagogue of the Jews at Nazareth and the book of the prophet Isaiah was handed to Him, He began to read what first met His eye in it. It was this: “The Spirit of the Lord,” and so forth, as was said. When He had read it, He said, “Today this Scripture is fulfilled in your ears.”

Concerning His miracles Isaiah says in chapter 35: “The Lord shall come and save us. Then shall the eyes of the blind be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped. Then shall the lame man leap as a hart, and the tongue of the mute shall be opened,” and so forth. We do not read that anyone in the Old Testament worked all these miracles, but the Lord Jesus Christ did them all.

§ VII

Concerning the angels' wonder and their inquiry at Christ's Ascension, it is said in chapter 63: “Who is this who comes from Edom, with dyed garments from Bozrah?” The lower angels, seeing Christ ascend in such glory, ask in wonder. Edom is interpreted “earthly” or “bloody” and signifies the world. Bozrah is interpreted “fortified” or “firm” and signifies hell, which was so firm that no one could escape. As though seeing Christ ascend by His own power and with the souls of the saints, the angels therefore said in wonder: “Who is this who comes from the world, because He is man, and from hell so fortified, with beatified souls?”

For although all the angels, from the beginning of their creation or glorification, knew in the Word the mystery of the Incarnation, nevertheless not all knew all the particulars concerning that mystery; rather, they knew them as they were fulfilled. Thus the higher angels, as being enlightened in greater detail concerning a mystery of this kind, answer: “This beautiful one in His robe,” that is, in the habit of humanity, “walking in the multitude of His strength,” that is, coming to heaven by the way of the cross, where He exercised His strength in conquering the devil.

Or it can be said that this entire speech belongs to the lower angels, and Christ Himself answers them, saying: “I, who speak justice,” that is, I who, as justice requires, render to each one according to his works. I redeemed the human race by justice, not by power, sustaining the penalty for the sin of men so that satisfaction might be made for the offense against God. It was also just that the devil, who tyrannically possessed deceived man and incited the Jews to inflict death upon Him who was not liable to death, should lose men who were liable to death. “And I am a defender,” that is, one fighting against the devil and the world, conquering on behalf of men “to save,” namely, them.

Either the angels or Isaiah himself asks, “Why then is Your garment red?” that is, whence do You have the signs of the Passion by which Your garment, that is, Your body, was made red in blood? He answers them: “I have trodden the winepress alone,” that is, I sustained the cross. He was alone because no one among the Jews, the disciples, the friends, or the angels helped Him. “I have trodden” the demons by subjugating them, and the world “in My fury,” that is, being greatly angered against vices and demons, and finally against the Jews, and so forth.

Concerning the apostles and those sent to preach, chapter 63 says: “I will send of those who have been saved,” namely, disciples and others converted to the faith, “going to the sea, to Africa, to Libdia, bearing arrows,” namely the words of God, “to Italy and Greece and to the distant islands,” such as Sicily and England, “who have not heard of Me,” namely through the prophets, “and have not seen My glory; and they shall announce My glory to the Gentiles.” Libdia is in Asia; Italy and Greece are in Europe.

Chapter Six

Jeremiah the prophet was from the priests of Anathoth, sanctified in the womb, as is evident in the first chapter, and sent or appointed by God to preach from his childhood. He foretold the captivity of that people by Nebuchadnezzar, king of the Chaldeans; the capture and burning of the city by him; the destruction of the temple; and the leading of Zedekiah, king of Judah, with many others into Babylon. He reproved the people's sins and exhorted them to repentance. Because they did not correct themselves, he saw with his own eyes all the evils he had prophesied come upon them.

After the city had been captured, Jeremiah was honored by King Nebuchadnezzar himself and remained with the common people who were left in burned and desolate Jerusalem. But afterward, when Gedaliah, whom the king of Babylon had placed over those left there, had been killed, Jeremiah comforted those who feared the king's vengeance because of Gedaliah's killing, counseling them on God's behalf not to descend into Egypt but to remain safely there. They did not believe or acquiesce in his words, but went on into Egypt, taking Jeremiah himself with them; and finally, when he reproved them, they stoned him in Egypt.

By his virginity Jeremiah dedicated an evangelical man of Christ and the Church. He seems more rustic than certain other prophets, as Jerome says in the prologue, but he is their equal in meaning, since indeed he prophesied by the same Spirit. The simplicity of his speech came to him from the place in which he was born, for he was from Anathoth, a little village three miles distant from Jerusalem. He also laments Jerusalem's ruins with a fourfold alphabet, namely in the *Threni* or Lamentations, signifying the ruin of the Church in wicked Christians.

In addition to the prophecy of the scourges of the Jewish people and many other matters, he also prophesied many mysteries of Christ. For concerning His Incarnation he says in chapter 31, “The Lord has created a new thing upon the earth.” Here it must be noted that Christ's conception and Nativity are called a creation. It was new that a virgin conceived and that a virgin gave birth. It was new that there should be a living man without sin. It was new that God should be born having become man.

“A woman shall encompass a man,” that is, the Virgin Mary, without the seed of a man, shall have Christ, the Son of God, within the enclosure of her womb. She will not create or generate Him by a human operation but by a divine one. She shall encompass in her womb the Son of God as a “man,” that is, one perfect in knowledge and virtue.

Concerning Christ's Passion he says in chapter 11: “But You have shown me, and I have known; You showed me their pursuits. And I was like a meek lamb that is carried to the sacrifice. And I did not know that they had devised counsels against me, saying: Let us put wood into His bread, and let us root Him out of the land of the living, and let His name be remembered no more.”

Third Title: On the Fourth Age of the World

Chapter Six (continued)

The Jews and our Judaizers, as is said in the Gloss, expound these words of Jeremiah. For when he reproved the sins of the people and threatened them with evils to come, many planned to kill him because of such things, using various plots and methods, as is evident in Jeremiah 38. Hence the princes also sought and obtained from King Zedekiah that he be cast into a cistern or pit in which there was mud, not water, so that he might die. But Abdemelech, the Ethiopian eunuch of the king, petitioned the king on his behalf that he might be drawn out, which was done. At first the prophet did not know these malicious plans of theirs, but afterward they were revealed to him by God. Among other things, some sought a hidden means of killing him, such as by poison. This is what they mean when they say, “Let us put wood,” that is, something secretly poisoned, “into his bread,” namely, his food or drink.

But according to the holy doctors, it is better expounded of Christ. Hence both before and after these words the prophet foretells the destruction of the Jews by the Romans in punishment for so great a crime of theirs. The prophet therefore speaks in the person of

Christ to the Father, saying, “Lord”--namely, Father--“You have shown me.” For all knowledge of truth is from God as the first teacher. “Their pursuits,” that is, the plots and machinations of the Jews against Me.

“And I was like a meek lamb that is carried to the sacrifice”: I did not resist or complain, but conducted Myself meekly and patiently in My capture. “And I did not know,” that is, I dissembled and kept silent as though I did not know their plots, although this was not actually so. “They devised counsels against Me,” for the chief priests and Pharisees gathered a council, saying, “What shall we do?” and so forth; and from that hour they planned to kill Him. They also said, “Not on the feast day,” and so forth, lest He escape.

They say, “Let us put wood into His bread”: the wood, namely, of the cross, into His bread, that is, into His life, because He had once said, “I am the living bread.” That is: let us take His life from Him through death on the wood of the cross. Or let us contradict and resist His teaching, which is spiritual bread, and place a stumbling block in His teaching, namely, the ignominy of the cross. For by killing Him with so ignominious a death, no one will believe in Him as Messiah or as the true God He names Himself to be, since one dead upon the wood of the cross is called accursed in the law, namely with the curse of infamy.

“And let us root Him out of the land of the living,” that is, let us remove Him entirely from this world, so that, just as what is uprooted is wholly abolished, His teaching and name may no longer be in the memory of men. Hence it is added, “And let His name be remembered no more.” But the very contrary of their malicious thought and intention occurred, for Christ, who before the Passion was known only in Judea, became known, glorious, and exalted throughout the whole world.

§ I. That Christ, the Messiah Promised in the Law, Is True God

That Christ, the Messiah promised in the law--whom the Jews, because of their faithlessness, await as still to come, and in whose place they will receive Antichrist as Messiah, as Christ foretold to them in John 5--is true God, which the Jews themselves deny, is shown in Jeremiah 23, where it is said: “Behold, the days come, says the Lord, and I will raise up for David a just shoot; and a king shall reign and shall be wise, and shall execute judgment and justice in the earth,” and so forth.

The Jews expound these words of Zerubbabel, because he was that leader who brought the people out of the Babylonian captivity; Judah was saved, as were those few from Israel who were in that captivity, and, upon returning to those regions, they dwelt confidently in the land of promise. They therefore say that Zerubbabel's name was called “the Lord our Just One,” because the Jews in this manner imposed the name of God upon their sons, as in Emmanuel, Deodatus, and the like.

But since Zerubbabel was not a king either before or after the return from that captivity, this exposition must be rejected as false and another, true one set down. “Behold, the days come,” that is, the time of the Incarnation. “And I will raise up for David a just shoot”: David, that is, Christ, who was made from David's seed, that is, lineage, not by male seed but by the operation of the Holy Spirit. Hence in the Psalm: “The Lord swore to David,” and so forth; “Of the fruit of your womb I shall set upon your throne,” namely to reign.

It says “of the fruit” pointedly, because in the conception of children seed descends from the father's loins, but the matter of conception is derived from the mother's womb. Because, therefore, there was no seed of a man in Christ's conception, but matter prepared from the Virgin Mother, it said “of the fruit of the womb,” not “of the fruit of the loins.” It is as though to say: the fruit of Mary, who descends from David--which fruit is Christ Jesus, without a father on earth--will sit upon David's kingdom in the spiritual kingdom of the Church.

All the other kings of Judah died and ceased to be kings. But Christ, descending from David, from the time He began to reign, namely when He was incarnate, never ceased to be king; rather, His kingdom always endures, because He rules the Church militant and triumphant. He also possessed and possesses temporal power and dominion as Lord of all, but He used it [read: but He did not use it], namely by living with a royal court and exercising royal power. He is therefore properly said to have been raised up.

Christ is properly called the just shoot because Christ alone was just in the shoot, that is, in His conception. This can be said of no one else, since according to the common opinion of the doctors all are conceived in sin. Hence another reading has “the just Orient.” Ezekiel 34 says, “I shall raise up the shoot of justice who is named.”

“And a king shall reign and shall be wise.” He is indeed a true temporal king as regards dominion, although not as regards its use; a spiritual king governing the Church; and an eternal king ruling over and satisfying the blessed. He shall be wise with every kind of divine and human wisdom--blessed, acquired in life, and experiential--governing all things most excellently and conducting each to its appointed end.

“And He shall execute judgment and justice in the earth.” This shall be manifest in the Second Advent, when, judging the world, He shall render to each according to his works, as justice requires. He also executed judgment in the First Advent between the devil and man, whom the devil held captive, and justice by making satisfaction for the sin of the human race and thus paying Adam's debt. Hence Christ said as the Passion drew near, “Now is the judgment of the world,” and so forth, in John 12.

“And in those days,” namely those of this First Advent, “Judah shall be saved,” that is, some from the kingdom of Judah, “and Israel,” that is, some from the people of Israel, “shall dwell confidently,” trusting in God, Christ Jesus. If the words “He shall execute judgment,” and so forth, are referred to the Second Advent, namely to the Final Judgment, then “in those days”--that is, near the Final Judgment--Judah and Israel shall be saved, because when Antichrist, whom they held to be the Messiah, is dead, the Jews shall be converted, as the Psalm says, “at evening,” namely at the end of the world, believing in Christ; and they shall dwell confidently in the Church.

“And this is the name by which they shall call Him”--namely, the people of Judah and Israel converted at the First Advent or near the Second--“the Lord our Just One.” By this it is shown that this David, that is, Christ who is raised up, shall be Lord of all and consequently God. Thus, because He is Lord, He is to be revered and feared through true faith; because He is just, He is to be awaited with confidence, since He will render very good things to the good; and because He is ours, He is to be embraced and loved through true charity.

From this prophecy it is shown that Christ, the Messiah promised through the prophets, is true God and man, because all the Hebrews commonly hold that this prophecy was spoken of the Messiah. Just as true humanity is intimated by the words already cited, “I will raise up for David a just shoot,” so His divinity is shown by what is said here: “This is the name by which they shall call Him, the Lord our Just One.”

This is confirmed by the Hebrew text, because where we have “the Lord our Just One,” in Hebrew there is the Lord's name, the Tetragrammaton. This name is the most proper among the divine names, and on this account is said of none but the true God. Rabbi Moses, the greatest doctor of the Hebrews, declares the same in the *Guide for the Perplexed*, saying that all the divine names are derived from divine works except the Lord's name, the Tetragrammaton, which is appropriated to the Most High Creator because, according to him, it signifies the divine essence with its intrinsic properties.

The other divine names are imposed from divine works, as is evident from the names *Eloy* and *Adonay*, which among the others appear more proper. Nevertheless, the name *Eloy* is imposed to signify God from general providence, and for this reason the name is communicated to others. For judges and wise men are also sometimes called *Eloy* in Scripture. Hence in the Psalm, where the Latin says, “I have said: You are gods,” the Hebrew has, “You are *Eloy*.” Similarly, the name *Adonay* is imposed from universal presidency, and therefore this too is communicated to others, so that the powerful and rulers are called *Adonay*.

It is not so with the name Tetragrammaton, which signifies the naked and pure divine essence without reference to anything external. Thus this name cannot be communicated to another, as the aforesaid Rabbi Moses says. From this it is concluded that, since Christ the Messiah is called by this name, He is true God.

But certain Jews object against the foregoing that even the name Tetragrammaton is said not only of God but also of other things. For in the final chapter of Ezekiel it is said of the city described there, “And the name of the city, the Lord,” where in Hebrew there is the Lord's name, the Tetragrammaton. And in Genesis 22, where we have, “And Abraham called the name of that place, The Lord sees,” the Lord's name, the Tetragrammaton, is in the Hebrew. And in the Book of Judges, where we have, “And Gideon called the name of the altar that he had built, The peace of the Lord,” the Hebrew says, “The Lord, peace,” and the Lord's name, the Tetragrammaton, is used there. From these passages it seems that Tetragrammaton is said not only of the true God but also of a city, a place, and an altar.

The response is that this is of no force, for none of the foregoing is named simply and absolutely by God's proper name, the Tetragrammaton; each is named with an addition from some effect of Him who is the true God. This is not incongruous, just as if a man were called Deodatus or God-given because some effect of God had then appeared, on account of which he is said to have been given by God. But no one is called “God” absolutely, for that would be impious.

So too in the matter at hand. When it is said in Ezekiel, “The name of the city, the Lord,” and the Lord's name, the Tetragrammaton, is in the Hebrew, this is not said absolutely but with the addition “the Lord is there”; or the Lord's name, the Tetragrammaton, is there in the Hebrew to indicate that the city ought thus to be named from the Lord's dwelling in it. This is evident from the Chaldean translation, which thus expounds the name of the city: “From the day on which the Lord made His divinity descend.”

So also in Genesis it does not say absolutely, “Abraham called the name of that place the Lord,” but with the addition “sees,” saying, “The Lord sees”: the Lord saw Isaac's affliction and humiliation and delivered him from death by preparing the ram; or it was because Abraham saw in spirit that Solomon's temple would be built there, in which the Lord would look upon the prayers and offerings of the people. This is expressly found in the Chaldean translation, and likewise in the other cases.

Other Jews, seeing themselves hemmed in by these arguments, expound the prophecy differently, corrupting the text and saying that the Hebrew is not as Jerome translated it, but, “This is his name by which the Lord our Just One shall call him.” Thus the Lord's name, the Tetragrammaton, would refer not to the Messiah as another God, but to the true God, who will call that Messiah to liberate the Jewish people from servitude when it pleases Him.

No argument can be made against this exposition except that they corrupt that text in order to deny Christ's divinity. Yet certain learned Christians have confirmed under oath that they themselves saw it in ancient Hebrew Bibles just as Jerome translated it. Nor should it be believed that so great a man as Jerome translated otherwise than the Hebrew truth stood, since he published that translation in the presence of so many learned Jews and Catholics.

Moreover, to convict them of falsification, recourse must be had to other translations that they cannot reasonably deny, from which that falsity can be detected. First, the translation of the Seventy, made from Hebrew into Greek by Jews of the greatest learning, has the text just as in our translation made by Jerome from Hebrew into Latin. This is evident from the office of the Church, taken from that translation of the Seventy. For it says there, “And they shall call Him,” not “the Lord shall call Him,” “our Just One”--namely, those converted from Judaism. Thus “Lord,” in place of which Tetragrammaton stands in Hebrew, is referred to the Messiah Himself.

Since the Seventy could not put the Lord's name, the Tetragrammaton, in Greek with its proper signification--either because they found no name that corresponded so properly, or, if they did find one, because they wished to conceal from Ptolemy the mystery of divinity in the Messiah lest he, being incapable of so great a mystery, take scandal--they therefore did not set it down properly, as also happened in several other places. In its place they wrote, “They shall call Him *Kyrios*,” which Greek word signifies “lord” in Latin. That is a common name and can be said both of God and of any great prince.

Jerome translated from Hebrew into Latin in the same manner. Because he did not have in Latin a proper name corresponding to the Hebrew name Tetragrammaton, he put “Lord” in Latin. Since that name is commonly said both of God and of the princes of the world, Christ the Messiah's divinity could not be proved from our text itself according to Jerome's translation, but it can be proved from the uncorrupted Hebrew text.

The falsity of the Jews is also evident from the Chaldean translation, which is authoritative among them. For it is said there: “Behold, the days shall come, and I shall establish for David the just Messiah.”

Third Title: On the Fourth Age of the World

Chapter Six (continued)

Hence it is evident that this prophecy speaks of the Messiah, Christ. And it follows: “And this is the name by which they shall call Him, the Lord our Just One.” Where the Lord's name, the Tetragrammaton, is placed in Hebrew, “Lord” is placed in Chaldean. Nor does it say there, “He shall call Him,” but “they shall call” or “they shall name Him.” Thus the Tetragrammaton is referred to the Messiah Himself.

It must also be considered that Sacred Scripture has been written in several ways. In one way it was written in pure Hebrew, as the Old Testament was first delivered, namely in the Hebrew language and Hebrew letters. In another way it was written in Hebrew, but not purely so: in the Chaldean language but with Hebrew letters. Hebrew and Chaldean are closely related idioms having the same number of letters. Although those letters differ in shape, nevertheless they agree in sound and force, as Jerome says, and therefore one idiom can more easily be written with the letters of the other.

Many therefore wrote the Old Testament in this manner, and especially Jonathan son of Uzziel, whose writing is so authoritative among the Jews that no one dares contradict it. For this reason, in notable books of the Hebrews pure Hebrew is placed in one column and the Chaldean written by this Jonathan in another column in Hebrew letters; and the Jews use the Chaldean as an exposition, because some things that are very obscure in pure Hebrew are put more clearly and as though expounded in that Chaldean.

That translation is therefore of much value for a matter of this kind. For they were most learned in both languages, as Josephus relates in Book 12 of the *Antiquities*. Yet they did not always translate word for word, but sometimes and often sense for sense, changing or deliberately concealing some things that could have been a cause of error to Ptolemy, king of Egypt.

When the Jews are convicted through the translations of the Seventy and the Chaldean that the Messiah is God, some of them seek another subterfuge, saying that although the Messiah is named God, He will nevertheless not be God but a mere man, though He be most holy and greater than Moses. But this is impossible, because if He permitted Himself to be called by the Lord's name, the Tetragrammaton, and were not such in reality--that is, true God--but only in name, He would incur the sin of blasphemy. Hence He would not be most holy but wicked.

§ II. On the Evangelical Law to Be Given

Concerning the evangelical law to be given, Jeremiah 31 says: “After those days I will put My law in their inward parts, and I will write it in their heart; and I will be their God, and they shall be My people.” Immediately before these words the Lord says: “I will make with the house of Israel and with the house of Judah”--that is, with those converted to the faith from those nations--“a covenant, not according to the covenant that I made with their fathers on the day when I took them by the hand to lead them out of the land of Egypt, a covenant that they made void. This shall be the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel.” Then follows what was placed above: “After those days,” and so forth.

The Apostle adduces this authority of Jeremiah in Hebrews 8 to show that the New Testament succeeds the Old and that the law of the letter was changed into the law of the Spirit, so that those legal or ceremonial observances might be fulfilled spiritually, not literally. The prophet therefore makes mention of two covenants or pacts that the Lord made with men: the first He made with the ancient people of Israel, the second with the Christian people.

Here it must be known that *foedus*, “covenant,” is said to come from *foeda porca*, “a foul sow,” because, as is evident in the pacts of the ancients, an animal was slaughtered in the midst of those making a pact with one another, and as its blood was poured out it was said: “So may the blood of him who violates this pact be poured out.” Moses did this when he made a covenant or pact with the Israelite people after their departure from Egypt. For after the law had been read, he took the blood of calves killed in sacrifice and sprinkled it over the people, saying: “This is the blood of the covenant that the Lord has made with you concerning all these words,” as is found in chapter 44 [read: chapter 24]. The veil before the tabernacle, which concealed what was within, such as the ark and the like, was also sprinkled with that blood.

They therefore made this pact with God to observe that law insofar as it lay beneath a figure, but they kept that pact neither in the figure nor in the thing figured. For it was figured that they would receive the blood of Christ, prefigured in the calf and the lamb, yet they remained in the figured veil alone and did not penetrate to the enclosed mysteries within.

This blood of Christ, truly poured out when He was slaughtered in the midst of the world, is the covenant between us and our God, so that we may fear Him and keep His commandments. If we transgress this pact confirmed by Christ through His blood, the transgressor's blood shall be poured out in the same way, because we shall be slain eternally.

If, therefore, the Lord ought to make a new pact with men, as Jeremiah says here, God Himself must remove the old pact that men made void so that the new may arise with greater force in men. That pact of the old law was written upon hard stones because it was given to the hard nature of the Jews; but this covenant of the new law was written in hearts of flesh, not with ink or a visible pen, but by the Holy Spirit, according to the words of Ezekiel: “I shall take away from you the stony heart and give you a heart of flesh.”

Hence the prophet adds, “After those days”--namely those of the old law, or of the Incarnation, Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension--“I will put My law,” namely that of the Holy Spirit, which was first given in the upper room to the apostles on the day of Pentecost, “in their inward parts,” not on stones but in their innermost recesses, “and I will write it in their heart.”

Here note that this law is said to be written in the inward parts and in the heart because this evangelical law has to illuminate and move man. It is therefore rightly said to be in the inward parts, that is, in the affections, and in the heart, that is, in the reason. These are the two tablets upon which the new law is written in the inner man, so that we may believe with the heart and love with the affection.

Hence those who believe and love, receiving the law of the Holy Spirit in the heart, are those who truly fear and honor God. On this account there follows what is added afterward: “I will be their God, and they shall be My people,” namely a peculiar people who have God drawing near to them.

Because this evangelical law is confirmed and established, and no other law in the world succeeds it, as certain heretics have said, Jeremiah therefore adds: “If these laws fail before Me, then also shall the seed of Israel fail, so that it is not a nation before Me.” Yet Christ says, “This generation shall not pass away until all things are accomplished,” in Luke 21, namely the things that must occur before the Final Judgment.

That God changes His sentence concerning threatened scourges or promised prosperity according as man is changed from good to evil or conversely is shown when the Lord says in Jeremiah 18: “I will suddenly speak against a nation and against a kingdom, that I may uproot, pull down, and destroy it. If that nation repents of its evil, I also will repent of the evil that I thought to do to it. And I will suddenly speak concerning a nation and a kingdom, that I may build and plant it. If it does evil in My eyes and does not hear My voice, I also will repent of the good that I thought to do to it.”

Here Jerome says: “For God is angry not with men but with vices; if these are changed, there will be nothing with which God may be angry,” in *On Penance*, distinction 1, *Wherefore*.

Chapter Seven

Ezekiel the prophet, as Jerome says in the prologue upon him, was taken captive to Babylon with Joachim, king of Judah, and there he prophesied among those who had been led captive from Judea. In the thirtieth year of his age and the fifth of the captivity, he began to speak to his fellow captives. At the same time, although Ezekiel was later, Ezekiel prophesied in Chaldea and Jeremiah in Judea.

His style is neither sufficiently eloquent nor exceedingly rustic, but tempered in a middle manner from both. He too was a priest, like Jeremiah, and his beginning and end are wrapped in great obscurities. Hence the Hebrews do not read them before the thirtieth year of one's age. Finally, he was killed by the Jews themselves in those regions.

In the first vision, which is found in the first chapter, the state of the Church militant and the Lord presiding over her are designated, as Gregory expounds upon Ezekiel.

Concerning the unity of the Church and her one king and shepherd, the Lord Jesus Christ, he prophesied. Hence in chapter 34 the Lord says through him: “I shall raise up over them,” namely My sheep, “one shepherd who shall feed them, My servant David. He shall feed them, and he shall be their shepherd. But I, the Lord, shall be their God, and My servant David a prince in their midst. And I shall make with them a covenant of peace; and they shall no longer be delivered as spoil to the nations.”

Some expound these things of Zerubbabel, who led the Jewish people back from the Babylonian captivity into their own land and was a good leader and shepherd to them. Yet certain things in this prophecy cannot be understood of Zerubbabel, especially what is said at the end, for they were delivered as spoil to many nations: to Antiochus, Pompey, Titus, and Vespasian.

The true exposition, therefore, concerns Christ, whom Ezekiel calls David because He descended from David's lineage according to the flesh, and because He is strong in might against the devil and beautiful in the aspect of divinity and humanity. For “David” is interpreted “strong” or “beautiful.” “I shall raise up,” because not from male seed but by divine operation the Word of God was made flesh. “One shepherd,” in the singular: “I am the good shepherd,” says Christ in John 10; and, “There shall be one fold and one shepherd,” in the same place.

And because He humbled Himself even to death on the cross, God exalted Him, placing Him as shepherd and head of the Church, who is the leader of the sheep, that is, of the Church. Through His humanity He leads to knowledge of the divinity; and each of the faithful, as though a sheep under Him, enters into the clear contemplation of the Godhead and goes out to the beholding of the humanity, and shall find pastures of enjoyment.

Thus the servant David, that is, Christ, wholly subject to God in the form of a servant, is the prince in the midst of the sheep, toward whom all points of the circumference look and have regard. Then a covenant of peace was made both between human nature and God--on account of the union and also on account of the Passion by which He made satisfaction to God for us--and between Jews and Gentiles converted to the faith in fraternal love.

“And they shall no longer be spoil to the nations,” that is, to demons or unbelievers: namely Christ's sheep, with whom He is until the consummation of the age. Hence He Himself says in John 10: “No one shall snatch them from My hand.” But note carefully that through this prophet the Lord severely rebukes bad shepherds, that is, prelates, saying: “Woe to the shepherds who fed themselves. You ate the milk and were clothed with the wool,” namely that of the sheep, “but you did not feed My flock; and that which was fat you killed; that which was weak you did not strengthen,” and so forth.

§ I. The Mystery of the General Resurrection

The mystery of the general resurrection of bodies was shown to Ezekiel when in an imaginary vision he was led into a field full of the bones of the dead. At the prophet's voice speaking to them on the Lord's behalf, a great commotion arose from them: bone was joined to bone, flesh and sinews came upon them, and skin was stretched over them. Finally, at the prophet's voice spirit entered those dead bodies, and they arose and stood alive upon their feet, as is found in Ezekiel 37.

Afterward the Lord adds, saying: “Behold, I shall open your tombs, and bring you out of your sepulchers, My people, and lead you into the land of Israel,” and so forth. According to the letter, through these things it was foretold to those in the Babylonian captivity that they would depart from it, concerning which they had as though despaired. But both the truth and the possibility of the future resurrection were also shown here.

§ II. On God's Mercy, Justice, and Equity

No one speaks more clearly than Ezekiel throughout chapter 18 concerning the immense mercy of God, receiving every repentant sinner to pardon; His justice in punishing anyone who, even if holy and just for a time, nevertheless declines to evil and does not return to penance; and His equity in not punishing the father for the son's fault or conversely.

For he says: “The soul that sins, the same shall die,” namely the spiritual death that is the privation of grace, from which eternal death follows. “The son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, nor the father the iniquity of the son.” This is true of punishment in the other life, namely that of hell or purgatory, for in this life one is rightly punished with temporal punishment for another. This matter is treated beautifully and diffusely in Cause 1, question 4, *Now therefore*, and in the section *Against the Lord*, with what follows.

There are several. “If the wicked man does penance for all his sins that he has committed, and keeps all My precepts, and executes judgment and justice, he shall live with life and shall not die. I shall not remember any of his iniquities.” Note each individual word: “If he does penance.” Augustine says: “You should not think that anyone can pass from any sin, great or small, to correction without penance,” in *On Penance*, distinction 1.

This is understood of that interior penance defined by Gregory and Ambrose in *On Penance*, distinction 3: “Penance is to lament past evils and not to commit again the things to be lamented,” that is, to resolve not to commit them.

It says, “for all his sins.” Augustine says: “Christ healed the whole man on the Sabbath, because He healed the body from infirmity and the soul from every contagion, indicating that a penitent must likewise grieve over every crime committed in soul and body. For he who reserves one crime will not find pardon for another,” in *On Penance*, distinction 3.

“And keeps all My precepts”: in resolve, when he truly repents, and afterward in execution. For, as is said in James 3, “Whoever keeps the whole law, but offends in one”--namely, of the precepts--“has become guilty of all.” For, as is said in *On Penance*, distinction 5, *Brethren*: “Just as if he were entangled in all sins, so if he remains in only one, he shall not enter the gate of eternal life.”

“And executes judgment,” namely by diligently examining his conscience concerning the things committed and by having recourse through confession to penitential judgment, as Augustine says in *On Penance*, distinction 1: “Let a man judge himself while he can and change his ways for the better, and then let him come to the prelates of the Church,” and so forth.

Third Title: On the Fourth Age of the World

Chapter Seven (continued)

“And justice,” through fitting satisfaction for sins. For penance, according to Augustine in *On Penance*, distinction 3, is a certain vengeance of one who is angry, punishing in himself what he grieves to have committed. Vengeance or punishment pertains to justice.

“He shall live with life,” the life of grace and afterward of glory, “and shall not die” eternal death. “I shall not remember any of his iniquities,” namely for punishment, if he has made perfect satisfaction.

But “if the just man turns himself away from his justice and commits iniquity, all his justices shall not be remembered,” that is, no good work done by him, even in grace, will be pleasing to God or meritorious of eternal life. Hence Gregory says upon this authority in *On Penance*, distinction 4: “We must consider that in the perpetration of evils we ought to place no confidence in past goods,” namely as regards obtaining eternal life.

The same things are set forth more fully in chapter 33, where the danger and perdition that threaten prelates and preachers if they do not announce and correct the sins of the peoples are also premised, because they are damned with them. For he says: “Son of man, I have made you a watchman for the house of Israel. If, when I say to the wicked, ‘You shall die the death,’ you do not announce it, he shall die in his iniquity, and I will require his blood at your hand. But if you announce it and he does not amend himself, you have delivered your soul,” and so forth.

§ III. Against the Prince and King of Tyre

Likewise, in chapter 28 he speaks against the prince of Tyre, which was a certain very wealthy and strong city devoted to commerce near Galilee, and foretells his killing and the city's destruction because of its pride. He then adds concerning the king of Tyre: “You, the seal of resemblance, full of wisdom and perfect in beauty, were in the delights of the paradise of God. Every precious stone was your covering: sardius, topaz, jasper, chrysolite, onyx, and beryl,” and so forth; “sapphire, carbuncle, and emerald,” and so forth.

Beyond the literal sense concerning that king of Tyre, whose excellence he expresses through the likeness of these things and afterward whose casting down he describes, the passage is also expounded literally as spoken of Lucifer, as Gregory notes at length in the *Moralia*, and as is found in *On Penance*, distinction 2, *The beginning*.

There, to show his excellence, Gregory says: “What good did he not have?” namely the first angel, first in the dignity of perfection, called Behemoth or Lucifer and cherub. He was the seal of God's likeness when it is said, “You, the seal,” and so forth. For although

man was created in the likeness of God, nevertheless, as though bestowing something greater upon the angel, Scripture says not that he was made in the likeness of God but that he was the very seal of God's likeness, so that the subtler he is in nature, the more fully the likeness of God may be believed to have been expressed in him.

Hence, further intimating the power of his primacy, Scripture adds, “Every precious stone was your garment,” and so forth. It named nine kinds of stones because there are indeed nine orders of angels named through the sacred writings: angels, archangels, thrones, dominations, virtues, principalities, powers, cherubim, and seraphim. This cherub is said to have been covered with these precious stones because he had them as though for a garment for his adornment. Since he surpassed their brightness, he was the brighter by comparison with them.

And it follows: “Your holes were prepared on the day when you were created.” Holes are made in precious stones so that, bound with gold, they may be joined in the composition of an ornament. This stone therefore had holes, but through the vice of pride they were not filled with the gold of charity.

These words of Gregory do not seem to be understood as though there had been no gold of charity in him, since it is said below that this cherub walked amid the fiery stones--that is, he stood glorious among the hearts of the angels kindled by the fire of charity. Rather, he did not have that gold of the most perfect and inamissible charity of the blessed by which the good angels were bound, that is, confirmed. Holes were therefore made in him, that is, an aptitude was given him for such unfailing charity, of which through pride he deprived himself.

After a lengthy exposition of this prophecy, Gregory concludes: “Therefore Scripture intimates these marvelous things in which he was and which he lost, so that it may show man what he himself will suffer through the guilt of his proud self-display, if God did not will to spare by striking him whom, by creating him, He raised to the glory of so great a brightness.” Thus Gregory there, in *On Penance*, distinction 2.

§ IV. Ezekiel's Final Vision

Ezekiel's final and very obscure vision, which is set down from chapter 40 to the end--namely concerning the marvelous city built upon a mountain and shown to him in spirit--Gregory, upon Ezekiel, expounds morally of the Church. He says that it cannot be understood literally because it would contain an absurdity and contradiction, namely that what is contained would be larger in dimension than that which contains it.

Jerome likewise says that building is to be understood spiritually of Christ and the Church, her sacraments and morals. Gregory, however, expounded only chapter 40. Richard of Saint Victor expounded the whole vision concerning a material building. The ancient Hebrews said that this building was shown to Ezekiel in an imaginary vision and was fulfilled in the rebuilding carried out after the return from Babylon by Zerubbabel and Nehemiah.

But Nicholas of Lyra disproves this with effective reasons: neither the rebuilt temple nor the city was of so great a size as those described here, nor were the waters there. Modern Hebrews say that such a building has not yet been made but will be made materially by the Messiah, whom they await as one still to come and as a mere man who will nevertheless reign temporally with great pomp.

Nicholas also disproves this in many ways, showing from the Scriptures their errors: that the Messiah is a mere man, that He will bestow temporal things upon them, and that He has not yet come. Nicholas himself gives a literal exposition and, by understanding and expounding the text differently, removes the absurdity and contradiction expressed by Gregory.

But if it is said that the Jewish people were never given or possessed such a city as is promised to them in the vision, and that the prophet is therefore untruthful because God's promise was not fulfilled, the response is that it is not incongruous that such a city was not given to them. For many promises concerning prosperity and adversity made by God are conditional, as is evident in Jeremiah 18.

Jerome, upon Amos, says in *On Penance*, distinction 1: “If we do penance, He too will repent of His sentence; again, according to the prophet, He promises prosperity if we do penance. But if we become lax through negligence, He will repent of His pledge and change what He promised. We can have an example of this in Samaria and Jerusalem: some of their inhabitants were freed from the punishments threatening them, while others lost what had been promised to their fathers.”

And in cause 22, question 4, it is said: “The supreme nature of God, immutable and remaining the same forever, is often read in Sacred Scripture to have changed His promises.” Such a glorious city was therefore promised to them conditionally: if, after returning to Jerusalem, they kept God's precepts. Because they did not do this but added worse things to evils, not only was that city not granted, but the one that had been rebuilt was destroyed down to its foundations.

Nicholas therefore first expounds that material building according to the letter and, so that it may be better understood, places there in his work upon Ezekiel figures depicting such a building. Then at the end he gives a brief moral exposition concerning Christ and the Church, and her states and morals.

Because these things have been collected here and there to show the progress of the Church in the Old and New Testaments, I set down here his brief exposition, which comprises almost everything in that vision pertaining to the Church's states and morals, omitting the scriptural authorities that he adduces to prove the fittingness of the exposition.

In the Church, therefore, which is the congregation of the faithful, there is a twofold government. One concerns spiritual matters, and this is designated by the temple building. The other concerns temporal matters, and this is designated by the division of the land and the building of the city. Nevertheless, both governments are from God, distinction 10, *Since the same*.

By the mountain upon which the prophet says in chapter 40 that he was placed, and upon which the city was built, Christ is therefore signified, according to Gregory. Upon Him the Church is built as regards both governments, namely the spiritual and the temporal. First we must consider the temple building, which signifies the spiritual state.

Around the temple building a threefold wall is described, surrounding it on every side: exterior, middle, and interior. By the exterior wall that surrounds all the buildings is signified the divine protection and guardianship embracing all things. By the middle wall is understood angelic protection or guardianship. By the inner wall, which has a smaller circumference, is understood the guardianship and protection exercised by the Church's prelates and ministers, which is indeed less effective than the angelic.

Through these walls an entrance to the temple lies on three sides. By those sides are understood the three parts of the habitable earth: Asia, Africa, and Europe. From these parts many--indeed innumerable persons--have entered the Church through baptism and reception of the faith, and they enter at present and will enter in the future.

On each side--eastern, southern, and northern--there were three gates in the circuit of the walls, facing one another opposite. By them are designated the three states or degrees of those coming to the faith: beginners, designated by the first, exterior gate; the progressing, signified by the second, middle gate; and the perfect, signified by the third gate in the inner wall.

At the gates of the exterior wall there are no large buildings, but certain little houses built above them. By this is designated that the state of beginners is still notably imperfect. At the middle gates there are beautiful buildings, and much more so at the gates of the inner wall, to designate that the progressing have more of the perfection of the virtues than beginners, and the perfect more than the progressing. Hence the ascent to the middle gates was by seven steps, and to the interior gates by eight.

Each of the six gates has a vestibule, a portico, two fronts, and six chambers. By the vestibule preceding the portico is understood prevenient grace, and by the portico subsequent grace. Or by these two are understood good will and holy operation.

By the two fronts made for the beauty and strength of the gates, in the manner of two turtledoves on either side of each gate, are understood patience in adversities, lest one be broken, and moderation in prosperity, lest one be lifted up.

By the chambers in which men sleep and rest is understood peace. Peace is twofold, internal and fraternal. To signify this, the chambers are said to be here and there on either side of the gate. There are three on one side because three things make internal peace: a clean conscience, divine friendship, and modest sufficiency. On the other side there are likewise three chambers because three things constitute fraternal peace: the first is true humility, the second just equity, and the third due taciturnity. For fraternal peace is frequently taken away by immoderate and incautious speech.

After the exposition of the gates, the treasury chambers said to be around the pavement must be considered. They are said to be thirty, by which is designated the fulfillment of the Ten Commandments, necessary in three times: the time of the law of nature, the Mosaic law, and grace or the evangelical law. For the number ten multiplied by three rises to thirty. They are called *gazophylacia*, from *gaza*, which means riches, and *phylaxe*, which means to keep, because the riches of the virtues are preserved through fulfillment of the commandments.

After the treasury chambers comes the account of the tables, which are said to be eight. By them are designated the four parts of Sacred Scripture in the Old Testament--the legal, prophetic, historical, and sapiential writings--to which correspond in the New the evangelical law, the epistles, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Apocalypse. From these Scriptures, as from spiritual tables, the whole Christian people are refreshed, because man does not live by bread alone, and so forth.

After the tables comes the account of the inner court. There, according to the Hebrews, were four things: the altar of holocausts; the treasury chambers of the priests, namely those serving by the week; the treasury chambers of the singers serving by the week in the temple; and the passage of the waters from the right side of the altar.

By the altar of holocausts, where the sacrifices were burned, is signified the sacrament of the Eucharist, in which Christ's Passion is represented and which fulfills all those sacrifices that were figures of it. By the treasury chambers of the priests and singers that were within beside the altar are signified the merits in the Church of those who minister and of the ministers themselves. By the waters flowing from the side is understood baptism, cleansing the filth of vices.

These two are the chief sacraments of the Church: the first is greater in being and the second greater in effect. Christ instituted the latter Himself as regards its matter and form and received it in Himself; and the other sacraments are included under these.

Now the temple itself must be considered. For the building of the Church consists not only in morals, the teaching of Scripture, and the sacraments, but also in the articles of faith, which are designated here in the temple.

The temple is divided into three parts: the porch, the holy place, and the holy of holies. Through the porch there is an entrance to the other parts of the temple. Hence it signifies the article of the unity of the divine essence and of divine providence as regards the rewarding of good and punishment of evil. For it has always been necessary to believe that there is one God and that He is the rewarder of the good and punisher of the evil. Through this article lies the way to the others.

By the holy of holies, where the things within it were hidden--namely, the ark with its contents--the article of the Trinity is signified. The ark was incorruptible and gilded, signifying perpetuity and the preciousness of perfection. Within it was the rod, signifying divine justice; the manna, mercy; the tablets, wisdom; the mercy seat, omnipotence, which is manifested most greatly in showing mercy; and the cherubim, the glory of the blessed.

Third Title: On the Fourth Age of the World

Chapter Seven (continued)

In the holy place, which signifies Christ, there was a lampstand, signifying the perfection of sevenfold grace by its seven lamps; a table of loaves, signifying every kind of doctrine and knowledge; and an altar of incense, signifying the highest devotion.

By the holy of holies, the article of the Trinity is understood through the three chambers existing there, with passage from one into another. Although there is no superiority or inferiority there, nevertheless the Son properly proceeds from the Father, and the Holy Spirit from both.

By the part of the temple called the holy place is understood the article of the Incarnation, through which three natures are united in the supposit of the Son: the divinity, Christ's soul, and His flesh. These are signified by the three chambers existing there, one above another, for the divinity is superior to the soul and the soul superior to the flesh.

By the temple treasury chambers are understood the miracles that confirm the faith. By the winding stairs through which one ascends upward are understood the kinds of knowledge of creatures through which one ascends to knowledge of the Creator. By the appendage around the temple are understood all other matters pertaining to faith that are reduced to the foregoing articles.

The building around the temple on the southern side, whence a warm wind blows, is the fervor of charity in the faithful. The building on the northern side is filial fear. By the four little courts within the walls in different places may be understood the four cardinal virtues. By the ovens or kitchens may be understood the doctors who cook the food of Scripture by their meditations so that it may be savory to the peoples. This takes place in the little courts because the doctors themselves must first have been exercised in the cardinal virtues.

After the exposition of the temple and the buildings around it, it must be said what is signified by the priests ministering in it. Five things are described concerning them: their lineage, clothing, manner, sustenance, and activity.

Concerning the first it is said that they are the sons of Zadok, which is interpreted “just.” By this is intimated that the ministers of the Church ought through spiritual imitation to be sons of Christ, who by excellence is called just, according to Isaiah 45: “Let the clouds rain down the Just One.”

They had linen garments, which signify purity of mind and body, as well as linen breeches to cover their shame. This signifies that nothing shameful or immodest ought to appear in the conduct, gesture, deed, or example of the Church's ministers.

It is also said that they ought to be in different garments in the temple from those worn when they associate with others among the people. This is observed literally by clerics in the New Testament, and morally because, in the exercise of ministry, nothing worldly or secular ought to appear in them, but the whole conduct of their mind ought then to be in heaven.

Likewise it is said that they are not to grow their hair long, which is also now observed literally; but morally it signifies that they ought not multiply temporal goods for themselves, but distribute their surplus to the poor, cause 12, question 2, *Glory*.

Likewise, they are not to eat what is caught by a beast or what has died, that is, they are not to live from the property of another or from any illicit dealing or occupation. They are not to drink wine when about to enter the temple, that is, they are to be sober from wine and from passions. They are to celebrate the divine office, teach the people, and determine what must be done in doubtful matters. By these things are designated the devotion they must possess and their knowledge of the Scriptures, which ought to be the greater insofar as their grade is higher.

After the clerical state has been described, the secular state or its government is next treated. Three things are set down concerning it: the division of the land to be inhabited by them, the condition of the prince, and the quality of the city to be built.

As regards the first, it is manifest that no community can subsist well without the observance of justice. Justice is twofold: commutative and distributive. Commutative justice properly exists among the people in buying, selling, and other just exchanges, and concerns movable and immovable goods.

This is intimated when it is said that the land promised to them is to be divided equally among the twelve tribes, because the Christian people ought to employ commutative justice, whose mean is considered according to equality of quantity, as is said in Book 5 of the *Ethics*. This is done concerning immovable goods when each is content with his own inheritance and does not take from another's possessions by violence or fraud. Concerning movable goods it says: “Let the balance be just, and the ephah just,” and so forth.

Concerning princes it is said that they are to be content within the boundaries of their possession. By this is understood that Christian princes ought to be content with their own revenues, not burden their subjects with undue exactions, and not usurp the kingdoms and dominions of others, either in whole or in part.

Distributive justice properly pertains to superiors, who are those who impose honors and burdens upon their subjects. Its mean is considered not according to equality of quantity but of proportion: so that each is honored more or less according to his merit, is punished more or less for evil, and is burdened with impositions according to his condition. Hence it is said that princes ought to execute justice and judgment.

As regards the third, namely the building of the city, it is said that it ought to be square. Because a city is called a unity of citizens, and this unity ought to exist in the Church in faith, charity, and the sacraments, the city is therefore designated as square, because its citizens ought to exercise themselves in the four cardinal virtues.

“And the name of the city, the Lord is there”; thus the community of the Christian people is denominated from Christ. The measurements and numbers of reeds and cubits that signify the quantity of merits are known to God alone.

Chapter Eight

Although all the prophets bear witness to Christ as one who was to come into the world, nevertheless none so determined the time when He would come as did Daniel in chapter 9, where he says:

“Seventy weeks are shortened upon your people and upon your holy city, that transgression may be consummated and sin receive an end; that iniquity may be blotted out and everlasting justice brought in; that vision and prophecy may be fulfilled and the Holy of Holies anointed.

“Know therefore and take heed: from the going forth of the word that Jerusalem be built again unto Christ the leader, there shall be seven weeks and sixty-two weeks. And the street and the walls shall be built again in straitness of times.

“And after sixty-two weeks Christ shall be slain, and the people who will deny Him shall not be His. And a people with a leader who is to come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary; and its end shall be devastation, and after the end of the war the appointed desolation.

“But He shall confirm the covenant with many in one week, and in the middle of the week victim and sacrifice shall fail. And in the temple there shall be the abomination of desolation; and until the consummation and the end, desolation shall continue.” This is in the text.

Although many say evil and various things concerning this prophecy, nevertheless all expound it of Christ who was to come in the flesh. Bede and Africanus begin to enumerate these years from the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, who gave Nehemiah permission to return to Jerusalem and construct its walls, and they extend them to Christ's Passion.

It is true that they take these weeks--which are not weeks of days but of years, each containing seven years--as lunar years. A lunar year consists of twelve lunations and hence is shorter by eleven days than a solar year, which contains twelve months. Seventy weeks of years are 490 years. If these are taken as lunar years, they amount to 475 solar years.

But Nicholas of Lyra, upon Daniel, rejects this interpretation of Bede, namely that it is understood of lunar years. Bede took it from the words “seventy weeks are shortened,” so that this shortening would refer to the lunar year, which is eleven days shorter than the solar year, as was said.

Yet, as Nicholas himself says, in the Hebrew, where we have “shortened,” the text has “precisely,” as if it said: that time is determined and fixed by God. Thus the shortening signifies not a diminution of time but a determination. Hence the Jewish expositors make no mention here of lunar years, but of solar years. Nor elsewhere in the Old Testament is a computation made by lunar years. Therefore these are weeks of solar years, that is, 490 solar years.

To make this evident, this computation by years must be taken according to Josephus, whose history is more authoritative among Jews and Catholics. We cannot compute through the biblical text, because from the return from the Babylonian captivity to Christ's conception no certain reckoning of time is found in Sacred Scripture. Recourse must therefore be had to Josephus.

He says that, after the seventy years of the Babylonian captivity, the returning people were governed by priests until Antiochus the emperor, and that principate lasted 414 years. From then the Maccabees, whom Josephus calls Asmoneans, assumed the principate. That principate lasted 127 years, until Herod the foreigner under whom Christ was born, as is evident in Matthew 2. Thus Josephus says in Book 20 of the *Antiquities*.

After the death of Antigonus--who was the last of the Maccabees to hold the principate--Herod ruled twenty-eight years until Christ's Nativity. It is no objection that some histories say Christ was born in Herod's thirty-second year. Those histories reckon Herod's kingdom from the time when the kingdom was granted to him by the Romans, which was four years before Antigonus's death, as is evident in the *Scholastic History* and in Josephus. Thus it is true that Herod ruled twenty-eight years after Antigonus's death.

From Christ's Nativity until His baptism by John there were twenty-nine complete years, as is found in Luke 3. From Christ's baptism until four years after Christ's Passion, seven years elapsed. Therefore the foregoing years from the return from the Babylonian captivity until the fourth year after Christ's Passion are found to total 605 years, as is evident by joining the aforesaid parts.

It must further be considered that the reckoning of the seventy weeks ought to begin from the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, when permission was given to Nehemiah to rebuild Jerusalem, as is found in 2 Esdras. This is expressly said in the text: “Know and take heed, from the going forth of the word that Jerusalem be built again.” Then the angel begins to reckon the weeks, for then the word concerning the rebuilding of Jerusalem went forth. Cyrus had earlier given permission to rebuild the temple only.

It is therefore evident from the foregoing that, from the 605 years just mentioned, when the time that elapsed from the return from the Babylonian captivity to the twentieth year of Artaxerxes is removed, only 490 solar years remain, which make seventy weeks of years.

It remains now to prove what has been assumed: namely that, after subtracting the time that elapsed from the return from the Babylonian captivity to Artaxerxes's twentieth year, precisely 490 years remain. This is proved as follows. In Cyrus's first year permission was given to return and rebuild the temple. He reigned thirty years. After him his son Cambyses reigned eight years. After him two brother Magi reigned seven months, which are reckoned as one year because they constitute the greater part of a year.

Afterward Darius Hystaspes reigned thirty-six years. Under him Zerubbabel came again to Jerusalem in the second year of his reign to complete the work of rebuilding the temple begun under Cyrus but prohibited from being continued. After Darius Hystaspes, his son Xerxes reigned twenty years. Afterward Artabanus reigned seven months, which are reckoned as one year for the reason given above. Afterward Artaxerxes reigned nineteen full years up to the permission given to Nehemiah concerning the rebuilding of Jerusalem, namely in the twentieth year of his reign.

Note that the times of these kings up to Artaxerxes can be proved partly, but not completely, through the biblical text. Recourse must therefore be had to Josephus and the *Scholastic History*, which set down the times of these kings as stated and took them from the histories of the Persians and Medes.

If the foregoing years from Cyrus's first year to Artaxerxes's twentieth are added together, they are found to be 115 years; and Bede and Africanus assign just so many years in a computation of this kind. Therefore, if 115 years are subtracted from the aforesaid 605 years, it is evident that only 490 solar years remain. These are the seventy weeks “shortened,” that is, precisely--neither more nor less.

Approaching the exposition of the text, it must be noted that Daniel was praying for the deliverance of his people from the Babylonian captivity, considering that the end of the seventy years of that captivity, which Jeremiah had prophesied, was drawing near.

As Jerome says upon Daniel, he did this not as though doubting God's sentence foretold through Jeremiah, but because it makes him more solicitous lest security engender negligence, and negligence offense, whence they would deserve that their deliverance be deferred, in *On Penance*, distinction 1, *He had foretold*.

But the angel Gabriel, for his consolation and that of others, revealed not only deliverance from that temporal captivity, but the deliverance of the whole human race from the spiritual captivity of the devil and sin to which the world was held subject. This came through Christ's Passion, which the angel foretold.

He divided the determined time in which this would be fulfilled, namely those seventy weeks, into three parts: seven, sixty-two, and one. This was because special works were done for the Jewish people in these parts of the number. In the first seven, the people

rebuilt the city with great labor and held it against the surrounding nations that harassed them, because with one hand they did the work and with the other held a sword to defend themselves against their enemies, as is evident in Nehemiah 4.

In the other weeks, namely sixty-two, the people sometimes had prosperity and sometimes adversity, especially in the time of the Maccabees. In the one final week, which begins with Christ's baptism and ends in the fourth year after Christ's Passion, the mysteries or works of our salvation that are expressed here are fulfilled.

Third Title: On the Fourth Age of the World

Chapter Eight (continued)

Coming therefore to the exposition, the angel says: “Know therefore, Daniel, and take heed,” that is, attend diligently to how these things are to be understood.

These seventy weeks are “from the going forth of the word that Jerusalem be built again,” namely from the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, who sent Nehemiah to rebuild Jerusalem, “unto Christ the leader,” that is, unto the manifestation of the anointing of the Holy of Holies, who is truly Christ--interpreted “anointed”--and the leader of the faithful.

There shall be seven weeks in which the people laboriously built and held the newly rebuilt city, and sixty-two weeks in which the people would now sustain prosperity, now adversity. These seven and sixty-two weeks, set down separately here but joined together, make 483 years. Just so many years elapsed from the twentieth year of Artaxerxes's reign to Christ's baptism, at which His anointing was declared through the fullness of the grace of the Holy Spirit appearing above Him in the form of a dove, and through the Father's testimony from heaven, “This is My beloved Son,” Matthew 3.

“And Jerusalem shall be rebuilt.” This refers to the time of those seven weeks. “And its street and walls in straitness.” He says this because during those seven weeks of years they labored greatly and built the city, its walls, and its houses. Afterward they dwelt in it for sixty-two weeks, namely until Christ's baptism received from John the Baptist followed.

From then, namely at the baptism, began the final week of the seventy, in which Christ preached and suffered. This is what the text says: “After sixty-two weeks”--namely beyond the seven previously named--and in the final week, in the third year and three months, “Christ shall be slain,” because after He had preached for three years and a part of a fourth, He suffered.

“And the people who will deny Him shall not be His,” because from then the Jews who denied Him before Pilate were not Christ's people, but Christians are His people. “And a people,” namely the Roman people, “with a leader who is to come,” namely Titus, “shall destroy the city,” namely Jerusalem, “and the sanctuary,” that is, the temple.

This was not fulfilled then immediately after Christ's death, but forty years later. Nevertheless, it is placed here immediately after Christ's death, not to designate that it would happen then, but because it was in punishment for so great a crime perpetrated by them. “And its end shall be devastation,” and so forth, because it was totally destroyed.

After the city's destruction in punishment for Christ's death has been foretold, the prophet returns to speak of what else will occur in the final week, saying: “But He shall confirm the covenant with many in one week.” The new law, that is, the evangelical law, was given and preached by Christ during that final week, namely for three years and three months, and through His death and miracles the evangelical law was confirmed.

It is called a covenant here because, after the Passion, when the Holy Spirit had been sent upon the apostles, they were strengthened and publicly preached that law without fear, whence many were converted. Thus in the three years and three months in which Christ preached, and in the other three years and three months in which the apostles preached after the Passion, the evangelical law was confirmed and sufficiently spread in the hearts of the faithful.

That the evangelical law is called a covenant is found in Jeremiah 31. It is called a covenant because God appears to make a pact with man that He will give eternal life to the one who observes it and damnation to the one who transgresses it.

“And in the middle of the week victim shall fail,” because when Christ suffered, which was in the middle of the final week, then all legal observances and sacrifices became dead and useless for salvation.

“And in the temple there shall be the abomination.” This is said because of the image of Caesar that Pilate placed in the temple to be venerated; the Jews called an idol an abomination. Or it is because Gaius was sent there so that his image might be adored. Or because at a later time a statue of Hadrian was placed where the ark of the Lord had formerly been. “And until the end and consummation,” namely of the world, “desolation shall continue.”

But the Jews, in order to evade this ray of truth that convicts them of their error in still awaiting the Messiah, give another exposition, which belongs to Rabbi Solomon, their doctor. He says that these seventy weeks of years comprise the time from

Nebuchadnezzar's destruction of the city and temple to its second destruction by Titus, which he says is precisely a period of seventy weeks of years, that is, 490 years.

Within this time they sometimes had prosperity and sometimes adversity. But at the second destruction, namely that wrought by Titus, they entered a perfect captivity. In this captivity, as this Rabbi Solomon says, the Lord leaves them so that they may be corrected and punished for their iniquities, and may thereby merit that the visions and prophecies concerning the Messiah be fulfilled. They vehemently believe that through Him they are to be freed and that the Jewish people are to be exalted over others temporally and spiritually; but He whom they will receive as Christ will be Antichrist.

Nicholas of Lyra and others show by many reasons that this exposition is false and distorted; these are omitted for the sake of brevity. Among other things, when the text says “unto Christ the leader,” this Rabbi Solomon expounds it of Cyrus, king of the Persians. And afterward, when it says “Christ shall be slain,” he calls King Agrippa Christ.

Nicholas of Lyra, upon Daniel, says that he had followed the aforesaid common exposition of the doctors, beginning to enumerate the weeks from the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, who sent Nehemiah to rebuild the city walls, as was said in a certain exposition upon Daniel. But afterward, when he undertook to expound the whole Bible and came to Daniel, he began and ended the reckoning of these seventy weeks differently.

For he says that it must begin not from Artaxerxes's twentieth year but from the fifth year of Zedekiah, king of Judah, who was led captive to Babylon. When the people of Jerusalem, induced by the preaching of false prophets, had been led to hope for the return of King Joachim with the other captives from Babylon to Jerusalem and for deliverance from Nebuchadnezzar's hand, Jeremiah asserted the contrary. Hence he wrote letters to the captive Jews in Babylon that they should not believe the words of the false prophets, because they were to remain in that Babylonian captivity for seventy years.

Jeremiah then adds in chapter 29, speaking on the Lord's behalf: “When seventy years begin to be fulfilled in Babylon, I shall visit you and raise up My good word over you, and I shall lead you back to this place,” and so forth.

Nicholas says that the weeks must therefore be enumerated from this time because the angel said, “From the going forth of the word that Jerusalem be built again,” that is, from the first word proceeding from the Lord's revelation concerning Jerusalem's rebuilding. This first occurred when it was revealed to Jeremiah and spoken by him on God's behalf.

He ends these seventy weeks at Christ's Passion and, according to the history of the Hebrews, reckons precisely seventy weeks of years, that is, 490, within that time. From this it follows that the first exposition--in which the reckoning of the weeks begins from Artaxerxes's twentieth year according to the more common computation of the Latin historiographers, which Nicholas also held earlier--seems more worthy of being held than this latter one, which follows the computation of the Hebrews.

§ I. Daniel and His Visions

Daniel, therefore, of the royal stock of Judah, was led captive to Babylon in his youth with Hananiah, Azariah, and Mishael. By the king's ordinance they were instructed in all the learning of the Chaldeans.

As Jerome says: “Those who refused to eat from the king's table and drink his wine lest they be polluted certainly would never have consented to learn what was unlawful for them, if they had known the wisdom and teaching of the Babylonians to be sin. But they learn, not to follow, but to judge and convict. They therefore learn Chaldean doctrine with the same intention with which Moses learned all the wisdom of the Egyptians,” distinction 37, *Those who from the table*.

Because of their continence and abstinence, and also their obedience to the divine law--for they refused to use the foods of the Gentiles with which the king had ordered them fed from his table, but used vegetables and water--they were found in a short time wiser and more beautiful than the others. God gave to Daniel especially the understanding of all visions and dreams.

Ten visions are set down in the book. The first, in chapter 2, concerns the statue that Nebuchadnezzar saw. Its head was gold; its breast with the arms, silver; its belly and thighs, bronze; its shins, iron; and its feet mixed with earth. He saw a stone cut from the mountain strike the statue on its feet and reduce it to ashes. This signified the four successive monarchies of the world: those of the Assyrians; the Persians and Medes; the Greeks; and the Romans. The stone, that is, Christ, subjected these to His empire through faith.

The second vision, in chapter 3, concerns the fourth one like the Son of Man, whom Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, saw with the three who had been cast into the furnace--Hananiah, Azariah, and Mishael--because they refused to adore the statue he had made.

The third vision, in chapter 4, concerns the very tall tree Nebuchadnezzar saw cut down, signifying his transformation into a beast.

The fourth according to the order of the book concerns the writing that Belshazzar, son of Rodath, son of Nebuchadnezzar, saw formed on the wall by three fingers of a hand: “Mane, Thecel, Phares.”

The fifth vision, in chapter 5, occurred when Darius, king of the Medes and Persians, saw Daniel remain unharmed among the lions by the power of his God after Daniel had been cast into the lions' den because he daily adored his God contrary to the statute made by Darius at the insistence of Daniel's rivals.

The sixth, in chapter 6, occurred when Daniel saw four beasts come out of the sea one after another: the first like a lioness; the second like a bear; the third like a leopard; and the fourth terrible, having iron teeth and ten horns, among which a little horn arose. The four beasts signify the four aforesaid monarchies. In the fourth, which is that of the Romans, the ten horns signify ten divisions of the empire. The little horn signifies Antichrist, whose deeds are treated there.

The seventh, in chapter 7, is that in which Daniel first saw a ram and afterward a he-goat killing it. When the he-goat's horn had been broken, four arose from it, and from one of them another little horn, which signifies Antichrist, whose deeds are set down there. The ram signifies the empire of the Medes and Persians, and the he-goat Alexander the Great, whose empire was divided into four after his death.

The eighth, in chapter 8, is that in which he saw Gabriel revealing, while Daniel persisted in prayer and fasting for his people's deliverance, both their coming deliverance from captivity and, moreover, the deliverance of the human race through Christ after seventy weeks of years from the day permission would be given by Cyrus for the rebuilding of Jerusalem.

The ninth, in chapter 9, is that in which he saw an angel clothed in linen whose form is described. At his appearance Daniel fell, but, comforted by him, recovered his strength. This angel was attending to the people's deliverance, but the prince of the Persians, namely an angel, resisted him for twenty-one days. Michael helped him; the prince of the Greeks, namely an angel, had also encountered him.

Daniel's tenth vision, in chapter 10, concerns the kingdom of the Medes and Persians, which then flourished, and Alexander, king of the Greeks, and how he would subject it to himself; afterward it concerns the king of the south and the king of the north fighting one another. There are many obscure things there, where Antichrist is foretold.

Chapter 12 concerns Michael, the great prince, and the final resurrection and the time after Antichrist, though obscurely. Afterward come the stories of Susanna, Bel, and the dragon. The story of Susanna is not found among the Hebrews, but the Church nevertheless receives it.

Daniel, judging the elders who unjustly accused Susanna, figures Christ in the Judgment condemning the scribes and Pharisees, who accuse the Church of spiritual adultery, namely because she believes in Christ. This is found in cause 2, question 7, in the section *When Balaam*.

Chapter Nine

The twelve Minor Prophets are contained among the Hebrews in one volume. They prophesied at different times in Judah or Israel. The first among them is Hosea, under the kings under whom Isaiah had prophesied. He foretold the rejection of the Jews and the election of the Gentiles, as is evident in chapters 1 and 2.

“Go,” the Lord said to Hosea, “take to yourself a wife of fornications,” and so forth. Jerome says that Hosea is not to be blamed if he converted the harlot whom he took in marriage to chastity; rather, he is to be praised, because he made a good woman from a bad one, cause 32, question 1, final chapter.

“And I shall espouse you to Me forever; and I shall espouse you to Me in judgment and justice and mercy; and I shall espouse you to Me in faith.” The first espousal was in the Incarnation. The second was in the Passion, in which He made Himself justice by satisfying God, bestowed mercy upon us, and inflicted upon the devil the judgment of expulsion. The third is the particular espousal of the elect through conversion to the faith.

Hence he says: “Woe to them, because they have withdrawn from Me,” and so forth; and below: “They shall fall by the sword,” and so forth. Gratian, in *On Penance*, distinction 4, section *To the children also*, with the following chapter, declares that they are to fall, to be severely punished, and to be exterminated, not because of their parents' sins but because of their own sins.

“Out of Egypt I called My Son.” Matthew the Evangelist adduces this testimony in chapter 2 concerning the return of the child Jesus from Egypt.

And below: “How shall I make you as Adama? I shall set you as Seboim. My heart is turned within Me; My repentance is troubled. I shall not do,” and so forth. Augustine says: “Does it not appear in Hosea that the Lord Jesus is therefore indignant with us when we sin, so that He may convert us by the terror of His indignation? For His indignation is not the execution of vengeance but rather the operation of absolution,” in *On Penance*, distinction 1.

But immediately afterward he speaks in chapter 6 concerning our final resurrection, begun in the risen Christ, the exemplar of our resurrection, saying: “He shall revive us after two days, and on the third day He shall raise us up.”

Third Title: On the Fourth Age of the World

Chapter Nine (continued)

§ I. Joel

The second among the Minor Prophets is Joel. He prophesied at that time the devastation of the Jewish people to be wrought by four successive monarchies, signified by the four things he places at the beginning: “What the caterpillar left, the locust ate; what the locust left, the *bruchus* ate; and what the *bruchus* left, the rust ate.” The caterpillar signifies the Assyrians; the locust, the Medes and Persians; the *bruchus*, the Greeks down to Antiochus; and the rust, the Romans.

“Awake, you drunkards, and weep,” and so forth. He invites them to penance, saying: “Turn to Me with your whole heart, in fasting and weeping,” and so forth. What conversion is and what rending is found in *On Penance*, distinction 1, section *Rend*, and what follows, namely, “Turn.”

He announces the abundant sending of the Holy Spirit upon the disciples, saying: “Upon My servants and My handmaids I shall pour out My Spirit,” and so forth.

“In that time, when I shall turn the captivity of Judah and Jerusalem, I shall gather all nations and lead them into the valley of Josaphat, and there I shall dispute with them concerning My people.” This is understood of the Final Judgment. The vice that will be especially reproved is then added: “because they placed a boy in a brothel and sold a girl for wine.”

§ II. Amos

Amos, a shepherd and rustic, prophesied in the time of Hosea, king of Judah, saying: “For three crimes of Damascus, and for four, I shall not turn it back.” He adds the same concerning seven other nations: Gaza, Tyre, Edom, Ammon, Moab, Judah, and Israel, assigning the causes of their failure to be converted.

See the moral exposition concerning the four degrees in sin in *On Penance*, distinction 1, *For three*. This can be adapted to pride with the seven capital vices. Jerome, declaring those four degrees there, says: the first is to have thought things that are evil; the second, to have consented to perverse thoughts; the third, to fulfill in deed what one has resolved in the mind; the fourth, not to do penance but to take pleasure in one's own offense. Thus Jerome.

This fourth is that of which the Lord says, “I shall not turn it back,” namely by infusing grace, while in the other three He intimates conversion and pardon.

There it is also written: “Behold, the days come, says the Lord, and I shall send a famine into the land--not a famine of bread, nor a thirst for water, but of hearing the word of God.” This was fulfilled in the preaching of the apostles.

Amos 4 says: “I rained upon one city; upon another city I did not rain. One part was rained upon, and the part upon which I did not rain withered.” What is said of the part rained upon and not rained upon is understood as regards the detestation of some sins, in *On Penance*, distinction 3, section 1.

§ III. Obadiah

Obadiah is placed fourth. The Hebrews say that he was the man who, under Ahab and the most impious Jezebel, fed one hundred prophets hidden in caves. Treating here of Christ's Passion, he says: “The men of your covenant mocked you and prevailed against you; the men of your peace, who eat with you, shall place snares beneath you, and there is no prudence in them.” This is understood of the Jews and Judas the traitor.

“And upon Mount Zion there shall be salvation, and it shall be holy.” This is understood of Christ and the Holy Spirit sent forth.

§ IV. Jonah

Jonah is found in the fifth place. The Jews say that he was the son of the widow of Zarephath whom Elijah raised from the dead. He lived in the time of Jeroboam, king of Israel.

When he was sent by God to preach the destruction of the Ninevites, he boarded a ship bound for Tarshish so that he would not go there, suffering something human: he feared that, if God changed His sentence in response to their penance, he would be judged a liar. Or he feared that, if the Gentiles were elected to divine worship, the Jewish people would be rejected.

When a tempest arose because of this, he was cast into the sea and swallowed by a great fish. Praising God there, he was vomited out alive by it on the third day, and he proceeded to preach. At his word the Ninevites were converted to penance, on account of which God granted pardon.

When Jonah, having left Nineveh, made a shelter for a house, the Lord caused ivy to climb over it, in whose shade Jonah greatly rejoiced. But in one night a worm gnawed the root of the ivy. When it withered, Jonah was distressed by the heat, for which the Lord reproved him.

He signifies Christ's Passion and Resurrection, as Christ Himself expounded in Matthew 12, and the conversion of Gentility to penance after the synagogue had been rejected.

Jerome says upon Jonah: “As Herodotus, a certain historian, says, Nineveh was overthrown by the king of the Medes while Josiah reigned among the Jews.” Hence it is evident that at Jonah's preaching Nineveh merited pardon through penance. But because afterward it returned to its vomit, entangling itself in graver crimes, it was overthrown by God's wrath, in *On Penance*, distinction 3, section *The Ninevites also*.

§ V. Micah

Micah is placed sixth. He lived in the times of Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah, and foretold the captivity and destruction of Judah and Israel because of idols, avarice, and other evils. Hence among other things he says: “Its leaders judged for gifts, its priests answered for hire, and its prophets divined for money,” and so forth.

Jerome says: “Let no one doubt that Jerusalem was overthrown because of the crimes set down here,” cause 1, question 1, *Judges*.

Prophesying of Christ's Resurrection and Ascension, Micah says: “He shall ascend, opening the way before them. They shall divide and pass through the gate, and shall go out through it; and their king shall pass before them, and the Lord at their head.”

Concerning Christ's Incarnation, preaching, and the conversion to the faith, he says: “In the last days the mountain of the Lord's house shall be prepared,” and so forth.

Concerning Christ's temporal birth in Bethlehem and His eternal birth, he says: “You, Bethlehem, land of Judah,” and so forth. The chief priests and scribes told Herod that these words were spoken of Christ, as is evident in Matthew 2.

Concerning the Passion he says: “With a rod they shall strike the cheek of the judge,” and so forth. The Lord complains of His people's ingratitude, saying: “My people, what have I done to you, or in what have I troubled you? Answer Me,” and so forth.

And below: “I shall show you, O man, what is good and what the Lord requires of you: indeed, to execute judgment”--as regards oneself, namely through examination of conscience and penance--“and to love mercy,” namely as regards one's neighbor through the virtue of almsgiving, in *On Penance*, distinction 1, *Medicine*; “and to walk solicitously with your God,” as regards the Lord, in *On Consecration*, distinction 1, *When*.

§ VI. Nahum

Nahum is placed seventh. The Hebrews say that he prophesied before the deportation of Israel to the Assyrians. He foretells the future destruction of Nineveh.

When the Ninevites had done penance at Jonah's preaching, on account of which God revoked His sentence, they became ungrateful for the benefit and entangled themselves in graver crimes. Therefore the prophet, announcing God's judgment against them, says at the beginning: “The Lord is a jealous and avenging God, having fury, and the Lord takes vengeance upon His enemies,” and so forth.

“The Lord will not judge twice the same thing in tribulation; a double tribulation shall not arise.” Upon this Jerome says: “Therefore those who have been punished here shall not afterward be punished,” namely in the future.

Gratian understands this, and rightly, of those who, being contrite amid the scourges themselves, return to God, in *On Penance*, distinction 3, section *The authority of Nahum*, and when the punishment inflicted here by God or man is such that it makes satisfaction for the faults committed. Otherwise, what was lacking would be punished in the other world.

Hence Jerome says in cause 23, question 5, *What therefore*, and below: “To this we shall reply that God, as He knows all things, knows the measure of punishments in such a way as neither to anticipate the sentence of the Judge nor henceforth take from Him the power to exercise punishment against the sinner, and that a great sin is washed away by great and long-lasting torments, while a light fault is compensated by present punishment?”

He gives the example of the man who was stoned by the people because he had gathered wood on the Sabbath. This is understood as stated when he repents and bears it patiently.

According to Jerome, Nineveh is interpreted “beautiful,” signifying the world. Hence whatever is said of Nineveh is figuratively foretold of the world, which is finally to be judged. This prophecy is therefore woven for the consolation of the saints, so that whatever they see in this world they may despise as passing and perishable, and prepare themselves for the day of Judgment, when the avenger will come against the Assyrians, that is, the wicked.

Concerning evangelical preaching Nahum says, among other things: “Behold upon the mountains the feet of him who evangelizes and announces peace.”

§ VII. Habakkuk

Habakkuk is placed eighth. “No one,” Jerome says, “has dared with so bold a voice to summon the Lord to a disputation about justice, asking why so great an iniquity of affairs prevails in human matters and in this world. Let no one who sees the wicked prosper here be disturbed. Here there is no full repayment of vice or virtue, but only a certain foretaste, so that those who do not believe in the resurrection may be instructed by such examples,” and so forth. Chrysostom, in *On Penance*, distinction 3, *What therefore*.

At the beginning of his volume Habakkuk describes the devil with his members. At the end he announces the advent and Passion of the Savior. For of what other thing than Christ's future advent is this understood: “It shall appear at the end and shall not lie. If it delays, wait for it, because the one who comes shall come and shall not tarry”?

Concerning the Passion, the cross, and the name of Jesus, he says in the Canticle: “O Lord, I have heard Your report,” and so forth; “Horns are in His hands”; and also: “I shall exult in God my Jesus.”

§ VIII. Zephaniah

The ninth is Zephaniah, whom the Hebrews hand down to have been the son of a prophet, prophesying under Josiah, king of Judah. He shows the day of Judgment to be exceedingly terrible, saying: “The great day of the Lord is near; it is near and exceedingly swift. The voice of the day of the Lord is bitter, and there the strong man shall be afflicted. A day of wrath,” and so forth.

Concerning the resurrection he says: “Wait for Me on the day of My resurrection in the future, because My judgment is that I gather the nations and assemble the kingdoms,” and so forth.

§ IX. Haggai

After the foregoing follows Haggai, the tenth, who prophesied in Jerusalem after the return of the people of Judah from Babylon.

According to Jerome, when the seventy years of Babylon had been foretold by Jeremiah, in the sixty-second year of that captivity the kingdom of the Chaldeans was overthrown by Darius, king of the Medes and Persians, as is evident in Daniel 5. After Darius died and Cyrus of the Persians succeeded to the kingdom, the seventy years were completed. Cyrus gave permission to return to Jerusalem, as is evident at the very end of 2 Chronicles.

When another Darius afterward succeeded the said Cyrus, and the Jews were hindered by their neighbors from rebuilding the city, the prophet Haggai was sent by the Lord to encourage Zerubbabel, who was of the royal seed of Judah, and Jesus son of Josedech, the high priest, to rebuild the city, and to assure them that the years of captivity had been completed.

“Those who gathered wages put them into a bag with holes.” Gregory says of the bag with holes: “What is put in through one place goes out through another, because undiscerning minds do not perceive how they lose through an evil work the rewards acquired from a good work,” in *On Penance*, distinction 4--not simply, but as regards the eternal reward.

Among other things Haggai foretold Christ's Advent, saying: “Yet one little while, and I shall move heaven and earth and the dry land; and I shall move all nations, and the Desired of all nations shall come, and I shall fill this house with glory.” Augustine says in *The City of God* that this was fulfilled in Christ's Nativity, in the Purification of the Virgin, and in Christ's preaching in the temple.

§ X. Zechariah

The eleventh in order is Zechariah, who prophesied at the same time as Haggai, namely in the second year of Darius after Cyrus, exhorting the people with Haggai to rebuild the temple, which was done.

Jerome says in distinction 50: “Thus Jesus son of Josedech, the high priest, although he preceded as a type of the Savior who bore our sins and joined to Himself a foreign Church from the Gentiles, nevertheless according to the letter is introduced as stained after the priesthood, while the devil stands at his right hand; and afterward white garments are restored to him.”

According to Jerome, the prophecy is manifold. For Zechariah saw Jesus the priest stripped of filthy garments and afterward clothed in white; a lamp of seven eyes and a golden lampstand with lamps, that is, Christ with sevenfold grace; and two olive trees, one at the lamp's left and one at its right. He also saw black, red, variegated, and white horses, and scattered chariots.

He also foretold: “Behold, your king comes to you, meek, sitting upon the colt of one under the yoke,” Zechariah 5.

Likewise he saw a flying scroll, whose length was twenty cubits and width ten. Likewise he saw a vessel and a woman sitting in the middle of the vessel and bearing a talent of lead, and so forth.

Likewise he spoke of the thirty pieces of silver that were cast into the sanctuary and were the price at which Christ was valued.

He also says there: “I shall pour out upon the house of David and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem the Spirit of grace and of prayers; and they shall look upon Me whom they pierced, and they shall mourn for Him as for an only-begotten son,” and so forth.

And below: “On that day there shall be a fountain open to the house of David and the inhabitants of Jerusalem for the washing of the sinner and the menstruous woman.” And below: “What are those wounds in the midst of Your hands? And He shall say: With these I was wounded in the house of those who loved Me. Strike the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered.”

§ XI. Malachi

Malachi is the twelfth in the order of the prophets and was the last to prophesy in Babylon. The Hebrews say that he was Ezra the scribe.

Third Title: On the Fourth Age of the World

Chapter Nine (continued)

Malachi rebukes the priests concerning improper sacrifices and because they scandalize the peoples through their evil works, whence they became contemptible. Hence he says: “O priests, you despise My name.”

Jerome says upon Malachi, distinction 5: “Priests despise the Lord's name and, insofar as lies with them, offer polluted bread when they approach the altar unworthily, and when they presume upon the priesthood after a gift has been given. He also pollutes the bread who badly distributes the Lord's teaching among the people, who honors the powerful and despises the poor.

“If you offer a blind animal, is it not evil?” He offers a blind animal who ordains an unlearned man in place of a learned one and makes a master of one who could scarcely have been a disciple. He offers a lame animal who appoints one seeking earthly gains, as though placing his feet in different directions, one in divine things and the other in carnal things. He offers a sick animal who regards a vicious man as religious, and also one who regards a slow and lazy man as patient.

“Return to Me, and I shall return to you,” and so forth. And below: “And you have said: In what have we pierced You? And He says: In tithes and firstfruits,” namely because you do not give them, “and in scarcity you are accursed.”

Jerome says: “If at any time famine, scarcity, and want of all things oppress the world, let us know that this descends from God's wrath. He says that He is defrauded in the poor of His alms if they do not receive them, and of His own possession,” cause 16, question 1, *Return*.

“Behold, I send My angel, and he shall prepare the way before My face,” and so forth. And at the end: “Behold, I shall send Elijah the Tishbite before the great and terrible day of the Lord comes, and he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the sons.”

There were also several other prophets in the Old Testament. Either they did not write books of their prophecies, or, if they wrote them, those books were not received into the canon, although many of their prophetic sayings are contained in various books, as in the Books of Kings. The chief among them, who also shone through miracles, were Elijah and Elisha among the people of Israel. They were discussed above in Third and Fourth Kings.

It must also be noted, according to Augustine, that not only the words of the fathers of the Old Testament in which they foretold some future things were prophetic; the deeds of that people were also a certain prophecy of the life of the Christian people.

Hence the Hebrews number among the prophets all the historical books placed above, namely Joshua, Judges, and Kings. They exclude from the books of the prophets Job, Chronicles, Daniel, the Psalter, and the books of Solomon, calling these the Hagiographa, as will be said more fully in the following section.

§ XII. Job and the Hebrew Division of the Old Testament

Although Job was a Gentile and said many things prophetically in his book--especially concerning the final resurrection of bodies, more openly than all others according to Jerome: “I know,” he says, “that my Redeemer lives”; and whence a redeemer except through the Passion? “And on the last day I shall rise from the earth,” and so forth--and although he spoke of many other mysteries of Christ and the Church, as Gregory shows in the books of the *Moralia*, nevertheless the Hebrews place him not among the prophets but among the Hagiographa.

For the Hebrews divide the Old Testament into four parts. They call the first the Law, namely the five books of Moses. They call the second the Prophets, comprising under it the Book of Joshua as the first; the Book of Judges as the second, together with the history of Ruth; First and Second Kings, entitled Samuel, as the third; Third and Fourth Kings as the fourth; Isaiah as the fifth; Jeremiah as the sixth; Ezekiel as the seventh; and the volume of the Twelve Minor Prophets as the eighth.

They call the third part of the Old Testament the Hagiographa, that is, sacred writings, which they hold to be authoritative. They are nine: Job; the Psalter of David; the Proverbs of Solomon; his Ecclesiastes and Song of Songs; Daniel; First and Second Chronicles; Esdras, containing two books; and Esther. Thus in all they assign twenty-two authoritative books.

They call the fourth part the Apocrypha: the Book of Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Tobit, Judith, and First and Second Maccabees. Yet the holy Church also receives the Apocrypha as true, as is found in distinction 15, *The holy Roman Church*, and venerates them as useful and moral, although in disputes over matters of faith they are not compelling for argument.

Returning to Job, it must first be known that some wrongly said Job did not exist in the nature of things, but that this history was a constructed parable serving as the theme for a disputation concerning divine providence. But blessed Thomas, in his exposition upon Job, disproves this because Job is numbered with others who existed in the world. For it is said in Ezekiel 14: “If Noah, Job, and Daniel, these three men, were in its midst, they would deliver their souls by their justice.” And James 5 says: “You have heard of Job's patience,” and so forth. Job's patience would be proposed to us in vain as an example if he had not existed in the nature of things. Therefore this must not be doubted.

Second, it is asked who this Job was and of what race. Some say that he descended from Esau, asserting that he was the one of whom it is said in 1 Chronicles 1: “Balath died, and Jobab son of Zare from Bozrah reigned in his place.” Isidore held this opinion in the book *On the Birth and Death of the Saints*, where he says: “Job son of Zare from Bozrah, king of the Idumeans, the fourth successor after Esau, succeeded Balath son of Beor in the kingdom.” The *Policraticus* says the same.

Jerome, however, in the *Hebrew Questions* seems to say that Job descended from Nahor, Abraham's brother, through Nahor's wife Milcah. For it is said that a son named Huz was born of Nahor, from whose stock Job descended. Hence it is said at the beginning of this book: “There was a man in the land of Huz.” Isidore therefore also says that Job was contemporary with Moses, that is, he lived at approximately the same time as Moses.

Third, it is asked who composed the Book of Job. To this some say it was Moses, recounting the deeds of that holy man. Others say one of the prophets, without determining which; others Solomon or Job's friends; and others Job himself. This last is the more common opinion, which our Gregory the pope follows, saying: “We can more truly judge that the same Job who endured the contests of spiritual warfare also narrated the deeds of his completed victory.”

But Gregory also says at the beginning of the *Moralia*: “Who wrote these things is sought very superfluously, since the Holy Spirit is faithfully believed to be the author of this book; just as, if one knew certain letters to be a king's, one would vainly ask with what pen they had been written.” Thus the principal efficient cause, namely God, and the secondary cause, namely Job, are apparent.

According to Thomas at the beginning of his work upon Job, the final cause is to show how human affairs are governed by divine providence. The opinion contrary to this is exceedingly harmful to the human race, for if divine providence is taken away, no reverence or fear of God together with virtue will remain among men.

According to Lactantius in the book of the *Institutes*, Epicurus followed this most wicked opinion; and many who appear wise to themselves follow it, saying that all things among men happen by chance, except insofar as they are governed by human providence and counsel, or by the necessity of fate, that is, by the constellations of heaven.

Hence it was the principal study of those who attained wisdom through the divine Spirit to remove this false opinion from men's hearts. This is done in the Book of Job, for it is shown by probable reasons that human affairs are governed by divine providence.

The thing that seems especially to argue against human affairs being governed by divine providence is the affliction of the just. For although the occurrence of good things to the wicked may at first sight appear unreasonable and contrary to providence, it can nevertheless have some excuse, namely from divine compassion. But that the just are afflicted without cause seems wholly to undermine the foundation of providence.

Therefore, as a kind of theme for the intended question, the manifold and grave affliction of the most holy Job is proposed. Job's friends who visited him believed in divine providence concerning human affairs, but they erred greatly in this: they thought that

the whole repayment for deeds done well or badly was received or conferred by God here, not in another life, and consequently that men sustained afflictions only because of guilt and obtained prosperity from good deeds.

Thus they argued that Job had been wicked and a hypocrite and had been afflicted in this way because of his sins. Their statements are set forth twice by each of them. Job answered and refuted them, showing that there is another repayment for works than the one in the present life and that he had not been scourged because of guilt.

When Job's friends, as men convicted, were no longer able to answer his arguments, another man present there, Elihu, younger than the others, spoke. He reproved Job's three friends because they could no longer argue against him, and Job himself because it seemed to Elihu from Job's speech that God had judged and scourged him unjustly, although Job had not done this.

Finally, the Lord determined the disputation. He reproved Elihu for his opinion because he had unjustly condemned Job as thinking badly of God's justice; and He rebuked Job because he had spoken in such a way as to give them occasion to judge that he thought badly of God's justice, as if God had scourged him unjustly. Yet Job had not spoken with this intention, but only wished to show that he had been scourged not for his own faults but for the exercise of virtue, as was the case.

The Lord was angry with Job's friends because they thought wrongly about the cause of afflictions. Hence they also called Job a dissembler and wicked. He commanded them, in satisfaction, to offer a certain sacrifice, as is evident at the end.

Because human wisdom is not sufficient to comprehend the truth of divine providence, it was therefore necessary that the said disputation concerning divine providence be ended by authority. This begins to occur in chapter 38, where it is said: “The Lord, answering from the whirlwind,” and so forth.

In that chapter the Lord questions Job concerning divine effects, saying: “Where were you when I laid the foundations of the earth?” and so forth. These effects are exposed to the human senses. Since He shows man to be ignorant of them, it is much more conclusively demonstrated that man does not possess knowledge of higher things, such as God's providence. He questions him concerning the elements, the heavens, and the creatures in them.

Then the Lord argues against Job by showing God's excellence above men, in comparison with whose justice and goodness all human justice appears injustice. His excellence is manifested in the effects He works in good and wicked men and in the devil, concerning whom He speaks at length under the attributes of Behemoth, that is, the elephant, and Leviathan, that is, the great fish, as in Job 40.

The material cause, therefore, is the history in which first is narrated Job's prosperity in substance, family, and power; then the adversity arising from the loss of all the foregoing, the death of his children, and the loss of health at one time; the reproach of his wife; and afterward the visit of his friends to console him. In all these things Job did not sin.

For when he cursed his day, he spoke not according to the deliberation of reason but according to the movement of sensuality, which abhorred such affliction and detested the things from which he had come into it, namely birth and conception. Because these occur by day or night, those times are called evil--not by reason of the time, but by reason of the event within it--just as the Apostle says, “The days are evil.”

It is also as though a wise man, tasting a bitter medicine that was nevertheless healing, were to call it evil and accursed according to the sensual appetite because of the bitterness he sensed in it, although according to reason he judged it good.

Nor did Job sin by recounting his good works, as is evident in chapters 30 and 31, because he did so not for boasting but to restore his confidence in God lest he fall into despair amid so many adversities.

Finally, the restoration of Job's prosperity is set down: double as regards substance, but not as regards his children in number, though in power, because afterward he had seven sons and three most beautiful daughters, as he had before; and when he had been healed, vigor was added to him. Hence he lived another 140 years.

This intimates that, although divine providence permits the good to be afflicted here even without fault of their own, it afterward rewards them abundantly in the other life, which endures forever.

The history of this Gentile Job is placed among the deeds of the holy fathers of the Old and New Testaments as an example of every kind of patience and, especially, of wisdom concerning God's providence and of every perfection of justice, and as a figure of Christ and the Church. Gregory makes this clear by expounding the whole work allegorically or morally, while Thomas expounds it literally and marvelously.

This is first to intimate that there is no acceptance of persons with God, but that in every nation the one who fears God is acceptable to Him, as Peter said in Acts 10. Second, it is for the confusion of wicked believers and to sharpen the goad of the just in doing good. For if a Gentile, bound only by the natural law, lived so perfectly, how much more ought every believer to do this, assisted by the Mosaic and evangelical laws? Third, because Christ was to come to save all, Jews and Gentiles, He decreed to be foretold and figured by every race of Jews and Gentiles.

The formal cause of the book is its manner of treatment, which is narrative and disputative. As Jerome says: “It begins in prose, slips into verse”--namely from the place “Let the day perish” to “I reprehend myself” in chapter 40--“and afterward ends in prose.” Eusebius, Origen, and others assert that verse is found in the books of the Hebrews, as in the Psalter, Job, and Lamentations. But in the translation made by Jerome from Hebrew or Chaldean into Latin, the meters could not be preserved in the same way, and everything was reduced to prose, as is evident.

§ XIII. Tobit

Because the history of Tobit occurred before the captivity and deportation of Judah to Babylon, in the time of Ahaz and Hezekiah, we shall therefore recapitulate it briefly.

This Tobit was of the tribe of Naphtali and dwelt in Galilee. Almost alone in Israel, he observed God's law. Led captive to Nineveh with many others by Shalmaneser, king of the Assyrians, he there exercised himself in manifold works of mercy and provided burial for the dead.

One day, while he rested leaning against a wall, droppings of swallows falling from above blinded his eyes. Yet he was not saddened by this.

Tobit, after being reproached by his wife, and Anna daughter of Raguel [read: Sarah], after being insulted by one of the maids whom she had reproved, concerning the killing of her seven husbands, were saddened and prayed to the Lord. Their prayers were heard, and Raphael was sent to heal them both.

Tobit, believing that he had been heard so that he might die, instructed his son, likewise named Tobias, concerning the vices to be avoided and especially the works of almsgiving to be done.

The angel Raphael, appearing in the form of a traveler, was brought to Tobit the father. Asked his name, he said that he was Azariah, offering to lead his son to Rages of the Medes, to Gabelus, and bring him back.

Third Title: On the Fourth Age of the World

Chapter Nine (continued)

While they were on the way, when Tobias stopped to wash his feet beside the River Tigris, a fish came out to devour him. But at Raphael's command he drew it out and killed it. He roasted its flesh to eat on the journey, but reserved its heart, gall, and liver as medicines.

The angel advised them to lodge with their kinsman Raguel and for Tobias to take his daughter Sarah as his wife. Raguel received them joyfully. After he recognized Tobias when the angel revealed who he was, Tobias at length sought Raguel's daughter in marriage. Raguel was afraid, yet at the angel's counsel he gave her to him.

When the wedding had been celebrated and Tobias entered the bridal chamber, Tobias placed some of the fish's liver upon coals, and Raphael bound the demon named Asmodeus in the desert. The demon had strangled the seven husbands whom Sarah had previously had. Tobias and Sarah remained in prayer for three nights. On the fourth he consummated the marriage, and the devil could not harm him.

Tobias sent Raphael to Gabelus at Rages to recover the money that had been lent. Once the debt had been repaid, the angel brought Gabelus to Tobias's wedding.

When they delayed in returning, Tobias's mother Anna wept inconsolably, while the blind Tobit comforted her. At length the younger Tobias, having taken leave of Raguel, set out with his wife Sarah and Raphael. Tobias, going more quickly than the others with the angel, arrived home first.

His blind father came out to meet him. Tobias took some of the fish's gall and placed it upon his father's eyes, restoring his sight. When the others arrived, they blessed God and feasted together.

The younger Tobias, recalling Raphael's services to his father, advised his father to offer him half of all their goods, for they thought him a man. But the angel then revealed himself, instructed them to give thanks, and disappeared while they blessed God.

The prophecy of Tobit is then given, in which he foretold many things concerning the Church. Last, it is stated that he lived 102 years. He was forty-six years old when he became blind and sixty when his sight was restored. He foretold that Nineveh's destruction was imminent and that they should not remain there.

§ XIV. The Sibyls

To continue the histories of the kings of Judah and Israel after omitting the deeds of the Gentiles, we shall now resume very briefly the notable deeds that occurred among the Gentiles at various times.

First, concerning the Sibyls, Isidore says in book 8 of the *Etymologies*, chapter 8: In Greek, all prophetic women are generally called Sibyls. For in the Aeolic language *sios* means God, and the Greeks call the mind *boule*. Hence *Sibyl* means, as it were, the mind of God. Therefore, because they were accustomed to interpret the divine will to human beings, they were named Sibyls. For just as every man who prophesies is called a seer or prophet, so every woman who prophesies is called a Sibyl. The name comes from an office, not from the proper meaning of the word.

The most learned authors hand down that there were ten Sibyls.

The first was the Persian. The second was the Libyan. The third was the Delphic, born at the temple of Delphic Apollo; she prophesied before the Trojan War, and Homer inserted very many of her verses into his own work. The fourth was the Cimmerian in Italy.

The fifth was the Erythraean, named Herophila, born in Babylon. She prophesied to the Greeks who were going to Ilium that Troy would perish and that Homer would write falsehoods. She was called Erythraean because her poems were found on the island of that name.

The sixth was the Samian, who was called Semonoë and surnamed from the island of Samos, whence she came. The seventh was the Cumaean, named Amalthea, who brought nine books to Tarquinius Priscus in which the Roman decrees were written. She is also the Cumaean of whom Virgil says, “Now comes the final age of the Cumaean song.” She was called Cumaean from the city of Cumae in Campania. Her tomb still remains in Sicily.

The eighth was the Hellespontine, born in the Trojan territory, who is said to have lived in the time of Solon and Cyrus. The ninth was the Phrygian, who prophesied at Ancyra. The tenth was the Tiburtine, named Albunea.

The poems of all these women are circulated. In them it is most manifestly demonstrated that they wrote much about God, Christ, and the Gentiles. The Erythraean, however, is considered more celebrated and renowned than the others. Some say that she prophesied when Rome was founded, when Ahaz was king in Judah--or, as others reckon, his son Hezekiah.

Jerome says to the same effect in *Against Jovinian*: “Why should I recount the Erythraean and Cumaean Sibyls and the other eight, whose distinguishing mark is virginity, and the reward of virginity, divination?”

Lactantius also mentions them in the books of the *Divine Institutes* and sets down many of their sayings in Greek and Latin. Augustine gathers and reports them in book 18 of *The City of God*, chapter 23. There express mention is made of worshiping the one God, Creator of all, and of God Himself incarnate, His Passion, death, and resurrection.

There are also set down twenty-six verses of this Sibyl that most openly express the Last Judgment. If the first letters of the verses are taken and joined together, they yield these words: “Jesus Christ, Son of God, Savior.” The verses begin as follows:

The sign of judgment: earth shall be wet with sweat.

From heaven shall come the King, destined to endure through all ages,

Present, namely, in the flesh, that He may judge the world.

Hence unbeliever and believer alike shall behold God,

Exalted with the saints, at the very end of the age.

Thus souls shall be present with the flesh, whom He Himself judges,

While the world lies uncultivated amid dense thorns.

Men shall cast away their idols and all their treasure too.

Fire shall burn the lands, the sea, and the sky,

Searching, and shall break open the gates of foul Avernus.

For free light shall be given to all the flesh of the saints;

The guilty shall be delivered up, and eternal flame shall burn them.

Then each shall speak, revealing hidden deeds,

And God shall expose secret hearts to the light.

Then there shall also be mourning; all shall gnash their teeth.

The radiance of the sun is taken away, and the choir of stars perishes.

Heaven shall be rolled up; the moon's splendor shall pass away.

He shall cast down the hills and raise the valleys from the depths.

Nothing lofty or high shall remain among human things.

Now mountains are leveled with plains, and the blue waters of the sea likewise.

All things shall cease; the shattered earth shall perish.

Springs and rivers alike shall be scorched by fire.

But then the trumpet shall send down a mournful sound from on high,

Groaning over the world's wretched crime and its many toils.

The gaping earth shall reveal Tartarean chaos,

And here all kings together shall be set before the Lord.

From heaven shall fall a river of fire and sulfur.

In these Latin verses, translated as best they could be from Greek, the meaning formed by joining the letters at their beginnings could not be reproduced. Wherever the letter *y* occurred in Greek, Latin words that both began with the same letter and suited the sense could not be found. These are three verses: the fifth, eighteenth, and nineteenth.

Accordingly, if in joining the letters at the beginning of every verse we do not read the letters written at the beginnings of those three verses, but remember the letter *y* as though it had been placed in those same locations, five words are expressed in them: "Jesus Christ, Son of God, Savior," as stated above--but in Greek, not Latin.

This Sibyl, whether Erythraean or, as some more readily believe, Cumaean, has nothing at all in her entire poem--of which this is but a small portion--that pertains to the worship of false or fabricated gods. Indeed, she speaks against them and their worshipers, so that she seems to deserve to be counted among those who belong to the City of God.

Lactantius also inserts into his work certain Sibylline prophecies concerning Christ. Although he does not identify which Sibyl spoke them and sets them down individually, I have thought that they should be placed together here as though they were one continuous passage, because he recalled several short sayings:

Afterward He will come into the hands of unbelievers. They will strike God with their defiled hands and spit venomous spittle from an impure mouth. But He will simply give His holy back to the lash, and, receiving blows, He will remain silent, lest anyone recognize what Word He is or whence He came, so that He may speak to those below and be crowned with a crown of thorns.

For food they will give gall, and for thirst vinegar; they will display this table of inhospitality. For you, foolish nation, did not understand your God. Though He played among the minds of mortals, you crowned Him with thorns and mixed dreadful gall.

The veil of the temple will be torn, and at midday the night will be exceedingly dark for three hours. He will die a death, having taken three days of sleep, and then, returning from below, He will come to the light, the first to reveal the principle of resurrection by being called back.

Lactantius employed those Sibylline testimonies piecemeal at intervals in his disputation, as the points he intended to prove seemed to require them. Without inserting anything, I have placed them together in a single sequence, taking care to distinguish them only by headings--provided that later copyists do not neglect to preserve them. Some have written that the Erythraean Sibyl lived not in Romulus's time but in the time of the Trojan War. Augustine says all these things in book 18 of *The City of God*, chapter 23.

There one should also note what Augustine says in his book *Against the Manichaeans*: "If the Sibyl or Orpheus or any other seers or philosophers of the Gentiles are said to have foretold anything true about God, it is indeed useful for refuting the vanity of the pagans, but not for embracing their truth. For the distance between the preaching of angels and the confession of demons concerning Christ's coming is as great as that between the authority of the prophets and the curiosity of sacrilegious writings," distinction 37, *If Anything*.

Jerome likewise says in the same distinction, *Those Who from the Table*: "If at times we are compelled to recall secular literature and say some of the things from it that we formerly omitted, this is not by our own will but, so to speak, by the gravest necessity, so that we may prove that the things foretold by the holy prophets many centuries beforehand are also contained in the books of the Greeks, the Latins, and other nations." Thus Jerome.

It is also related in the chronicles, as Blessed Thomas reports in the *Second Part of the Second Part*, that in the time of Emperor Constantine--not the first Constantine, but the one who ruled with his mother Irene--the following inscription was discovered upon a tablet at the head of a certain Gentile who had died before Christ's Incarnation: "Christ will be born of the Virgin Mary, and I believe in Him. O sun, you will see me again in the time of Constantine and Irene."

Augustine also says in book 22 of *The City of God*, chapter 27: “Plato and Porphyry each said certain things which, if they could have shared with one another, might perhaps have made them Christians. Plato said that souls cannot exist eternally without bodies. He therefore said that even the souls of the wise, after however long a time, would nevertheless return to bodies.” Virgil, taking this also from Plato, says: “Again they begin to desire to return to bodies.”

Porphyry said: “When the most purified soul has returned to the Father, it will never return to the evils of this world.” Therefore, if Plato had granted to Porphyry the truth that he himself saw, namely that the most purified souls of the just and wise would return to human bodies; and, in turn, if Porphyry had granted to Plato the truth that he saw, namely that holy souls would never return to the miseries of corruptible bodies--so that they would not each say one of these things separately, but both would each say both--I think they would now have seen it to follow that souls would return to bodies and receive bodies of such a kind that in them they would live blessedly and immortally.” Thus Augustine.

I have also found other sayings of a certain Sibyl whose name I have not found, testifying about Christ as follows:

> *A woman will arise from the stock of the Hebrews, named Mary, who has a spouse named Joseph. From her, without union with a man and by the Holy Spirit, will be born the Son of God, named Jesus. She will be a virgin before giving birth and a virgin after giving birth. He who is born of her will be true God and true man. He will fulfill the law of the Jews and add His own law to it, and His kingdom will remain forever and ever.*
>
> *A voice will come over Him, saying, “This is My beloved Son; hear Him.” There will be a resurrection of the dead, and the lame will run most swiftly; the deaf will hear, the blind will see, and those who did not speak will speak. From five loaves and two fish many thousands of people will be fed. He will restrain the winds by a word and calm the raging sea. Walking upon the sea, He will tread upon the waves, curing human weakness and driving away many pains.*

Likewise another Sibyl, who is said to have been the Erythraean, says: “In the final age God will humble Himself; the divine offspring will become human. Divinity will be joined to humanity. The Lamb will lie in the hay, and God and man will be reared by a maiden's service. He will choose for Himself the number twelve from fishermen and the rejected.” Thus she.

Augustine says in book 10 of *The City of God*, chapter 2: “Often and insistently the philosopher Plotinus, explaining Plato's meaning, asserts that even the soul which they believe to be the soul of the universe is blessed from no other source than our own soul is. That source is a light which the soul itself is not, but by which it was created and, through intelligible illumination, shines intelligibly.”

Thus that great Platonist says that the rational or intellectual soul--from which class he understands the souls of the immortal and blessed beings whom he does not doubt inhabit the heavenly abodes, namely the angels--has no nature above it except God, who fashioned the world and by whom it too was made. Nor are blessed life and the light of the understanding of truth supplied to those heavenly beings from any other source than that from which they are supplied to us. Hence, he thinks that they, and therefore we as well, become blessed by the presentation of a certain intelligible light, which is God, just as he thinks the moon is illuminated by the presentation of the sun.

Again Augustine says in the same book, chapter 29, concerning the Gentile Porphyry, whom he calls the noblest of the philosophers but the fiercest enemy of Christians: “You proclaim the Father and His Son, whom you call the Father's intellect or mind, and a being between them whom we think you mean by the Holy Spirit. Yet you are unwilling to acknowledge the Incarnation of the unchangeable Son of God, by which we are saved. You somehow see, though from afar, the homeland in which one must dwell, but you do not hold the way by which one must go. You confess grace, since you say that it has been granted to few to reach God through the power of the intellect.”

Third Title: On the Fourth Age of the World

Chapter Nine (continued)

For undoubtedly, when you say that it was granted, you confess God's grace, not human sufficiency. Following Plato's opinion, you yourself do not doubt that a human being can in no way attain the perfection of wisdom in this life, but that, after this life, everything lacking to those who live according to the intellect can be supplied by God's providence and grace.

Augustine likewise says in chapter 27 concerning Porphyry: “Your own oracles, as you write, have confessed Christ to be holy and immortal.” Concerning Him the most noble poet, namely Virgil, also spoke poetically, because under the shadowed figure of another person, but nevertheless truthfully if you refer it to Christ: “Under your leadership, the remaining traces of our crime shall be void and shall free the lands with perpetual fortitude.”

§ XV. In the Time of Joash, King of Judah

In the 182nd year, and the year 3030 from the beginning of the world according to the shorter computation, Lycurgus was held in renown, according to Eusebius. He established laws for the Lacedaemonians.

As Justin relates in book 3, Lycurgus could, had he wished, have succeeded his brother Polybites, king of the Spartans, and reigned. But when Charillus, his brother's posthumously born son, reached adulthood, Lycurgus restored the kingdom to him with the greatest fidelity, so that all might know how much more the claims of filial duty prevail among good people than riches do.

In the meantime, while the child grew strong, Lycurgus instituted laws. But he sanctioned no law for others of which he himself did not first give an example. He abolished the use of gold and silver as the material of every crime. He permitted the people the power to elect the senate or to create whatever magistrates they wished. He divided all the lands equally among everyone, so that equal patrimonies would make no one superior to another.

He ordered everyone to dine publicly, lest anyone's riches or luxury be hidden. He permitted the young to use no more than one garment throughout the whole year, and allowed no one to go out more elegantly dressed than another or to feast more lavishly. He ordered everything to be purchased not with money but by an exchange of goods.

He commanded that boys who had reached puberty be led not into the forum but into the countryside, so that they would spend their earliest years not in luxury but in work and labor. He decreed that they should spread no bed beneath themselves for sleep, live without relishes, and not return to the city until they had become men.

He ordered virgins to marry without a dowry, so that wives would be chosen not for the sake of money and husbands would govern their marriages more strictly, since they would be held by no restraints imposed by a dowry. He judged that the greatest honor belonged not to the rich and powerful but to the elderly. For this reason old age held a more honored place there than anywhere else in the world.

Because these and similar measures seemed harsh to people whose customs had previously been unrestrained, he pretended that Delphic Apollo was their author and that he had brought the laws from there. Then, to give permanence to his laws, he bound the city by oath to change nothing in them before he returned to his homeland. He said that he wished to consult Apollo again about what appeared to require addition to or subtraction from these laws.

He departed for Crete, where he spent the rest of his life in voluntary exile. Even when dying he ordered his bones to be placed in a leaden casket and cast into the sea, lest, if they were by chance brought back to Lacedaemon, the Lacedaemonians think themselves released from their oath. Thus Justin.

The same author says that Sardanapalus was the last of the Assyrian kings, a man more ornamented than a woman. Arbaces, governor of the Medes, discovered him among companies of prostitutes, dressed as a woman and spinning purple wool. In bodily softness and the wantonness of his eyes, he surpassed every woman while dividing the wool among them. Arbaces, indignant that so many men were subject to such a woman, stirred up war against him. Sardanapalus fled and withdrew into the palace. There, after a pyre had been constructed and set alight, he burned himself and his riches, imitating a man in this one respect alone.

Cicero says of him in the *Tusculan Disputations*: Sardanapalus ordered this inscription to be placed upon his tomb: “I possess these things which I ate and whatever fully satisfied lust consumed; but those many and splendid things lie abandoned.”

Therefore, when Sardanapalus--who burned himself, as has been said--had been defeated by Arbaces the Mede, Arbaces transferred the monarchy from the Assyrians to the Medes, according to Vincent. This occurred in the time of Uzziah, king of Judah.

Nevertheless, powerful Assyrian kings continued afterward, though without the monarchy, until Nineveh was destroyed, apparently by Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon. His kingdom failed entirely in his grandson or great-grandson Belshazzar, who was killed by Cyrus and Darius. At that time the monarchy of the Medes and Persians was exalted and, in this sense, is said to have begun then--namely, in its greatest power.

§ XVI. In the Thirteenth Year of Manasseh, King of Judah

Gyges reigned in Lydia. Tully says of him in book 3 of *On Duties* that, when he was a royal shepherd and a deluge of rain occurred, he descended into a certain opening in the earth. There he found a dead man sitting upon a bronze horse. On the man's finger he found a ring through which he became invisible. He violated the queen and, with her assistance, killed the king, his lord.

Helinand agrees with Justin and Tully concerning the murder of his lord, but I have found the discovery of the ring written nowhere else except in Ambrose's *On Duties*, which treats the same matter from Cicero.

In the fifth year of this Gyges, Midas, or Mides, while reigning among the Phrygians, died after drinking bull's blood. At that time Archilochus, Simonides, and the musician Aristoxenus were held in renown.

Valerius says in book 6 that the Lacedaemonians ordered the books of the poet Archilochus to be carried out of the city because they considered their reading insufficiently chaste. For they did not wish the minds of their children to be steeped in them, lest they harm their morals more than they benefited their abilities. Thus they punished even this great poet with exile because he had torn apart a household hateful to him with the obscene abuse of his poems.

The same poet Simonides boasts that, at eighty years of age, he both taught poetry and entered a contest in it. When he had brought a ship to shore and buried an unburied body that lay there, the dead man warned him not to sail the following day. Simonides therefore remained behind. Those who began to sail were overwhelmed by waves and storms.

In the fifty-first year of Manasseh, Zaleucus the lawgiver was celebrated among the Locrians with frequent praises. As Valerius relates in book 6, when Zaleucus's son had been condemned for adultery and was required to lose both eyes, the entire city resisted for some time out of respect for his father. At last Zaleucus yielded only so far as to prevent his law from being violated: first gouging out one of his own eyes and then one of his son's, he left each of them the use of sight. Thus, by an admirable moderation of equity, he divided himself between the merciful father and the just lawgiver.

§ XVII. In the Reign of Amon, Son of Manasseh, in Judah

Phalaris the Sicilian, having seized the tyranny, ravaged the Agrigentines. Cruel in mind and still crueler in his torments, he did everything wickedly against the innocent, yet sometimes, though himself unjust, found someone whom he punished justly.

For a certain Perillus, a worker in bronze, sought the tyrant's friendship. Thinking that he had found a gift suited to Phalaris's cruelty, he made him a bronze bull. He fashioned a door in the side of the work as an entrance through which condemned persons could be thrust inside. When a person enclosed there was roasted by fires placed beneath, the capacity of the hollow bronze would amplify the sound of his tortured voice and emit, with a deathly resonance suited to the image, a bellowing murmur. Thus, in that wicked spectacle, it would seem to be the lowing of a beast, not the groaning of a human being.

But Phalaris embraced the work while cursing its maker, and furnished material both for vengeance and for cruelty. For he punished the artisan himself by means of his own invention. Orosius says this in book 1.

At that time the philosopher Zeno flourished. Leaving his own country, where he could enjoy secure freedom, he went to Agrigentum, which was oppressed by miserable slavery. He relied upon such confidence in his ability and character that he hoped the ferocity of both the tyrant and Phalaris's mind could be tamed by him.

When at last he perceived that with Phalaris the long habit of domination had more force than wholesome counsel, he inflamed the noblest young men of his city with the desire to liberate their homeland. When knowledge of the affair reached the tyrant, Phalaris summoned the people to the forum and began to torture Zeno with various torments so that he would betray his fellow conspirators.

Without naming anyone, Zeno began to rebuke the people who had gathered for the spectacle, asking why they had tolerated Phalaris's tyranny for so long. By his words he so incited them against the tyrant that they stoned him.

Valerius, however, relates the matter differently in book 3. When Zeno was tortured by a certain tyrant so that he would name the man who had plotted the tyrant's death, Zeno said that he wished to speak to him privately. Released from the rack, he seized the tyrant's ear with his teeth and did not let go before he himself lost his life and the tyrant lost that part of his body.

Under Josiah, king of Judah, Arion, the Lesbian lyre-player, was sailing with abundant wealth. The sailors wished to kill him in order to obtain his property, and even when it was offered to them, it could not appease them. He asked that they at least permit him, dressed in his garments, to sing for a little while a song about his misfortune as a consolation to himself.

When this was permitted, he sang with the lyre in a very high voice and threw himself into the sea. A dolphin of great size appeared among the waves, received the falling Arion upon its back, and carried him unharmed, still arrayed in his clothing, all the way to shore.

When he came to Corinth, he presented himself to Periander just as he had been carried by the dolphin and narrated the event as it had happened, but the king was reluctant to believe him. When the sailors were questioned about Arion, they answered that he was safe, flourishing in wealth, and fortunate. During their words Arion showed himself, still arrayed and bearing his lyre. At that time Thales of Miletus, the first natural philosopher, was renowned.

In the year of Zedekiah, king of Judah, according to Justin in book 43, Massilia was founded by the Phocaean Greeks near the mouths of the River Rhône, in a remote inlet like a corner of the sea. From them the Gauls learned the practice of a more cultivated life, the cultivation of fields, and the enclosing of cities with walls. Their barbarity was tamed, and they learned to live by laws rather than arms and devoted themselves to planting vines and grafting olive trees.

Valerius also says of Massilia in book 3: Since the founding of Massilia, there has been a sword there with which criminals are beheaded. Although consumed by rust, it is kept as a memorial of antiquity. Prepared hemlock poison is also kept there and is given to the person who has made public the counsels of the senate. No one enters their city bearing a weapon.

The city of the Massilians, a most severe guardian of discipline, gives mimes no admission to a banquet, because their plots consist for the greater part of enacted sexual offenses, lest a custom of seeing and hearing such things also assume the license to imitate them.

Around those times Milo of Croton is found to have lived. Solinus says of him that in the Olympic contest he carried an ox upon his shoulders through the stadium, killed the same ox with a blow of his hand and made it a sacrificial victim, and on that day ate the whole animal without being burdened. He died the victor of every contest.

Fourth Title: On the Fifth Age of the World

Chapter One

The Fifth Age had its beginning with the captivity of the Jews in Babylon and extends for 690 years, to the Nativity of Christ.

In this age are found the four monarchies of the world: those of the Assyrians, the Persians and Medes, the Greeks, and the Romans. They were prefigured and shown to Daniel in the four beasts coming out of the sea and in the four parts, made from different materials, of the statue he saw.

This age comprehends the second and third monarchies in their entirety, but touches only the beginning of the fourth, namely that of the Romans. For this Fifth Age ends at Christ's Nativity, which occurred in the time of the empire of Octavian, whereas the monarchy of the Romans began under his predecessor Julius Caesar.

It contains the end of the first monarchy, namely that of the Assyrians. For although the dominion of the Assyrians was diminished under Sardanapalus so that it ceased to be a monarchy when the Medes withdrew from their rule, a kingdom nevertheless still remained. Afterward, according to Jerome, Nineveh was devastated by the king of the Medes in the time of Josiah.

In the fifth year after the overthrow of Jerusalem, Nebuchadnezzar descended into lower Syria and obtained it. He subjected the Moabites and Ammonites to himself and finally entered Egypt. He subdued it, killed the king who was in it, appointed another there, and led the Jews in Egypt into captivity once again, as the Master of the *Scholastic History* says.

The Master also says that, when Nebuchadnezzar the Great died, his son, namely Nabuther, reigned in his place, and thus the kingdom of the Babylonians was magnified. Nevertheless, that kingdom appears to be included in the Assyrian monarchy.

When Nabuther died, Evilmerodach reigned in his place. In the thirty-seventh year of the transmigration he raised the captive King Joachim from prison.

There is no contradiction, as there might appear to be, between the statement that Evilmerodach raised Joachim from prison in the thirty-seventh year of the transmigration and the statement below that Belshazzar, the son or grandson of Evilmerodach, was killed by Cyrus and Darius and Babylon captured in the thirtieth year of the Jewish captivity. For this Joachim was carried away to Babylon eleven years before the final captivity, in which Zedekiah, who had last reigned eleven years in Jerusalem, was carried away.

Fourth Title: On the Fifth Age of the World

Chapter One (continued)

Certain writers hand down that this Evilmerodach, the brother of the younger Nabuchodonosor, committed many impious deeds during the period of his father's banishment, when the latter was changed into a beast. After his father was restored to his homeland and to his former condition following seven years, Evilmerodach was accused before him. His father sent him to the prison where Joachim was, and there he remained until his brother's death.

When he began to reign, he raised up Joachim, whom he had had as a companion in prison. Fearing that his father, who had previously returned from a beast into a man, might rise again, he consulted Joachim. At Joachim's persuasion he dug up his father's body, divided it into 300 parts, and gave them to 300 vultures. Joachim said: “Your father will not rise unless the vultures come together again as one.”

According to Josephus, Evilmerodach was succeeded by a son named Neglisar, after whom Belshazzar reigned. Eusebius, however, says that Belshazzar succeeded Evilmerodach, saying nothing about Neglisar.

When this Belshazzar was killed by Darius, king of the Medes and maternal uncle of Cyrus, king of the Persians, and by Cyrus the Persian--whom, because of the two kingdoms, he calls the driver of a two-horse chariot, namely of a camel and an ass--the kingdom of the Babylonians was destroyed, as Xenophon, Pompeius, and others note.

It is not recorded how long each of those four successors of Nebuchadnezzar the Great--namely Nabuther, Evilmerodach, Neglisar, and Belshazzar--reigned. But it appears that those four reigned only twenty-one years. For only that much time extends from the ninth year of the Jewish captivity, in which Eusebius places the death of the first Nebuchadnezzar, to the first year of Cyrus, in which the last of those four was killed.

In this Fifth Age many philosophers and poets were renowned, as will be evident. Many excellent deeds of the Gentiles are narrated: of the kings of the Persians and Medes, of the kingdom of Alexander the Great, and of the wars of the Romans.

Concerning the people of the Jews, only those matters are narrated which pertain to their return from Babylon to Jerusalem and to the rebuilding of the city and temple, and afterward to their government through Judas Maccabeus, Jonathan, and Simon, brothers who were at once priests and leaders of the people, as is contained in the Book of Maccabees.

§ I. Cyrus

Therefore, in the year 3404 from the beginning of the world according to Jerome and Eusebius--but 4046 according to others--and in the thirtieth year from the captivity of the Jews, and hence of the Fifth Age, Cyrus, king of the Persians, overthrew the kingdom of the Medes and King Astyages, as well as the kingdom of the Babylonians and King Belshazzar. He transferred the kingdom or monarchy to the Persians.

The Persian monarchy endured for 206 years through the succession of twelve Persian kings, until Alexander the Great destroyed their monarchy after Darius, the last king of the Persians, had been killed, as Vincent says at the beginning of book 4 of the *Historical Mirror*. Cyrus reigned thirty years.

One should know that Isaiah prophesied about this Cyrus 210 years before he reigned, when he said: “Thus says the Lord God to My anointed Cyrus, whose right hand I have grasped, that I may subject nations to him and turn the backs of kings,” and so forth, Isaiah 45. According to Josephus, this was therefore in the fourth year of the reign of Jotham, king of Judah.

According to the *Scholastic History*, this Cyrus was the nephew of Darius through his sister and the grandson of Astyages through his daughter. Astyages had an only daughter and saw in a dream that a vine arose from his daughter's genitals and occupied all Asia. He learned from the interpreters of dreams that he would have a grandson by his daughter who would become lord of Asia and drive him from the kingdom.

Fearing this, he gave his daughter as wife to a common soldier so that no noble and powerful son would be born from her. Thereafter, he summoned his pregnant daughter, and when a son was born from her, Astyages gave the child to a certain prince of the Arcanians to be killed. That prince, believing that the kingdom would pass to the daughter, feared to kill her son and gave him to one of the king's shepherds to be exposed in a wood.

When the shepherd had exposed him and reported this to his wife, who had given birth in those days, the woman begged him to bring the little boy to her to be reared and to expose her own child in his place. When the shepherd returned to the boy, he found a female dog offering him her teats and defending him from wild beasts and birds.

When he brought the boy to his wife, the child played with her as though he had known her for a long time. She called the boy Spartacus, that is, “little dog,” for *spartos* in Persian means a dog.

When he had grown somewhat older, the other boys made him their king while they were playing, and he severely punished those who were obstinate and disobedient to him. Their fathers bore this bitterly and brought a complaint about the shepherd's son before the king.

When the king summoned him and reproved him for striking the boys, the child answered fearlessly that he had done so as their king. The king marveled and, perceiving in him certain signs of his own lineage, summoned the shepherd and learned the truth of the matter more privately.

Nevertheless, his fear concerning his grandson was assuaged, because he thought that the interpreters' word about the boy's kingdom had been fulfilled. He entrusted the boy to be reared by the same man to whom he had formerly entrusted him to be killed, but did not reveal that he was anyone other than the shepherd's son.

Because that secretary had not obeyed his command, Astyages secretly gave the secretary's own son to him to eat and afterward revealed to him what he had done.

It later happened that Astyages entrusted his army to that secretary to fight his enemies, namely the Persians, while Astyages himself remained in the province of Media. The secretary, not unmindful of the king's crime, persuaded the army to choose Spartacus as king of the Persians and surnamed him Cyrus, which is interpreted “heir,” as though to say: “Although Astyages resists, this man will nevertheless be the heir.”

When this had been done, Astyages became afraid. He adopted his cousin Darius as his son, gathered an army, and joined battle against Cyrus. The Persians fled, but their wives and mothers went out to meet them and, exposing their buttocks, said to them: “Do you wish to enter your mothers' wombs and be born again?” Stirred by this shame, the Persians returned against the enemy, and Astyages was defeated.

Cyrus showed himself to Astyages more as a grandson than as a conqueror, for he gave him the kingdom of the Hyrcanians. To Darius, as to his mother's brother, he entrusted the kingdom of the Medes, though with the firm expectation that it would return to Cyrus himself.

In the first year of Cyrus's reign, Aesop was killed by the Delphians, according to Eusebius. Aesop's elegant and famous fables survive. A certain Romulus translated them from Greek into Latin and addressed them to his son Tiberinus, writing as follows: “A certain Aesop, a Greek and ingenious man from the city of Attica, teaches his servants what human beings ought to observe; and to show human life and conduct, he introduces trees, birds, and beasts speaking.”

“If you read them, you will find well-composed jests that mingle laughter for you and sharpen your understanding sufficiently.” Whether this was the Aesop killed by the Delphians or another is not known, says Vincent in the *Historical Mirror*.

§ II. The Capture and Destruction of Babylon

Orosius says in book 2, chapter 11: After Cyrus had subdued everyone against whom he had marched, he attacked the Assyrians and Babylon, a nation and city richer than all others. But the force of the River Ganges, second only to the Euphrates in magnitude, interrupted him.

For one of the royal horsemen, distinguished in his whiteness and beauty, was persuaded by confidence that he could cross because the crests of the current rose where the rushing Alpheus met a ford. The waters seized, hurled down, and drowned him.

The king, angered, determined to take vengeance upon the river. He declared that the river which had then devoured his magnificent soldier must be left passable with its water scarcely wetting women's knees. Nor was he sluggish in accomplishing this. With all his forces distributed along the Ganges, he cut the river into great ditches and reduced it to 460 channels.

After the trenches had been extended, Cyrus diverted the immensely strong Euphrates, which flowed through the middle of Babylon. Thus he made a route through the parts of its bed that were now fordable, even dry and open, and captured the city.

Among mortals it had been almost equally incredible either that the city could have been constructed by human labor or that it could be destroyed by human power. In short, captured Babylon confirms that everything made by labor or human hands slips away and is consumed by age. Just as its empire had been the first and most powerful, so it was also the first to yield.

Jerome, commenting on Isaiah in book 5 and expressing its nobility and magnificence more particularly, says that Babylon was extremely powerful and situated as a square upon level ground. He reports, as do Herodotus and many others who wrote Greek histories, that its walls extended sixteen thousand paces from corner to corner--that is, sixty-four miles around the entire circuit, if a mile is a thousand paces, as is said.

The citadel, that is, the capitol of that city, is the tower built after the Flood. It is said to extend three thousand paces in height, gradually narrowing as it rises so that the broader lower parts might more easily support the immense weight. They describe marble temples there, golden statues, streets gleaming with gold and precious stones, and many other things that seem almost incredible.

We have narrated all this to show that, before God's wrath, every power is dust and is compared to ashes and cinders. If one were permitted to enter the barbarous nations and see the final traces of so great a city, one would see a possession of hedgehogs and marshes of water, and that what Isaiah's voice sings concerning it has truly been fulfilled: “I shall sweep it with a broom, wearing it away.” Except for the baked-brick walls, which were restored over many years to confine wild beasts, the entire space within is a wasteland. Thus Jerome.

Cyrus therefore divided the Euphrates into several streams far from the city so that he might make the channel flowing into the city fordable. As the *Scholastic History* says, the enemies entered the city through that channel beneath the wall, and Belshazzar was killed.

Darius, who was forty-two years old, succeeded him in the kingdom. Cyrus deferred to him in everything as to his elder. Daniel, who was there in Babylon and had foretold the city's destruction, was brought by Darius into the midst of the kings and was one of the satraps who presided over 120 others. When Darius intended to place him over the whole realm, the others envied him, accused him, and had him sent into the lions' den. But he was delivered by God's power, as has been said, and so forth.

§ III. The Seven Sages

Around those times of the Babylonian captivity lived those called the Seven Sages of the world. According to Helinand, their names are these: Thales of Miletus, Solon the Athenian, Pittacus of Mytilene, Chilon the Lacedaemonian, Cleobolus the Lydian, Periander the Corinthian, and Bias of Priene.

Concerning Thales of Miletus, Augustine says in book 8 of *The City of God*, chapter 2: Two kinds of philosophers are handed down, one Italic, from that part of Italy once called Magna Graecia, and the other Ionic, in those lands where even now Greece is named.

The Italic kind had Pythagoras of Samos as its founder. The chief of the Ionic kind was Thales of Miletus, one of those seven who were called sages.

The other six were distinguished by their manner of life and by certain precepts suited to living well. But Thales shone because, in order to produce successors, he investigated the nature of things and committed his disputations to writing. He was especially admired because, after comprehending the calculations of astrology, he could even predict eclipses of the sun and moon.

Nevertheless, he thought water to be the principle of things and held that from it arose all the elements of the world, the world itself, and the things generated in it. Yet he attributed nothing to a divine mind in this work which, when we contemplate the world, we behold to be so marvelous.

Thales was succeeded by his pupil Anaximander, who changed his opinion concerning the nature of things. He thought that things of every kind arose not from one thing, as Thales of Miletus thought they arose from moisture, but from their own proper principles. He believed the principles of individual things to be infinite and to generate innumerable worlds and whatever arises in them. He thought that those worlds were now dissolved and now generated again, for however long each could remain in its own age. Like Thales, he too attributed nothing in these works to a divine mind.

Concerning Solon, Vincent relates the following in book 3 of the *Historical Mirror*, chapter 20. Solon used to say that, if everyone brought their evils together into one place, the result would be that each would prefer to carry his own evils home rather than bear his portion from the common heap of miseries. From this he concluded that we ought not judge the things we suffer by chance to be especially intolerably bitter.

He also said that he grew old while learning something every day. When he was dying, his friends sat beside him and discussed a certain matter among themselves, and he raised his head. When asked why he had done so, he answered: “So that, when I have understood this matter which you are discussing--whatever it may be--I may die.”

This elegant saying is read as Solon's: “The final day is the judge of happiness, and the funeral pyre confirms the wise man in the honor of that name.” Tully reports in *On Old Age* that, when the tyrant Pisistratus asked Solon what support made him resist so boldly, he answered: “Old age.”

Concerning Pittacus, Valerius says in book 4: Pittacus possessed a heart furnished with moderation. The poet Alcaeus had employed the bitterness of his hatred and the powers of his talent most persistently against him. Yet when Pittacus had attained the tyranny offered to him by the citizens, he merely warned Alcaeus of what he had the power to do in crushing him.

Concerning Cleobolus, he says: “We ought to beware the envy of friends more than the snares of enemies. The latter evil is open; the former is concealed, and the deceit used to cause injury is more powerful where it is not expected.”

Fourth Title: On the Fifth Age of the World

Chapter One (continued)

Concerning Bias, Valerius says: When enemies had almost invaded the homeland of Bias of Priene and everyone fled burdened with the weight of precious possessions, he was asked why he carried none of his goods with him. He answered: “I certainly carry all my goods with me.” For he carried them in his heart, not upon his shoulders. They were not to be seen by the eyes but valued by the mind. Enclosed within the dwelling of the mind, they cannot be weakened by mortal hands; just as they are available to those who remain, so they do not abandon those who flee.

The same Bias of Priene used to say that people ought to conduct themselves in the practice of friendship while remembering that it could be turned into bitter enmity.

But, as Augustine says in *The City of God*, the world was exceedingly poor and naked in wisdom when only seven men out of the whole world were named. Yet even these sages of the world became fools, for because they did not possess wisdom--that is, true knowledge of God--they perished through their foolishness.

§ IV. The Permission Given to the Jews to Return to Jerusalem

In the first year of Darius, according to Vincent in book 4 of the *Historical Mirror*, chapter 13, Daniel prayed to the Lord that Darius and Cyrus would free the people of the Jews from captivity. A decree was given that permission to return should be granted, and Gabriel announced to Daniel that it had gone forth from the Lord. Darius arranged to give this permission, but, overtaken by death, did not fulfill it.

After the death of Darius, Cyrus held the monarchy of the East. He established its seat among the Persians, although the kingdom of the Medes was greater and more honorable, because the Persians had elevated him as king.

Therefore, when the entire kingdom of the Medes and Persians had devolved upon him, in the first year of this kingdom the Lord stirred his spirit so that Jeremiah's word might be fulfilled. Cyrus gave liberty to all the Jews who were in his kingdom and permission to return to Judea and rebuild the house of the Lord.

He was stirred by the words of Isaiah, who 210 years earlier had written that the Lord said of him: “Thus says the Lord to My anointed Cyrus, whose right hand I have grasped,” Isaiah 45.

Hence at the beginning of the First Book of Ezra it is said: “In the first year of Cyrus, king of the Persians, so that the word of the Lord from the mouth of Jeremiah might be fulfilled, the Lord stirred up the spirit of the king of the Persians. He caused a proclamation to pass throughout his entire kingdom, also in writing, saying: ‘Thus says Cyrus, king of the Persians: The Lord God of heaven has given me all the kingdoms of the earth, and He has commanded me to build Him a house in Jerusalem, which is in Judea.

“‘Who among you is of all His people? May God be with him. Let him ascend to Jerusalem, which is in Judea, and build the house of the Lord God of Israel. He is the God who is in Jerusalem. Wherever all the rest dwell, let them assist him from their place with gold, silver, and substance.’”

The chiefs of the fathers of Judah and Benjamin arose, together with the priests, Levites, and all whose spirit God had stirred to ascend and build the Lord's temple that was in Jerusalem.

King Cyrus also brought out the vessels of the temple that Nebuchadnezzar had carried to Babylon and placed in the temple of his god. Through the hand of Mithridates he counted them out to Salabazar, prince of Judah [i.e., Sheshbazzar]. Altogether there were 5,400 gold and silver vessels of various forms, which were carried to Jerusalem by those who returned there.

In the second chapter of Ezra, the chiefs of the families are set down with the number of their families. In all they were 42,360, apart from their male and female servants, who numbered 7,337. They ascended from Babylon to Jerusalem with many mules, horses, asses, and camels.

Because almost all had been born in Babylonia and possessed property there, however, they chose to remain in the land of their birth. Those who intended to ascend were sluggish and delayed until the third year of Cyrus.

Seeing this, Daniel was still more afflicted with grief and prayed that God, who had given the kings the will to liberate, would also give the people the will to return. Then, while he prayed, the angel appeared to him and told him of the prince of the Persians and the prince of the Greeks who resisted him. These were either evil angels according to Jerome or good angels according to Gregory. They impeded the people's liberation, while Michael assisted in liberating them, as is contained in Daniel 10.

In the third year of Cyrus, king of the Persians, the prophet Zechariah, who was then in Chaldea, exhorted them to return. Under the leadership of Zerubbabel and Joshua the high priest, they left Babylon and arrived at Jerusalem.

In the seventh month, when everyone had assembled in Jerusalem, they erected an altar as best they could, offered sacrifices according to the law, as is contained in 1 Ezra 3, and celebrated the Feast of Tabernacles.

This third year of Cyrus was the seventieth year in which the captivity foretold by Jeremiah was to be released. Jerome says that Cyrus's first year was the seventh year of the final decade. Hence the third year of Cyrus was the seventieth year in which the release was to occur. Josephus agrees with this, and this opinion is more certain and most firmly sanctioned by authorities, says Vincent in the *Historical Mirror*.

One should note that, according to this computation, the seventy years of captivity foretold by Jeremiah must begin to be counted from the thirteenth year of Josiah, under whom Jeremiah began to prophesy, and end in the first year of Cyrus. They are computed as follows.

First are the eighteen years for which Josiah reigned after the aforesaid thirteenth year. Second are the eleven years for which Joachim reigned before he was led to Babylon. Third are the eleven years for which his brother Zedekiah reigned. Fourth are the nine years for which Nebuchadnezzar the Great reigned after the final captivity and the destruction of Jerusalem. Fifth are the twenty-one years for which his sons and Belshazzar, whom Cyrus killed, reigned. In that first year, after capturing Babylon and becoming monarch, Cyrus gave the Jews permission to return to Jerusalem.

If these numbers are added together, they make seventy years up to Cyrus's first year--or his third year, according to Jerome.

Some others begin to count the years of the Babylonian captivity from the third year of Eliakim, that is, Joachim, and end it in the twentieth year of King Cyrus. The seventy years of the temple's desolation are then completed at the restoration of the temple under Darius son of Hystaspes. But the first opinion is more commonly followed.

In the second month of the second year after the return to Jerusalem, they laid the foundations of the temple. But the Samaritans, who were like neighbors, became indignant and hindered their work. When they could not impede it by themselves, they gave gifts to the king's officials. Corrupted by money and acting without Cyrus's knowledge, these officials obstructed them to such a degree that, during the thirty years in which Cyrus reigned, they did not raise the temple walls beyond the level of a parapet.

How long Daniel survived after the people's return to Judea is not known. When he died, he was buried in a royal cave.

In the thirteenth year of Cyrus, Croesus was captured by Cyrus, according to Eusebius in the *Chronicle*, and Croesus's kingdom of the Lydians, which had stood for 231 years, was destroyed. This was Croesus's final capture, for elsewhere he is read to have been captured by Cyrus both once and again.

Hence Boethius says: “Did you not know Croesus, king of the Lydians, who shortly before was formidable to Cyrus and was soon afterward pitiably delivered to the flames, but defended by rain sent from heaven?” This must be understood of his second capture. For Justin and Orosius relate that Cyrus captured him the first time but gave him his life and patrimony. Justin then says that he rebelled.

Orosius says that, when Cyrus attacked Babylon and Croesus, king of the Lydians, had come at that time with his famous riches to assist Babylon, Croesus was defeated and anxiously fled back to his kingdom. After Cyrus invaded Babylon as an enemy, overthrew it as a conqueror, and arranged it as a king, he transferred the war to Lydia. There, without difficulty, he routed the army already broken by the previous battle. He captured Croesus but granted the captive his life and patrimony.

Eusebius writes in the *Chronicle* that Croesus made war against Cyrus in Cyrus's eighth year. This is understood of the war in which, after the capture of Babylon, Croesus--who had already been captured by Cyrus and granted his life and patrimony--later rebelled.

Justin says that Cyrus's clemency toward Croesus was no less useful to the conqueror than to the conquered. For, when it became known throughout Greece that war had been inflicted upon Croesus, aid flowed together as though to extinguish a common conflagration. So great was the love of Croesus in every city that Cyrus would have suffered a grievous war if he had taken some harsher measure against Croesus.

Other historians relate that, in his second capture, Cyrus ordered Croesus to be placed upon a pyre and roasted. Suddenly such great rain fell that the immensity of it extinguished the fire, and thus Croesus found an opportunity to escape.

When he afterward gloried that these things had turned out prosperously for him and boasted excessively of his abundance of wealth, a certain very wise man named Saloninus told him that no one ought to glory in riches and prosperity.

That same night he saw in a dream that Jupiter drenched him with water and the sun dried him. When he told this to his daughter in the morning, she prudently explained the matter as it was: he would be fastened to a cross, drenched with water, and dried by the sun. This finally occurred, for when captured by Cyrus he was crucified.

Solinus says: “When the victorious Cyrus entered Sardis, where Croesus was then hiding, Achis, the son of Croesus, who had been mute until that time, is said to have cried out: ‘Spare my father, Cyrus, and at least learn from our misfortunes that you are a man.’”

At that time Pisistratus reigned at Athens for the second time. Justin says of him in book 2: Pisistratus, as though he had conquered for himself and not for his homeland, seized the tyranny through deceit. After causing himself to be beaten voluntarily at home, he went out in public with his body torn. He summoned an assembly, displayed his wounds to the people, and complained of the cruelty of the leading men, by whom he pretended to have suffered these things.

Tears were added to his words, and the credulous multitude came over because of his hateful speech. Because of the people's love, he feigned himself to the senate and obtained the assistance of guards to protect his body. Through them he seized the tyranny and reigned for thirty-three years.

Valerius says of the same man in book 8 that Pisistratus is said to have possessed such power in speaking that the Athenians, captivated by his oratory, entrusted him with royal authority, especially although Solon, the most devoted lover of his homeland, strove on the opposite side.

The same Valerius says: When a certain young man, inflamed with love for the daughter of Pisistratus, tyrant of Athens, encountered her in public and kissed her, Pisistratus's wife urged him to inflict capital punishment upon the young man. He answered: “If we kill those who love us, what shall we do to those who hate us?” This utterance flowed from the mouth of a tyrant out of humanity. In this manner, therefore, he bore the injury to his daughter--and bore his own still more commendably.

During a banquet his friend Thrasyppus assailed him with abuse. Pisistratus so restrained both his spirit and his voice from anger that one would have thought it was a bodyguard being reviled by a tyrant. At last Thrasyppus rose under the impulse of excited drunkenness and spattered Pisistratus's face with spittle, yet could not inflame him to take vengeance. Pisistratus even restrained his sons when, because their father's majesty had been violated, they wished to come to his aid.

But on the final day, when Thrasyppus wished to exact punishment from himself by voluntary death, the tyrant came to him, gave him his pledge, and remained with him in the same degree of friendship.

In the time of Cyrus, Anaximenes the natural philosopher was known, Simonides was held to be a famous poet, Chilon was one of the Seven Sages, and Thales of Miletus died, according to Eusebius.

After Cyrus had diverted the course of the river, he cunningly reduced the most warlike nation of the Lydians to indolence. He handed over festivals and games to them and commanded them to devote themselves to amusements, banquets, and embraces, as though showing them kindness. In this way he enervated them and conquered through lust those whom he could not conquer by war.

Afterward, however, having crossed the river, he was defeated and killed by Tamari, queen of the Massagetae [read: Tomyris]. Cutting off his head and throwing it into a skin filled with human blood, she said: “Satiate yourself with the blood for which you thirsted.”

§ V. Cambyses

Cyrus was succeeded in the Persian monarchy by his son Cambyses in the sixty-first year of the Fifth Age. This was the year 3434 from the beginning of the world according to the shorter computation that Jerome places in the translation we use and Eusebius also follows. According to the other, longer computation set down by the Septuagint and Bede and commonly accepted, there were 4,670 years from the beginning of the world to Cambyses. According to the chronicles, Cambyses reigned eight years.

Helinand says in book 15 that this is the Cambyses who added Egypt to his father's empire. Offended by the Egyptians' superstitions, however, he ordered the temples of Apis and the other gods to be destroyed. He also sent an army to attack the most renowned temple of Amun, but it perished, overwhelmed by storms and masses of sand.

Cambyses was so severe that he caused a certain unjust judge to be flayed and made that judge's son sit upon a chair covered with his father's skin. Thus he would fear to judge unjustly, lest he suffer a similar judgment.

Cambyses is read to have been furious from birth and to have sought the source of the Nile throughout the whole expanse of lands. When his provisions failed, he was compelled to eat the flesh of his companions.

According to the *Scholastic History*, this Cambyses was Cyrus's son and successor in the kingdom. In Ezra he is called Artaxerxes or Ahasuerus, while in the history of Judith he is called Nebuchadnezzar.

During his time, therefore, the rulers of the lands neighboring Judea who hindered the Jews who had returned from Babylon from rebuilding--namely Rehum Beelteem, whom Josephus calls the recorder of everything that occurred, and others who governed Syria and Phoenicia--wrote to Cambyses that the Jews were rebuilding Jerusalem, a most wicked and rebellious city, which, if completed, would refuse tribute to kings, and so forth, as is contained in 1 Ezra 3.

Fourth Title: On the Fifth Age of the World

Chapter One (continued)

Artaxerxes, who is also called Cambyses here, answered them that they should prohibit the Jews from continuing the building they had begun. This was done, and the said work was thus interrupted until the second year of Darius, as will be stated below.

§ VI. Judith

According to the *Scholastic History* and Vincent in the *Historical Mirror*, that which is written in the history of Judith is said to have occurred at this time. Yet in that book this Cambyses is called Nebuchadnezzar.

After King Cyrus died, a certain Arphat the Mede [read: Arphaxad] rose up at Ecbatana, repaired it, and fortified it so impregnably--winning certain parts of Media to himself--that he might at length rule all Media. But Nabucher, king of the Assyrians, who reigned in Nineveh, conquered it in the twelfth year of his reign.

This Nabucher is Cambyses, to whom his father, while still living, granted Nineveh--although it had previously been defeated and weakened, as was said above--and the kingdom of the Assyrians, and named him Nebuchadnezzar. When his father died, he was in the twelfth year of that reign, for he reigned only eight years in the monarchical kingdom.

After he became monarch, his heart was exalted. He sent to all who inhabited Cilicia, Damascus, Galilee, and Samaria as far as Jerusalem, demanding heavier tribute than his fathers had. They all opposed him with one accord.

Therefore, in the thirteenth year of his reign, he sent Holofernes, commander of his armies, with an innumerable multitude, so that he might subject to his dominion all the cities he could and destroy all gods, that Nabucher alone might be worshiped as God.

When Holofernes went out to war against everyone, no one could resist his power. The Jews prepared to resist, blocking the approaches through the mountains so that he could not reach them.

When Holofernes heard this, he inquired about the condition of that nation. Achior, commander of the Ammonites, spoke at length about it in its praise and explained that its God handed its people into the hands of enemies because of their sins whenever they behaved wickedly, and so forth.

Hearing this, Holofernes became indignant with Achior and ordered him carried to the enemy nation. The messengers accompanied him, but when they perceived some of the enemy ranging about, they left him tied to a tree. The Jews came to that place, found him, and led him into the city. When asked the reason for his bonds, he explained the entire sequence of events.

The Jews commended themselves to God, devoting themselves to fasting and prayer while the priests exhorted them to do so. Holofernes took away their water, and it failed in the city. When the cisterns had dried up, water was given to the people by measure, and they began to complain against their leaders for not having surrendered to Holofernes.

But Uzziah, one of the leading men of Bethulia, comforted them, promising that he would surrender the city if God did not deliver them within five days.

When Judith heard this--she was a holy widow, a most beautiful woman devoted to fasting and prayer--she left her house, addressed the people, and rebuked the priests for the smallness of their confidence in divine aid.

Then she returned home, prayed with great devotion, adorned herself with the greatest care, and left the city with one maidservant. She told no one what she intended to do, but only asked them to persevere in prayer.

When she reached the enemy camp, she was found by them and asked why she had come. She said that she wished to speak to Holofernes. She did so, speaking many things to him: she knew that the city was to be handed into his hands, and she had therefore come out to him to teach him a way to capture it more quickly.

Holofernes was captivated by love for her and commanded his servants to permit her to go wherever she wished. When a banquet was held, Judith accepted the invitation, though she ate the foods she had brought with her.

When the meal ended and Holofernes and his men had become drunk, they quickly fell asleep. Judith prayed, entered Holofernes's pavilion, and cut off his head while he slept. She placed it in a basket and gave it to her maidservant.

Returning to the city, she entered by night. She summoned all the people and Achior, showed everyone the head of Holofernes, disclosed what she had done, and admonished them to advance against the enemy at earliest morning.

When they did so, the chamber servants wished to awaken their commander but found him beheaded. When they made this known, all the enemy took flight. The Jews, although few, pursued them, killed many, and carried off an immense quantity of plunder from their camp.

Joachim the high priest came from Jerusalem to Bethulia to see Judith and praised her wondrously. She gave thanks to the Lord for so great a benefit and composed a canticle.

It is called into doubt, however, that she told Holofernes he would capture the city and other things of this kind, which seem to be lies. But there are several ways of speaking about this.

One is that she did indeed tell lies and is praised not for this, but for her character and her great kindness and beneficence toward her people, for whose liberation she exposed herself to death.

Another, more pious way is that she did not tell a lie through those words but spoke prophetically, predicting that the Jews were to be handed under the power of a Gentile people--namely, under Titus and Vespasian--because of the sins they committed against Christ and the apostles.

A third way is that what she said about the people of Israel being captured is to be understood according to that people's deserts, because their sins required that they be handed over, just as Judith explained; or according to their own inertia, because they had now been abandoned by God and made so fainthearted that they wished to surrender themselves voluntarily.

Alternatively, all her words are to be understood conditionally: the city would be taken unless God delivered them. Therefore she did not lie in speaking such things, although her hearers understood them otherwise, namely as though she spoke simply and assertorically. Thus Vincent in the *Historical Mirror*.

Concerning the fact that she seems voluntarily and knowingly to have given an occasion for Holofernes's ruin, it can be said that, in adorning herself in this way, she did not intend to scandalize him or to lay a snare or obstacle tending toward his ruin. She

intended, first, the liberation of her people and, second, the benefit of Holofernes, so that, while captivated by her for a time, he might sin less.

For, having many concubines and married women--and perhaps male concubines--he sinned in many ways, even against nature, because the Gentiles abounded in these impurities. Hence, while suspended in love for her, he sinned less.

In the time of this Cambyses, as Justin says in book 2, after Pisistratus, his son Diodes forcibly violated a virgin and was killed by the girl's brother.

Hippias, the brother of Diodes, holding his paternal power at Athens through tyranny, ordered the man who killed his brother to be seized and compelled him to name all his accomplices in the killing. Deliberately, the man named all the tyrant's friends. When all of them had been killed, he was asked whether anyone among his accomplices survived. He answered that there was no one left whom he wanted to die except the tyrant himself. By this declaration he showed himself victorious over the tyrant after avenging his sister's chastity. Admonished by his courage, the city expelled Hippias from the kingdom and drove him into exile.

Helinand says that the conspicuous splendor of the life of Polycrates, tyrant of the Samians, advanced even to envy because of his exceedingly abundant goods--and not without reason. Every undertaking of his was received on a smooth course, and hope grasped the fruit of the thing he desired. He changed countenance only once because of the obstacle of one brief sadness.

He deliberately cast a ring especially dear to him into deep water so that he would not be entirely free of every misfortune. Nevertheless, he immediately recovered it when a fish that had swallowed it was caught.

Yet this man, whose prosperity had always held its favorable course with full sails, was fastened to a cross by Orontes, prefect of King Darius, upon the loftiest summit of Mount Mycale. From there Samos, which had long been oppressed by bitter servitude, beheld with free and joyful eyes his rotting limbs and members dripping with putrid blood.

In the sixth year of this Cambyses, according to Eusebius in the *Chronicle*, the twenty-eighth dynasty, by which the Persians had obtained Egypt, came to an end. Thus the kingdom of that region ceased for a time. Cambyses and his successors held Egypt until Darius son of Xerxes, for 111 years. This Cambyses built a Babylon in Egypt.

§ VII. Pythagoras

In the eighth year of Cambyses, the philosopher Pythagoras was held in renown, according to Eusebius in the *Chronicle*. Augustine says of him in *The City of God*: The Italic school of philosophers in that part of Italy once called Magna Graecia had Pythagoras of Samos as its founder. From him, they say, the very name of philosophy arose.

For previously those who seemed to surpass others in a certain praiseworthy manner of life were called sages. When Pythagoras was asked what he professed to be, he answered that he was a philosopher, that is, one zealous for or a lover of wisdom, because he judged it exceedingly arrogant to profess himself a sage.

Justin says of him: Pythagoras of Samos, born to Demaratus, a wealthy merchant, was formed by great advances in wisdom. He was far richer than his father in that the merchant father could not acquire as many things as the son preferred to despise rather than possess.

He first went to Egypt and then to Babylon to learn the movements of the stars and observe the origin of the world, and he attained the highest knowledge. Returning from there, he went to Crete and Lacedaemon to learn the laws of Minos, that is, Lycurgus.

Instructed in all these things, he came to Croton and, by his authority, recalled the people, who had fallen into luxury, to the practice of frugality. Every day he praised virtue and enumerated the vices of luxury and the downfall of cities destroyed by this plague. He stirred the multitude to such zeal for learning frugality that it seemed incredible that any of them had ever lived luxuriously.

He frequently taught matrons separately from their husbands and children separately from their parents. He taught the women chastity and obedience to their husbands and the children modesty and the study of letters. Amid all this he instilled frugality into everyone as the mother of the virtues.

After continuing his disputations assiduously, he urged the matrons to lay aside their gilded garments and the other ornaments of their rank as instruments of luxury, carry them all to Juno's temple, and consecrate them to the goddess herself, asserting that chastity, not clothing, is the true ornament of matrons.

After he had spent twenty years at Croton, he moved to Metapontum and died there. So great was their admiration for him that they made a temple from his house and worshiped him as a god.

Valerius says of him in book 5: Pythagoras's hearers accorded him such reverence that they considered it impious to draw into dispute the things they had received from him. Indeed, when pressed to give a reason, they answered only this: “Pythagoras said it.”

Seeking Egypt, he learned their sciences; then, going to the Persians, he learned the art of magic.

Tully says of him that, when Pythagoras heard a young man of Tauromenium, burning with lust, raging at the door of his courtesan friend, he ordered three lyres to play in the spondaic mode and thus recalled him to a sound mind.

Jerome says in *Against Jovinian* that Pythagoras's virgin daughter presided over a choir of virgins and instructed them in teachings of chastity.

The same Jerome says upon Ecclesiastes: The discipline of the Pythagoreans is to remain silent for five years and afterward to speak when learned. It is useless frequently to see that by which you have been captured and to entrust yourself to the experience of things that you can scarcely do without. Hence the Pythagoreans, avoiding frequent encounters of this kind, lived in solitude and deserted places.

He also says, rightly, that philosophy is a meditation upon death, striving every day to lead the soul from the prison of the body into freedom.

According to Vincent in the *Historical Mirror*, Pythagoras was the first among the Greeks to discover that souls are immortal and pass from some bodies into others. Hence he says that he was first Euphorbus, second Talides, third Hermonius, fourth Pyrrhus, and finally Pythagoras; and that, after certain cycles of time, the things that had existed came to be again, that nothing new came to be in the world, and that learning was recollection.

In these things he erred greatly, for they are contrary to the Catholic faith. From them is perceived how true is Solomon's statement in the Book of Wisdom: “Vain are all human beings in whom knowledge of God is not found,” a true judgment concerning all things to be believed and done.

§ VIII. The Two Magi after Cambyses

After Cambyses, two of the seven Magi--that is, wise men--who governed the Persian kingdom in the following way obtained it.

When Cambyses saw in a dream his brother named Mergus, as though about to reign, seated upon a golden throne, he awoke terrified and had him killed. To accomplish this, he chose one of the seven Magi as his agent. After the crime was committed, Cambyses repented, cried out that he was a fratricide, and pierced himself with the same sword with which he had killed his brother.

After Cambyses died, as the *Scholastic History* relates, this Magus married Panthea, the daughter of Cambyses, and assumed the kingdom. He pretended that he did not wish to reign himself, but to preserve the kingdom for Mergus, Cambyses's brother, because Mergus--whom he knew to have been killed--was still a boy and supposedly alive. This Magus was called Erineides.

When he died after seven months of his reign, he substituted for himself his brother, a young man distinguished in beauty and strength, saying that this man was Mergus, son of Cyrus and brother of Cambyses. He was indeed very like Mergus, and among the Persians the king's person is concealed under the appearance of majesty so that he is rarely seen.

But one of the Seven Magi, suspecting that he was not Mergus, asked his daughter, who was one of the king's concubines, whether he was Cyrus's son or the brother of Erineides. When she said that she did not know, he taught her a way to discover it: while she slept with him at night, she was to draw his head into her lap and examine whether he had ears.

Fourth Title: On the Fifth Age of the World

Chapter One (continued)

For that Magus, the girl's father, knew that the brother of Erineides--whom he suspected this man to be--had no ears, because Cambyses, while still living, had caused them to be cut off for a certain reason. The daughter carried out the test and informed her father that the man had no ears. He then formed a conspiracy with the other Magi, and they killed the impostor. Thus those two brothers, the Magi, did not reign among the Persians for a full year.

Valerius relates in book 2 that the Persians do not look upon their children before they have completed seven years, so that they may bear the loss of little children with an undisturbed spirit.

After the Magi were killed, says Justin in book 1, the princes gained great glory for recovering the kingdom, but still greater glory because, when they disputed about the kingship, they could not agree among themselves. They were so equal in courage and nobility that their equality made the people's choice among them difficult.

They therefore found a way to entrust judgment concerning themselves to religion and fortune. They agreed among themselves that, on the appointed day, all would lead their horses before the royal palace at first light. The man whose horse first gave a neigh before sunrise would be king. For the Persians believe the sun to be the one God and say that horses are consecrated to that god.

Among the conspirators was Darius son of Hystaspes. When he was anxious about the kingship, the keeper of his horse said that, if victory depended upon this matter, there was no difficulty. The groom arranged during the night for Darius's horse to mate with a mare in the place where they were to gather, thinking that the result would follow from the pleasure of intercourse, as indeed happened.

The next day, when everyone had assembled at the appointed time and place, Darius's horse recognized the place and immediately neighed from desire for the mare. While the other horses remained sluggish, it was the first to send forth the fortunate omen for its master.

The others showed such moderation that, when they heard the omen, they immediately dismounted from their horses and saluted Darius as king. The kinship of Darius was then joined to the former kings, for at the very beginning of his reign he took Cyrus's daughter in marriage.

§ IX. Darius Son of Hystaspes

Therefore, after the two Magi, Darius son of Hystaspes, one of the Seven Magi and the fourth ruler from Cyrus, received the monarchy of the Persians, according to Vincent in the *Historical Mirror*. This was the sixty-ninth year of the Fifth Age and the year 3442 of the world according to our translation, but the year 4679 according to the Septuagint and Bede. He reigned thirty-six years.

Zerubbabel son of Salathiel, of the lineage of Joachim and the tribe of Judah, was a familiar companion of this Darius. When Cambyses had forbidden the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem, Zerubbabel went to him and, through Darius's intervention, attempted to change the king's mind, but he could not.

Zerubbabel then secretly persuaded Darius to vow to the God of Israel that, if He made him king, Darius would restore that temple and send back to Jerusalem all the vessels of the Lord's house still kept by the kings of the Persians. Darius made this vow. Hence, when Zerubbabel heard that Darius had received the kingdom, he approached him confidently to obtain this thing.

The prophets of the Lord, Zechariah and Haggai, exhorted the people to rebuild the temple. The Persian rulers who were their neighbors prohibited them, yet they did not on that account abandon the work. They informed Darius of this so that his will in the matter would be made known to them. Zerubbabel went to Darius with the said messengers and was received honorably by him.

Darius held a great banquet for all the rulers of the provinces. A question was raised, or a problem proposed, among three of Darius's chamber servants who guarded his body, one of whom was Zerubbabel: what thing was stronger than all others?

The first said wine; the second, the king; and the third, who was Zerubbabel, said a woman, but added that truth was still stronger than all things. Darius promised great rewards to the one who solved the question most perfectly.

The problem was therefore discussed before Darius and the sages, with each man assigning a reason for his statement. By the judgment of everyone, what Zerubbabel had said was determined to be true: truth is stronger than all things and remains forever, as is fully contained in 2 Ezra.

When Darius then offered to grant whatever Zerubbabel asked of him, Zerubbabel requested the rebuilding of the temple in Jerusalem and the return of its vessels. King Darius, remembering that he had vowed this, willingly agreed.

He entrusted the temple vessels to Zerubbabel and sent through him letters ordering the rulers of the nations neighboring Judea--who had obtained from Cambyses the prohibition against continuing the building already begun--not to impede it any further, but to assist it at the king's expense. He decreed that whoever acted against this edict should have timber taken from his house upon which he would be hanged, and that his goods should be confiscated.

Thus, in the second year of Darius Hystaspes, work on the Lord's temple was resumed, and in the seventh year of the same king's reign it was completed. From the first permission given by Cyrus, when the work was begun, until the seventh year of Darius, forty-six years elapsed, as is evident from the things said above.

According to this interrupted construction of the temple, they said to Christ: “This temple was built in forty-six years, and will You--” and so forth. In the twelfth month they dedicated it and afterward celebrated Passover at the proper time.

What happened to the Ark of the Covenant is uncertain. It is nevertheless believed that the Hebrews made another in the likeness of the former one. For among the spoils that the Romans carried away from Judea were an ark, a table, and a lampstand.

§ X. Democritus, Heraclitus, Anaxagoras, and Aeschylus

At this time the philosophers Democritus, Heraclitus the Obscure, and Anaxagoras, and Aeschylus, the writer of tragedies, were held in renown, as Eusebius says in the *Chronicle*.

Aulus Gellius relates in the *Attic Nights* that Democritus was exceedingly rich but, leaving his entire patrimony to his fellow citizens, went to Athens and there tore out his own eyes so that he might have more vigorous thoughts.

Liberius, however, says that he did this so that he would not see that things were going well for wicked citizens. Tertullian assigns another cause: he could not look upon women without concupiscence.

He deservedly tore out his eyes, moreover, because he brought the darkness of magic upon human eyes. Isidore says that Democritus enlarged the art of magic many centuries after Zoroaster, when Hippocrates's discipline of medicine flourished.

According to Augustine, Heraclitus said that all gods consist of fire, just as Pythagoras said they consist of numbers and Epicurus of atoms. As Macrobius reports, Heraclitus said that the soul is a spark of stellar essence.

Macrobius testifies that there were two men named Heraclitus: one was called the natural philosopher and surnamed Heraclitus the Obscure, while the other was the Pontic Heraclitus, who said that the soul is light.

§ XI. Anaxagoras

Anaxagoras was a pupil of Anaximenes. According to Augustine in *The City of God*, he held that the divine mind was the maker of all the things we see. He said that they were made from infinite matter composed of particles of all things similar to one another, each individual thing coming from its own proper particles, but with the divine mind as their maker.

It may deservedly be said of these men: They did not know divine things or understand the human things that ought to be done, and therefore they dwell in the darkness of hell, although they did or said some good things.

This Anaxagoras said that the human being is the measure of all things. As Valerius says in book 8, after a long journey undertaken in the pursuit of wisdom, he returned to his homeland. When he saw his estates deserted, he said: “I would not have been saved unless those things had perished.”

When he heard of his son's death, he answered the man who announced it: “You tell me nothing new, for I knew that the one born from me was mortal.” If anyone effectively receives this statement in his mind, says Valerius, he will understand that children are to be begotten while remembering that they will die. Just as no one dies who has not lived, so no one can live who is not going to die.

Boethius says that poison was given to Anaxagoras as to a man guilty of death because he said that the sun was not a god but a burning stone, whereas the Athenians worshiped the sun as a god.

Augustine, however, says in book 18 of *The City of God*: “I wonder why Anaxagoras was made guilty of death at Athens because he said that the sun was a burning stone, plainly denying that the sun was a god, when in the same city Epicurus flourished in glory and lived securely. Epicurus not only did not believe the sun or any star to be a god, but contended that neither Jupiter nor any of the gods at all dwelt in the world so as to be reached by human prayers and supplications.”

As Augustine says, Anaxagoras had Archelaus as his successor, who was Socrates's teacher. Archelaus thought all things were composed of particles similar to one another, from which each individual thing was made, in such a way that mind was also within them. This mind did all things by joining and dispersing the eternal bodies, that is, those particles.

Aeschylus, the writer of tragedies, was once in Sicily outdoors with his bald head uncovered. An eagle flying above with a tortoise thought that head was a stone suited for breaking the tortoise and dashed it upon him so that, when the hardness had been broken, it could eat the flesh inside. By that wound the founder of the more powerful tragedy was killed, says Valerius.

§ XII. Darius's War against the Scythians and the Battle of Marathon

In the nineteenth year of Darius Hystaspes, as Justin relates in book 2, King Darius of the Persians made war upon Iancitus, king of the Scythians, after he had sought but not obtained marriage to his daughter.

He entered Scythia with 700,000 armed men. The Scythians did not offer him an opportunity for battle. Fearing that the bridge over the Ister might be broken and his return cut off, he fled back in alarm after losing 800,000 men. Because his multitude was so abundant, the loss was not counted among his disasters.

He then subdued Asia and Macedonia and defeated the Ionians in a naval battle. When he learned that the Athenians had assisted the Ionians against him, he directed the entire force of the war against them.

Hearing this, the Athenians sought help from the Lacedaemonians. In the meantime, when they saw that the Persians were being held by a four-day religious observance, they seized the opportunity. Without waiting for the Lacedaemonians, they drew up ten thousand citizens and one thousand assisting auxiliaries [read: Plataean auxiliaries] and went out to battle against 600,000 enemies on the plains of Marathon.

Miltiades was the commander of the war and the advocate of not waiting for the assistance. He displayed such confidence that he placed greater protection in speed than in allies. So great was the eagerness of those going into battle that, when there were a thousand paces between the two lines, they reached the enemy at a rapid run before the discharge of arrows.

The outcome did not fail their daring. They fought with such valor that one would have thought there were men on one side and beasts on the other.

The defeated Persians fled to their ships, many of which were sunk and many captured. In that battle the glory of the young Themistocles and of the Athenian soldier Cynaegirus shone forth.

After countless slaughters in the battle, Cynaegirus drove the fleeing enemies to their ships and held a laden vessel with his right hand, not releasing it until he lost that hand. When it was lost, he also held the ship with his left. When he had lost that hand too, he finally held the vessel with his teeth. Thus, neither wearied by the slaughter nor conquered by the loss of both hands, he fought to the end with his mutilated limbs like a rabid beast. Two hundred thousand Persians died in that battle apart from those lost by shipwreck.

In the twenty-ninth year of Darius, Aristides was expelled in disgrace from his city, according to Eusebius in the *Chronicle*. Vincent adds in the *Historical Mirror* that he is read to have been expelled because he was just beyond measure.

§ XIII. The Death of Darius and the Accession of Xerxes

Darius at length died, leaving many sons begotten both before and during his reign. Of these, Artamenes, the eldest, claimed the kingdom for himself by the privilege of age, while Xerxes claimed it by the good fortune of his birth. For Artamenes had been born to Darius when Darius was a private man, but Xerxes when he was already king.

Xerxes therefore said that the patrimony Darius possessed when still a private man was owed by right to the brothers born before the reign, but the kingdom was owed to him. At length, by harmonious agreement, they chose their uncle Ariophernes as judge.

The brothers' contest was so fraternal that neither the victor exulted nor the defeated man grieved. Even during the lawsuit they sent one another gifts and enjoyed among themselves not only pleasant consolations but also trusting banquets. The judgment itself was conducted without arbiters or witnesses. With as much greater moderation did brothers then divide the greatest kingdoms among themselves as men now divide very small patrimonies. Thus Justin in book 2.

Xerxes son of Darius, therefore, the fifth king of the Persians, began to reign in the 116th year of the Fifth Age and the year 3489 of the world according to the shorter computation. He reigned twenty years.

As Valerius says in book 9, Xerxes was so luxurious that by an edict he offered a reward to anyone who invented a new kind of pleasure.

Valerius says of him in book 1 that, while Xerxes was considering a plan to invade Lacedaemon, wine poured into a cup was changed into blood not once but twice. He was thereby warned to desist from the undertaking.

The same author says in book 9 that, when Xerxes was about to bring war upon Greece and had summoned the princes of Asia, he said: “Lest I seem to have used only my own counsel, I have gathered you. But remember that it is more your duty to obey than to advise.”

Seneca says in book 6 of *On Benefits*: When Xerxes declared war upon Greece, there was no one who did not urge on his swollen spirit, forgetful of how much it trusted in transitory things. While many uncertain assertions were being cast about, Demaratus the Lacedaemonian alone said that the very multitude in which Xerxes delighted--disordered and burdensome--was to be feared by its commander. It had not strength but weight. Nothing immense can ever be governed, and that which cannot be governed does not endure long.

Fourth Title: On the Fifth Age of the World

Chapter One (continued)

Orosius says: Xerxes had 700,000 armed men from his kingdom and 300,000 auxiliaries, 1,200 beaked warships, and 3,000 transport ships.

Against so great an army, Leonidas, king of the Spartans, stood with only 4,000 armed men in the narrow pass of Thermopylae. For three continuous days there was not a battle between two peoples but the slaughter of one.

On the fourth day, when Leonidas saw the enemy surrounding him on every side, he urged his allies to preserve themselves for better times. With only 600 men, he broke into the camp of 600,000. The Persians themselves assisted the Spartans through their mutual slaughter, and the battle, with the Persians killing one another, was drawn out from the beginning of the night until the greater part of the day. At last the Spartans, weary from conquering, fell dead among the dead.

That most renowned commander of the Lacedaemonians, Leonidas, had first uttered to his men these celebrated words of encouragement: “Eat breakfast as though you are to dine in the lower regions.”

Justin says in book 2 that Xerxes meanwhile sent 4,000 armed men to Delphi to despoil the temple, but all were destroyed by rains and thunderbolts. At the beginning of the war, moreover, when the Spartans consulted Delphic Apollo, the response had been that either the king of the Spartans or the city must fall.

Xerxes, having received two wounds in battle, determined to attempt a naval contest. As Xerxes approached and the Athenians consulted the Delphic oracle, the response was that they should at least defend themselves with wooden walls. Themistocles, commander of the ships, interpreted this as protection by a fleet and persuaded the Athenians and the allied cities to build ships.

When the plan was approved, they abandoned the city and entrusted their wives, children, and most precious possessions to nearby islands. Xerxes therefore burned Thespiae, Plataea, and Athens after they had been emptied of people. Because he could not rage against human beings with the sword, he raged against buildings with fire.

When the naval battle was joined, Xerxes remained on the shore as a spectator. Artemisia, queen of Halicarnassus, who had come to assist Xerxes, fought most fiercely among the foremost commanders.

Because the battle remained doubtful, the Ionians, according to Themistocles's instruction, began gradually to withdraw themselves from the contest. Their defection also broke the spirits of the others and persuaded the Persians, who had long been looking around for a means of flight, to flee openly. During that flight many ships were sunk and many captured, while still more men, fearing the king's savagery, slipped away to their homes.

Mardonius approached the king, who was anxious from so many disasters, and persuaded him to return to his kingdom before the adverse report stirred rebellion at home. If the remaining forces were entrusted to Mardonius, he would take vengeance upon the enemy and drive away the domestic disgrace; but if adverse fortune persisted, he would yield to the enemy without disgrace to the king.

The plan was approved, and the army was entrusted to Mardonius. The king, eager to return, went to the place where he had constructed a bridge from ships as though he were conqueror of the sea. Finding it broken apart by winter storms, he crossed anxiously to his kingdom in a fishing boat.

Such was the flight of the king whose arrival had been so terrifying. His flight had been beautifully signified by the monstrous offspring of a mare in his army, which had given birth to a fox.

According to Orosius, the ground forces entrusted to the commanders wasted away from labor, hunger, and fear. As disease became more severe, such pestilence and such foulness arose among the dying that the roads were filled with corpses. Hence dreadful birds and shameless beasts, enticed by food, followed the dying army.

§ XIV. Themistocles

When the war had ended and the city deliberated about the prize, says Justin in book 2, valor was preferred above everything else by the judgment of all the Athenians. Among the commanders, Themistocles also was judged chief by the testimony of the cities and increased the glory of his homeland.

Yet the youth of this Themistocles was initially subject to so many vices that his father disowned him and his mother ended her life by hanging because of him.

This is the Themistocles whom a certain man consulted concerning his daughter, asking whether he should give her as wife to a poor but honorable man or to a rich man of little probity. Themistocles answered: “I prefer a man who lacks money to money that lacks a man.”

When he was going to the theater and was asked whose voice would be most pleasing for him to hear, he answered: “The voice of the one by whom my achievements are sung best.” From this, according to Vincent's *History*, it is understood that he was exceedingly desirous of glory.

At length Themistocles, while in exile, was received by Xerxes, king of the Persians. When he saw Xerxes bringing war upon the Athenians, he died at Magnesia after drinking bull's blood, lest he either abandon one who had treated him well or attack his own homeland.

Tully likewise says of him in the book *On Friendship*: “Who in Greece was more renowned than Themistocles? Who more powerful? As commander in the Persian War he freed Greece from slavery. Because of this he was driven into exile in India [read: through envy], and he did not endure the injury of his ungrateful homeland as he ought. Rather, he did what Coriolanus had done among us twenty years earlier: no one was joined to these men as a helper against the fatherland. Thus each brought death upon himself.”

These men are praised by the pagans but condemned by Catholics, as is evident in cause 23, question 5, *If It Is Not Permitted*.

§ XV. Pindar, Sophocles, and Euripides

In these times Pindar, Sophocles, and Euripides were renowned, according to Eusebius in the *Chronicle*.

Pindar was called away from a banquet by Castor and Pollux while the other guests watched. As soon as he had left, the dining room collapsed upon those who remained. According to Valerius, when he had placed his head in a gymnasium upon the lap of a boy in whom he took singular delight and given himself to rest, he met a peaceful end.

Sophocles composed tragedies into extreme old age, as Valerius testifies. When someone asked the aged man whether he still engaged in sexual matters, he answered: “Speak of better things, for I have gladly fled from them as from some furious master.”

When Sophocles, already an old man, had submitted a tragedy to a contest and waited anxiously for the judgment of the uncertain competition, he heard that he had won by a single vote and expired from excessive joy.

Boethius says in the book *On Consolation*: “I approve the saying of Euripides, who called the man free from the misfortune of lust happy.”

When Euripides was returning home from the supper of King Archelaus, he was torn apart by dogs. “A cruelty of fate undeserved by so great a talent,” says Valerius. King Archelaus loved Euripides so much that he entrusted him with the highest place in his counsels. When he heard of his death, he cut off his hair, although Seneca says that he did this from fear of a sudden eclipse of the sun.

At that time Herodotus, the writer of histories, was known. In Rome, Symia, a Vestal virgin, was discovered in sexual misconduct and buried alive, as Eusebius says in the *Chronicle*.

Justin says in book 3: Xerxes, formerly the terror of nations, began to be despised even by his own people after conducting the war in Greece unsuccessfully. As the king's majesty diminished daily, Artabanus, his prefect, was led to hope for the kingdom.

In the evening Artabanus entered the king's palace with his seven very strong sons. It always stood open to him by right of friendship. After killing the king, he treacherously approached his sons. He told the young Artaxerxes that the king had been killed by his brother Darius, and thus impelled him to kill his innocent brother. Darius was found asleep and killed as though he were pretending to sleep.

When Artabanus saw that Artaxerxes alone survived among the king's sons and feared a contest with the princes over the kingdom, he took Bacabasus into partnership in his counsel. Bacabasus, content with the present state, revealed to Artaxerxes how his father and brother had been killed.

Learning this and fearing the number of Artabanus's sons, Artaxerxes ordered the army to be prepared for the next day, as though he intended to inspect both the number of the soldiers and each one's skill in arms.

When Artabanus himself stood armed among the others, the king pretended that he had a cuirass that was too short and ordered Artabanus to exchange with him. As Artabanus took off his armor and stood exposed, Artaxerxes pierced him with a sword and ordered his sons seized. Thus the excellent young man both avenged his father's murder and freed himself from the plot.

This Artabanus, the sixth king of the Persians, reigned seven months.

§ XVI. Artaxerxes Longimanus

He was succeeded by the seventh king, Artaxerxes, who was surnamed Longimanus. In his time Pericles and Sophocles, the writer of tragedies, were chosen at Athens as commanders against the Thebans and Lacedaemonians.

When the Lacedaemonians devastated the lands of the Athenians, they left Pericles's fields untouched, hoping either to win him for themselves or to expose him to danger from envy or to disgrace from suspicion of betrayal. Pericles foresaw this and had predicted to the people that it would occur. To avoid the force of envy, he gave those fields as a gift to the republic. Thus Justin.

Pericles, instructed with the greatest zeal under his teacher Anaxagoras, governed Athens and turned it according to his own judgment, as Valerius says in book 8. Even when he spoke against the people's will, his voice was nevertheless pleasing and popular. What difference was there between Pisistratus and Pericles except that the former exercised tyranny armed and the latter without arms?

As Tully says in *On Duties*, when Pericles and Sophocles sat down together to discuss public consultations and a beautiful young man happened to pass, Sophocles said: “O Pericles, look at the beautiful boy.” Pericles answered: “A magistrate ought to keep not only his hands and tongue under restraint, but also his eyes.”

At that time, says the Chronicler in the *Scholastic History*, Socrates was born, and a stone having the form of a goat fell from heaven into the Aegean Sea.

§ XVII. Ezra

At that same time Ezra the Aaronite restored the law burned by the Chaldeans. He also devised new letter forms that were easier to write and pronounce, and for this reason he was called a swift scribe. He added certain things of his own, such as the titles of the Psalms and many things read in the Pentateuch.

Some also hand down that he taught the Hebrews the manner of writing from right to left, whereas they had previously written in the manner of those plowing. Hence writing is customarily called *exaratio*, “plowing.” For they wrote from the left edge toward the right and then from the right toward the left.

Ezra found favor in the eyes of Artaxerxes and asked permission from him to return to Jerusalem so that he might instruct the people in the Lord's law, which he had restored. The king gave him permission, together with letters to the rulers neighboring Judea and the guardians of the public treasury so that they would deliver the necessities to him.

He freed the ministers of the temple from every toll, tribute, and provision. He also gave Ezra power to advance and appoint judges and governors beyond the river and to punish the disobedient.

Seventeen hundred people ascended with him. When they came to Jerusalem, they offered sacrifices in the Lord's house. Ezra then adjured the priests to send away the foreign wives they had married and the children born from them, which they did.

At that time, according to Eusebius in the *Chronicle*, the philosophers Empedocles and Parmenides were also renowned.

Boethius testifies in the prologue to *On the Art of Music* that, when a certain furious man attacked the host of Empedocles with a sword because the host had condemned the attacker's father by an accusation, Empedocles is said to have altered the musical mode and thereby calmed the young man's anger.

Aristotle says of him in book 2 of the *Metaphysics*: Empedocles imagined that strife is the cause and principle of corruption. He thought that it generates all these things except one, and that all things except God were made by it. He imagined that from strife comes the generation of all things that have been, are, or will be. If strife did not exist in things, all would be one; but because strife exists in things, it disperses them and does not allow them to rest. He also imagined that friendship is the cause through which all things are one.

When someone asked Empedocles why he lived, he answered: “That I may look upon the stars. Take away the heavens and I shall be nothing.” As Lactantius relates, he gave himself to the flames, inflicting death upon himself because he thought souls were eternal. Macrobius, however, says that he claimed the soul was blood. In this opinion, which is most false, he was a heretic.

Concerning Parmenides, Vincent says in the *Historical Mirror* that he is read to have discovered logic upon a rock of the Caucasus.

At that time Zeno and Heraclitus the Obscure were also known. Anaxagoras died. Aristarchus the tragedian was renowned. Cratinus and Plautus, writers of comedies, and Crates the comic poet and Bacchylides the lyric poet also flourished. But because none of these possessed wisdom and the knowledge of the saints, they perished through their foolishness.

§ XVIII. Nehemiah

In the twentieth year of this Artaxerxes, Nehemiah, one of the children of the Jewish captivity, was the king's cupbearer. While he was in the fortress of Susa, he heard travelers speaking Hebrew, as is said in the *Scholastic History*. He approached and asked them about the condition of Judea and Jerusalem. When he heard that the city was without walls and that the people in it were afflicted--for by day they sustained the attacks of enemies, while at night brigands entered and filled the streets with the corpses of the slain--Nehemiah wept and remained very sorrowful.

When the king perceived this, he asked the cause of his sorrow. He gave Nehemiah permission to go, appointing a time for his return, and granted him royal letters so that he might be held in honor by everyone and supplied with the expenses for rebuilding

the city. Hence, passing through Babylon, he led back with him many of the children of the captivity. When they arrived, they completed the work--namely, the rebuilding of Jerusalem's walls--within two years and four months, despite many impediments.

Fourth Title: On the Fifth Age of the World

Chapter One (continued)

They also made gates. For neighboring nations attacked them with a strong hand. But Nehemiah stationed half of the people under arms outside the city to withstand the assaults of those attacking, while the other half built, placing stones with one hand and holding a sword with the other.

After this a second impediment arose. For when famine arose in the land, the people bound themselves under usury and were compelled by hunger to sell their fields, vineyards, beasts of burden, and finally their children. Afterward Nehemiah caused the rich to remit the interest and debts and to free the children from servitude.

The third impediment was that the princes beyond the river, who envied him and the work, corrupted certain elders of the Jews with gifts so that they might betray him to death. When he guarded against this, they devised other ways of hindering him. Sometimes they falsely said that he would be accused before the king because he wished to become king there; at other times they feigned friendship. Resisting all these things, he completed the work, erecting six gates by their names, as the same Comestor says, and each man building his own portion of the walls throughout.

Nehemiah commanded that the gates be closed before sunset and not opened in the morning before the sun grew warm. All these things occurred figuratively, so that one might possess knowledge for rebuilding the soul, which has been broken down by sin in the walls of the virtues.

When the seventh month, that is, September, arrived and everyone assembled in Jerusalem to offer sacrifice, they heard from the elders that during the captivity Jeremiah had hidden the pieces of wood and embers of the altar in a well beneath the earth in the Valley of Josaphat. They sent men to the place. Finding the wood and thick water in the well, they brought them back. When this water was poured upon the pile of wood and the sacrifices were placed upon the altar, fire burst forth and consumed the sacrifices.

That fire endured, nourished with wood laid upon it, until the time of the Maccabees, when the high priesthood was sold to Jason. It was then extinguished, to make known the excess of the vice of simony, as Augustine says in cause 1, question 1, *Sicut*.

Ezra, having brought forward the book of the law, stood upon a raised platform and read from morning until noon. The Levites kept silence among the people so that he might be heard well by everyone. They assembled eight times each day to hear the law: four times by day and four by night.

Because the city was almost empty of inhabitants, Nehemiah asked the leading men to dwell there. He also cast lots among the remaining multitude and determined that one in every ten should dwell there. When these things had been completed, Nehemiah returned to King Artaxerxes, and Ezra died in a good old age.

Some say that this Ezra was the prophet Malachi. Others assert that Malachi was another man, born in Judea after the return from captivity.

Besides the two books of Ezra regarded as authentic in both our canon and that of the Hebrews, three other books bearing his name are held to be apocryphal. Therefore, although the things placed in them may be good and prophetic, I omit them. Vincent nevertheless relates many things from them in book 4, chapter 49, of the *Historical Mirror*.

§ XIX. Hippocrates and Gorgias

In the thirty-fifth year of Artaxerxes, Hippocrates the physician and Gorgias the rhetorician were renowned.

Jerome says in the *Hebrew Questions on Genesis* that it is found written in the books of Hippocrates that a certain woman would have been punished on suspicion of adultery because she had borne a very beautiful son unlike either parent, had the aforesaid physician not resolved the question by advising them to ask whether perhaps such a picture was in the bedchamber. When it was found, the woman was freed from suspicion.

Vincent says in the *Historical Mirror* that this Gorgias mentioned above is not the Gorgias Epitota of whom Valerius relates in book 1 that, while his dead mother was being carried on a bier to the tomb, he fell from her womb and by an unexpected cry compelled the bearers to stop. Rather, he is Gorgias of Leontini, of whom the same author relates in book 7 that he was the wisest man of his time. In a public notice he proposed that he would answer every question. Hence even his ashes obtained the same honor as the Delphic oracle.

Tully also relates of him in *On Old Age* that he was Socrates's teacher, that he completed 107 years, and that he never ceased from his study. When he was asked why he wished to remain in life so long, he said, “Because I have nothing for which to accuse old age.”

Jerome says concerning him: “Gorgias the rhetorician recited at Olympia a most beautiful book on concord to the disagreeing Greeks.” His enemy Melanthius said to him: “This man teaches us about concord, though he could not bring three persons in one house--namely, his wife, himself, and his maidservant--into harmony.” His wife was jealous of the maidservant's beauty and harassed her most chaste husband with daily quarrels.

§ XX. Socrates

In the fortieth year of Artaxerxes, Socrates was celebrated in much discourse. As Augustine says in book 8 of *The City of God*, he is reported to have been a disciple of Archelaus. He is remembered as the first to have directed all philosophy toward correcting and regulating conduct, whereas before him all philosophers had devoted their greatest effort more to the investigation of physical and natural matters.

“It does not seem to me that one can clearly determine whether Socrates did this because weariness with obscure and uncertain things directed his mind toward finding something manifest and certain which was necessary for the blessed life--the one cause for whose sake the industry of all philosophers appears to have kept watch and labored--or whether, as some more favorably suspect concerning him, he did not wish minds unclean with earthly desires to extend themselves toward divine things and attempt them.

“For he saw that they were investigating the causes of things, which he believed to be first and highest only in the will of the one true and supreme God. Hence he thought that they could not be comprehended except by a purified mind. He therefore judged that insistence must be placed upon purifying life through good morals, so that the soul, relieved of oppressive lusts, might raise itself by its natural vigor toward eternal things and might behold with purity of understanding the nature of incorporeal and immutable light, where the causes of all created natures live immovably.

“It is nevertheless agreed that, whether by his confessed ignorance or by knowledge concealed, he agitated and turned about with marvelous charm of discourse and most acute wit the foolishness of the ignorant who thought themselves to know something, even in those moral questions upon which his whole mind appeared to be intent. Hence, enemies having been stirred up, he was condemned on a slanderous charge and punished with death.

“In the debate over moral questions, however, the supreme good is discussed, without which a human being cannot be blessed. For the end of the good is that by which, when anyone has attained it, he is blessed. Because Socrates's disputations stir up and demolish almost everything, and because it did not clearly appear what pleased him, Socrates's successors took from them whatever pleased each. Aristippus said that pleasure was the supreme good; Antisthenes, virtue.” Thus Augustine.

Hugh of Saint Victor also says of him: “Socrates was the inventor of ethics, concerning which he wrote twenty-four books according to positive justice.”

Jerome likewise says in book 1 *Against Jovinian*: Socrates had two wives, Xanthippe and Myrto, the granddaughter of Aristides. When they frequently quarreled with each other, he was accustomed to laugh at them because they contended over him, a most ugly man with snub nostrils, a bald forehead, hairy shoulders, and bowed legs. At last they turned their assault upon him and long pursued him as he fled after beating him severely.

On one occasion, after he had withstood Xanthippe as she hurled endless abuse from a higher place, he was drenched with filthy water. Wiping his head, he answered nothing more than: “I knew that rain would follow thunder.”

When Alcibiades asked him why he did not cast away so bitter a woman as Xanthippe, he answered: “While I endure her at home, I become accustomed and trained to bear more easily the pestilence and injury of others outside.” He said that he knew nothing except this very thing: that he knew nothing. Thus Vincent in the *Historical Mirror*.

Seneca says of him that when Prince Archelaus invited him to come to him so that he might honor him, Socrates is reported to have answered that he did not wish to receive benefits from a man to whom he could not return equal ones.

John Cassian says in the book of *Conferences*: A certain physiognomist, looking at Socrates, said, “Your eyes are the eyes of a corrupter of boys.” When the disciples rushed upon him and wished to punish the insult inflicted upon their teacher, Socrates restrained them with this saying: “Be still, companions, be still; for I am what he asserts. But I restrain myself.”

Aulus Gellius says of the same man in book 1: Socrates is said to have been accustomed to stand in a fixed posture throughout both day and night, from the first rising of the light until the next sunrise, abstaining from food, motionless in the same footprints, with his face and eyes directed toward the same place, absorbed in thought as though he had made a certain withdrawal of mind and soul from the body.

It is also handed down that his temperance was so great that through almost every period of his life he lived with unimpaired health. Socrates likewise said that many people wished to live so that they might eat and drink, but that he ate and drank so that he might live.

Tertullian says concerning him: “A demon is said to have adhered to Socrates from boyhood. Philosophers regard demons as gods. Socrates's expression is, ‘If the demon permits.’ Even when he perceived something of the truth by denying the gods, at the very end he ordered a rooster for Aesculapius as a thank-offering. I believe this was in honor of Aesculapius's father, because Apollo proclaimed Socrates the wisest of all. O thoughtless testimony to wisdom by Apollo! He rendered it to a man who denied that the gods existed.”

Jerome says: “We cannot always keep the same countenance, a thing concerning which the philosophers falsely glory in Socrates. How much more, just as the faces of human beings are many and varied, so too are their hearts diverse.”

Seneca says to Lucilius: “Socrates used to say, ‘Whoever wishes will do injury and insult to you; nevertheless, you will suffer nothing, if only virtue is with you.’” When a certain man asked why a change of places had not helped him cast off his vices, Socrates said: “Why do you wonder that travel has not helped you, when you carry yourself around?”

Vincent gives the following as his praiseworthy sayings in the *Historical Mirror*:

“It is better to beware than to be afraid.

“He who has power over many things ought first to purify his conscience, so that the one who corrects offenses does not commit them.

“It is foolish for someone to wish to command when he cannot command himself.

“Conduct another's business so that you do not forget your own.

“Benefit a friend in such a way that you do not harm yourself.

“Use what you have in such a way that you do not need what belongs to another.

“Take up a burden through your own labor rather than another's.

“One ought to observe moderation in acquiring and guarding money.

“Swift counsel is followed by repentance.

“The things most contrary to counsel are haste and anger.

“With friends one ought to have brief speeches and long friendships.

“He denies himself who seeks what is difficult.

“Do not make another's misfortune your joy.

“Speaking well is the beginning of friendship; speaking evil, the beginning of enmities.

“A friend is rarely acquired, quickly lost, and much more shamefully condemned.

“Impose upon no one what you yourself cannot endure.

“It is by no means fitting to praise someone in his presence.

“Let speech that you alone have heard be buried with you.

“If you conduct yourself well, you yourself will give authority to your character.

“He whom his offense does not shame doubles his sin.

“Things above us are nothing to us.”

Valerius says of him in book 7: “Socrates, as though a certain earthly oracle of human wisdom, used to say that those who acted so as to be the sort of persons they wished to seem would reach glory by a shortcut.”

§ XXI. Darius Nothus and Plato

After Artaxerxes, Eusebius says in the *Chronicle*, Xerxes, the eighth king of the Persians, reigned for two months. After him Sogdianus, the ninth, reigned for seven months. Darius, surnamed Nothus, succeeded him.

He began to reign in the 166th year of the Fifth Age and in the 3,439th year of the world; but according to the computation of Bede and the Seventy, in the year 4,676. He reigned for nineteen years.

This is the third Darius. The first was Darius the Mede, Cyrus's uncle; the second, Darius Hystaspes; and the third, this Darius Nothus.

As Orosius says in book 2, in these times Sicily was shaken by a very severe earthquake. In addition, as the mountains of Etna boiled over with fire and hot cinders, it was laid waste, with the loss of very many fields and villas. A pestilence also invaded the miserable remnants of the Athenians and ravaged them for a long time.

In the fourth year of this Darius, according to Eusebius in the *Chronicle*, Plato was born. Apuleius says of him in the book *On His Life and Character* that he was first named Aristocles. His father, Ariston, descended from the lineage of Neptune; his mother, Perictione, derived her origin from Solon, the wisest founder of the Attic laws.

As Jerome says in the book *Against Jovinian*, Speusippus, the son of Plato's sister, and Anaxilides say that Plato's mother Perictione was overpowered by an apparition of Apollo, and they imagine that the prince of wisdom was brought forth in no other manner than by a virgin birth.

Valerius says concerning him that while Plato slept in his cradle, bees placed honey upon the little child's lips, signifying the sweetness of his singular eloquence.

When Ariston, Plato's father, brought the child to Socrates to be instructed, Socrates had seen in a dream the preceding night that a young bird of extraordinary whiteness and melodious voice had flown from the altar of Cupid in the Academy into his lap, and that it then flew singing from his lap into heaven. When, therefore, he saw the boy Plato being brought to him by his father, Socrates at once said that the interpretation of his dream had been fulfilled. Thus Apuleius.

Plato was born in the forty-third year of the life of Socrates, his teacher. Socrates later died in the seventieth year of his life. Concerning him Orosius says: “That Socrates, the most renowned author among the philosophers, wrested away his own life with poison among the Athenians.” From these words Vincent says in the *Historical Mirror* that Socrates did not wait for poison to be given to him by the executioner. Instead, deceived by the counsel of his familiar demon, whom Apuleius calls the god of Socrates, he brought death upon himself, either from love of popular glory or from fear of a greater punishment.

Fourth Title: On the Fifth Age of the World

Chapter One (continued)

Socrates had already been condemned by the Athenians because he destroyed the gods, as Tertullian says. Nevertheless, when the Athenians repented of their sentence, they afterward punished Socrates's accusers and placed a golden image in the temple. The rescinded condemnation rendered testimony to Socrates.

Valerius says concerning him: It is agreed that Socrates began to devote himself to playing the lyre when he was advanced in age. For he wished even the humblest element of musical theory to be added to the great riches of his learning. While he always believed himself poor in learning, he made himself most rich in teaching.

He says below: “The nature of things does not permit a human being to be capable of continuous labor.” The wisest Socrates saw this. Therefore he was not ashamed when Alcibiades laughed at him for playing with his little sons with a reed placed between his legs.

Alcibiades was also a disciple of Socrates. Valerius and Augustine say of him that, although he thought himself blessed because he was rich, handsome, and eloquent, Socrates disputed with him and showed how wretched he was because he was foolish. He pressed him so greatly with his arguments that he compelled him to weep.

Boethius also relates in the book *On Consolation* that Aristotle said that if someone had lynx-like eyes with which he could look upon the interiors of the human body, he would see that the body of Alcibiades, which was most beautiful on the surface, was most ugly within.

Valerius says of him in book 6: “Alcibiades was allotted, as it were, between two fortunes. One assigned to him outstanding nobility, abundant riches, surpassing beauty, the eager favor of the citizens, the highest commands, exceptional strength, and a most ardent intellect. The other inflicted condemnation, exile, poverty, hatred of his homeland, and a violent death. Neither the one nor the other was entire, but each was variable and perplexed, like the sea and its tide.”

According to Eusebius in the *Chronicle*, this Alcibiades fled through envy from the Athenians to the Lacedaemonians, who were enemies of the Athenians. But once again, among the Lacedaemonians, his virtue attracted more envy than favor. He fled to Bamathus, who, after receiving payment from Lysander, prince of the Lacedaemonians, ordered him killed, as Jerome says in the book *Against Jovinian*. He sent Alcibiades's head to Lysander as proof of the killing.

While the rest of his body lay unburied, his concubine rendered the rites of the funeral pyre to him, prepared to die for love of him. Others, however, say that he burned himself. Still others, such as Justin and Orosius, assert that when he fled to the Persians, the Thirty Tyrants of Athens sent men to kill him on the way. Because this could not be done openly by day, he was burned at night while he slept in his chamber.

At that time, namely in the ninth year of Darius, Eudoxus the astrologer was renowned, according to Eusebius in the *Chronicle*. He climbed to the summit of a lofty mountain to observe the movements of the stars and the heavens.

§ XXII. The Lacedaemonians and the Thirty Rulers

The Lacedaemonians destroyed Versatium and founded the city of Heraclea. As Helinand says in book 16, that marvelous theater which is placed fifth among the seven wonders of the world was there. For it was so carved out of a single marble mountain that all the cells, chambers, walls, and dens of beasts were made from one solid stone. The entire theater hung upon seven crabs carved from the same stone. No one could speak around it, however secretly, either alone or with another, without all who were round about hearing.

At that time Egypt revolted from the Persians, and a dynasty of the Egyptians arose again.

Jerome says in the *Chronicle* that Euripides, when prophesying about Jove on Crete, reportedly abstained not only from meat but even from cooked foods.

Helinand testifies in the place cited above that the thirty rulers who had been created to govern the Athenian republic turned to tyranny, having gathered to themselves 3,000 guards and 700 soldiers from the victorious army.

As Jerome relates *Against Jovinian*, when these thirty rulers had killed Phido at a banquet, they ordered his virgin daughters to come to them, to be stripped naked in the manner of prostitutes, and to play with immodest gestures upon the pavements stained with their father's blood. After concealing their grief for a little while, when they saw that the banqueters were drunk, they went out as though to satisfy the needs of nature, embraced one another, and hurled themselves into a well so that they might preserve their virginity by death.

§ XXIII. Artaxerxes Mnemon and Esther

After Darius, his son Artaxerxes, who was called Mnemon, reigned in Persia. In the Book of Esther he is called Ahasuerus, as the Hebrews say and the *Scholastic History* relates. Hence the history of Esther was written under him, a book that is authentic even according to the Hebrews.

He ruled over 127 provinces, from India as far as Ethiopia, and the throne of his kingdom was in the city of Susa. Justin and Pompeius Trogus say that this Artaxerxes had 115 sons by his concubines. This agrees very well with the Book of Esther, where it is said that after Queen Vashti's repudiation, beautiful virgin girls were sought throughout all the provinces on two occasions and brought to the city of Susa. The king knew them, and afterward chose Esther from among them all as his wife.

In the third year of his reign, this Ahasuerus held a great banquet for all his princes of the Medes and Persians and the prefects of the provinces for 180 days, and afterward for the people who were in Susa for seven days. The magnificence of its provision and its marvelous splendor are set forth there.

When the king sent for Queen Vashti, his very beautiful wife, who had herself held a banquet for the women, and she refused to come, he was indignant. Therefore, on the counsel of the wise men, he repudiated her and deprived her of the kingdom.

Beautiful virgins were sought from different places so that, after being adorned for a fixed time, they might afterward enter before the king on an appointed day. Among them all Esther, a Hebrew by race and the niece of Mordecai, who had adopted her as his son [read: as his daughter], was brought to him. She was the most beautiful and pleased him above all the others. He took her as his wife and made her queen in Vashti's place.

After this Mordecai, remaining at the palace gate, uncovered the treachery of the eunuchs who were plotting to kill the king.

King Ahasuerus exalted Haman, who was of the stock of Agag, above all his princes. Hence everyone worshiped him and bent the knee except Mordecai. When Haman perceived this, he was indignant and persuaded the king to procure letters commanding that on a fixed day all the Jews should be killed wherever they were found, as though they dissented from the customs and laws of others. In this way Mordecai, whom he knew to be of the Jewish race, would be killed with the others.

When Mordecai understood this, he caused word to be sent to Queen Esther so that by speaking with the king she might prevent their destruction. She said that he should lead the Jews to fasting and prayer.

After three days of fasting and prayer by herself and her people, Esther adorned herself and entered before the king unbidden. When the king saw her, at first he showed her a terrifying countenance. On account of this she turned pale from fear and almost

collapsed. For the law was that anyone who entered before the king unbidden should be killed immediately unless the king extended over that person the golden rod he held in his hand.

God turned the king's spirit to gentleness. Leaping from his throne, he supported the queen and comforted her so that she would not be afraid. When she had kissed the rod, he extended it over her neck. After praising the king, she asked him to come with Haman to her banquet, which he promised to do.

Haman left the court and encountered Mordecai, who did not worship him. Angry against him, Haman returned home and conferred with his wife and friends about the favor of the king and queen and about his indignation against Mordecai, who refused to worship him. They advised him to prepare in his house a wooden gallows fifty cubits high and to have Mordecai hanged upon it. He arranged this.

During the night preceding the banquet, the king remained sleepless and had the histories of deeds in those times read to him. They came to the conspiracy against the king by the eunuchs, which Mordecai had uncovered. Finding that Mordecai had received no recompense for so great a benefit, the king asked Haman, whom he found in the court, what honor and procedure should be bestowed upon a man whom the king wished greatly to honor.

Thinking that the king meant him, Haman described a magnificent procedure. The king ordered all of it to be fulfilled for Mordecai. At the king's command Haman himself went before Mordecai through the city, crying and saying, “Thus shall the man whom the king wishes to honor be honored.”

Returning to his house in the great sorrow of envy, he told his wife and household what had happened. They said that if this Mordecai was of the seed of the Jews, Haman would not be able to resist him, but Mordecai would prevail over him.

When Haman came at the summons to the banquet prepared by the queen with the king, the king asked her after the meal what she sought from him, prepared to give even half of the kingdom. She asked that her own life and that of her people be preserved, since they had been given over to death by Haman's ordinance. When the king heard this, he rose angrily from the banquet and went into the garden. He afterward ordered that Haman himself be hanged upon the cross prepared for Mordecai.

Then the king gave Mordecai the ring that he had ordered taken from Haman and exalted Mordecai in Haman's place when he heard that he was Queen Esther's uncle. Esther obtained from the king that letters should be sent to all the cities to the contrary: the first letters were to be annulled, and on the day established for killing the Jews, the Jews themselves were instead to be given permission to kill their enemies.

All this was done on the thirteenth day of the twelfth month, which is called Adar. Thus the destruction and mourning of the Jews were turned from danger into joy and festival. On that thirteenth day, the Jews killed 500 of their enemies in Susa, and Haman's ten sons were hanged. In other cities and places 75,000 people were killed. Mordecai ordained by letters that this day should be celebrated as a feast by the Jews everywhere. They still observe it, calling that day Purim.

Afterward the dream that Mordecai had once seen is set forth: two dragons fighting against one another, at whose cry all the nations were stirred up. The nation of the just was troubled, fearing the evils prepared for it unto death, and they cried out to the Lord. As they shouted, a small spring grew into a great river and overflowed into very many waters; light and the sun arose, the humble were exalted, and they devoured the renowned dragons. That dragon was Haman, and Mordecai was the small spring, and so forth. These things, however, are in the Vulgate edition.

Likewise, the words of the letter sent by Artaxerxes Ahasuerus concerning the killing of the Jews, the reason for it, Mordecai's devout prayer, and Esther's prayer are in the Vulgate edition. A very beautiful letter of Artaxerxes is also placed there, addressed to all the provinces subject to his dominion and revoking the first letters. It declares that such a revocation did not proceed from fickleness but from weighty reason, and it declares Haman's malice and Mordecai's goodwill.

But since Esther was first known carnally by Artaxerxes not as a wife, because she was not yet his wife, I do not see how she can otherwise be excused from the mortal sin of lust unless it is said that she did this by the familiar counsel of the Holy Spirit, just as the prophet Hosea did in knowing a fornicating woman and Samson in knowing Delilah. For everywhere there are great mysteries between Christ and the Church.

Ahasuerus is also said to have been led to faith in the true God through Esther. Hence the gloss upon the Apostle's words in 1 Corinthians 7, “The unbelieving husband is saved through the faithful woman,” adduces the example of Ahasuerus saved through Esther, his faithful wife.

§ XXIV. Xenophon and Diogenes

In the time of this Artaxerxes, Xenophon, a disciple of Socrates, was renowned. After Plato he attained the palm of eloquence among Socrates's disciples.

As Valerius relates in book 5, while Xenophon was sacrificing, he learned that the elder of his two sons had perished in battle. He did not therefore think that the worship of the gods should be abandoned, but was content only to remove his crown. When he asked in what manner his son had fallen and heard that he had died fighting with the greatest courage, he replaced the crown upon his head, calling the divinities to whom he was sacrificing as witnesses that he felt greater pleasure from his son's valor than bitterness from his death. Thus Valerius. From this example, let the faithful person know how calmly the death of loved ones should be borne.

As Jerome says *Against Jovinian*, Xenophon, describing the life of the Persians, testifies that they lived on porridge, cress, salt, and bread.

In the thirteenth year of Artaxerxes, Diogenes, head of the sect of Cynic philosophers, was held in renown. Tully, however, says that the Cynics first took their beginning from Aristippus, who thought virtue should be praised because it was productive of pleasure. But in these times Epicurus flourished, almost a supporter of the same sect and an advocate of its opinion.

Augustine says of them in book 14 of *The City of God*: “Those canine--that is, Cynic--philosophers put forward against human modesty a canine, that is, filthy and shameless, opinion: namely, that since what is done with a wife is just, one should not be ashamed to do it openly. Natural shame nevertheless defeated the opinion of this error. For although Diogenes is reported to have done this, the practice afterward ceased among the Cynics. Shame had greater power to make human beings blush before human beings than error had to make human beings affect similarity to dogs.”

Macrobius relates concerning Diogenes in the *Saturnalia* that, when he had fallen from freedom into slavery and was being sold, Xeniades of Corinth wished to buy him and asked what skill he knew. Diogenes answered, “I know how to command free men.” Marveling at the answer, Xeniades immediately manumitted him--that is, freed him--and entrusted his own sons to him, saying, “Receive my children, whom you may command.”

This is a saying of Diogenes: “Conscience overcomes whatever evil the tongue may invent.”

Valerius says of him in book 3: While Diogenes at Syracuse was washing vegetables, Aristippus said to him, “If you wished to flatter Dionysius, you would not eat those things.” “Rather,” Diogenes answered, “if you wished to eat those things, you would not flatter Dionysius.”

Fourth Title: On the Fifth Age of the World

Chapter One (continued)

Jerome says *Against Jovinian*: After Antisthenes had taught rhetoric with glory, he heard Socrates say to his disciples, “Go and seek a teacher for yourselves, for I am now withdrawing.” Immediately selling what he possessed and distributing it publicly, Antisthenes reserved nothing for himself beyond a little cloak. Xenophon is a witness to his poverty and labor.

That most famous Diogenes was his follower, more powerful than King Alexander and a conqueror of human nature. For when Antisthenes received no disciples and could not drive away the persevering Diogenes, at last he threatened him with a club so that he would depart. Diogenes is said to have put his head beneath it and said, “No club will be hard enough to separate me from obedience to you.”

Satyrus relates concerning this Diogenes that he used a cloak against the cold, had a bag for a pantry, and had a staff because of the frailty of his little body, with which he was accustomed to support his limbs when already old. He accepted from another what he begged. He dwelt in the vestibules of gates and in the porticoes of cities.

When he turned himself about in his jar, he joked that he had a movable house and that it changed with the seasons. In the time of cold he turned the mouth of the jar toward the south; in summer, toward the north. Wherever the sun inclined, Diogenes's chamber was turned at the same time.

Once, when he had a wooden cup for drinking, he saw a boy drink with a cupped hand. Diogenes is said to have dashed the cup to the ground, saying, “I did not know that nature also had a drinking vessel.”

His death also indicates his virtue and continence. When, already an old man, he was going to the Olympic contest, which was celebrated by a great gathering of Greece, he is said to have been seized by a fever on the journey and to have lain down beside the road. When his friends wished to lift him either onto a beast of burden or into a vehicle, he did not consent. Instead, moving into the shade of a tree, he said to them: “Go, I beg you, and proceed to the spectacle. This night will prove me either victor or vanquished. If I conquer the fever, I shall come to the contest. If the fever conquers me, I shall descend to the lower regions.” Passing the night there and crushing his throat, he said that he did not so much die as expel the fever by death. Learn from an unbeliever contempt for the world, abstinence, and patience, but detest his shamelessness.

At this time Speusippus, a distinguished philosopher and Plato's nephew through his sister, was also held in renown, according to Vincent's *Historical Mirror*. This is said to have been his saying, which he reportedly uttered to one praising him: “Flatterer, cease deceiving both of us. You accomplish nothing, since I understand you.”

Justin relates in book 18 that, after the Carthaginians had long fought successfully in Sicily, the war was transferred to Sardinia. Having lost the greater part of their army, they were defeated in a severe war. On account of this they ordered their commander Malchus, under whose auspices they had subdued part of Sicily and performed great deeds against the Africans, to go into exile with the part of the army that remained.

Returning armed to the city, these men besieged it, saying that they had come not to storm the city but to recover their homeland, and that they would show their fellow citizens that in the former war fortune, not valor, had failed them. By cutting off provisions they brought the city to utmost desperation.

Meanwhile Carthalo, the son of the exiled commander Malchus, was returning past his father's camp from Tyre. The Carthaginians had sent him there to carry Hercules's tithe from the Sicilian booty that his father had captured. When summoned by his father, he answered that he would fulfill the duties of public religion before those of private affection. Although Malchus bore this indignantly, he nevertheless did not dare inflict violence upon public religion.

After several days Carthalo obtained safe conduct from the people and returned to his father adorned with purple and the priest's fillets. Drawing him aside privately, his father said: “Have you dared, most wicked head, to come adorned with purple and gold in the sight of so many wretched citizens? I shall establish an example in you, lest after this any son mock the miseries of an unfortunate father.” Thus he ordered Carthalo, together with his ornaments, to be fastened upon a very high cross in the sight of the city.

Not long afterward Malchus captured Carthage. Having killed ten senators and punished the authors of his exile and that of his companions, he restored the city to its laws. Not long afterward he was accused of seeking the kingship and killed. Learn from this that one must have compassion for the wretched.

Mago succeeded Malchus as commander, as Justin relates. He was the first of all who, after establishing military discipline, strengthened the empire of the Carthaginians no less by the art of war than by valor. At his death he left two sons, Hasdrubal and Hamilcar.

Under these commanders war was brought upon Sardinia, where Hasdrubal fell after being gravely wounded. His brother Hamilcar succeeded in his place and was killed in the Sicilian war. While he was besieging Syracuse, he was told in a dream, as Valerius relates, that on the following day he would dine in the city. This indeed happened, for he entered not as conqueror but as captive.

In the time of this Hamilcar, as Justin says, envoys sent by Darius, king of the Persians, came to Carthage. They brought an edict forbidding the Carthaginians to sacrifice human victims and eat dogs' flesh, while also requesting aid against Greece, upon which Darius intended to bring war. The Carthaginians refused aid because of continual wars with their neighbors; nevertheless, lest they appear disobedient in everything, they eagerly obeyed the edict.

Hasdrubal left three sons: Hannibal, Hasdrubal, and Sappho. Hamilcar likewise left three sons: Himilco, Hanno, and Gisco. Hamilcar's son Himilco succeeded him as commander of the Sicilian war. Although he had waged successful battles by land and sea, he suddenly lost his army beneath a pestilential star. When he returned to Carthage with a few men, the loss of the army caused the greatest mourning among everyone. Himilco himself killed himself with a sword from grief.

Orosius says that this war was waged in the time of Darius but does not say which Darius; Jerome places it in the time of this Artaxerxes.

§ XXV. Dionysius

At this time Dionysius remained in his tyranny. As Justin says in book 20, after the Carthaginians had been driven from Sicily, he seized command of all Sicily and transported his forces into Italy. He first made war against the Greeks who occupied the shores nearest the Italian sea. When they had been defeated, he attacked all their neighbors, especially all who possessed Italy under a Greek name.

But the arrival of the Carthaginians recalled him from Italy. With increased strength they renewed the war they had abandoned, under Hanno as commander. Suniatus, the most powerful of the Carthaginians and Hanno's enemy, secretly foretold to the tyrant Dionysius in a private letter written in Greek the arrival of the army and the commander's sluggishness. When the letter was intercepted, he was condemned for treason. The senate therefore decreed that thereafter no Carthaginian should study either Greek letters or the Greek language, lest anyone be able to speak or write with the enemy without an interpreter.

Valerius says of Dionysius in book 6: Although he had received as an inheritance from his father the tyranny of the Syracusans and almost all Sicily and had been lord of the greatest resources, commander of armies, director of fleets, and powerful in cavalry, at last

through poverty he taught little boys their letters at Corinth. At the same time, by so great a reversal, he warned those older in years that no one should trust fortune too greatly, for he had been mocked by fortune and transformed from a tyrant into a schoolmaster. Thus Valerius.

This happened to him as punishment for his tyranny and sacrileges. As the same Valerius says concerning him, he seasoned his sacrileges with jokes. After removing Jove's golden cloak--that is, garment--and putting a woolen one upon him, he joked that a golden cloak was heavy in summer and cold in winter, whereas a woolen one was suitable for both seasons.

When he removed crowns and bowls from the images of the gods upon which was written “Gifts of the gods,” he said that he was not taking but accepting them. “It is foolish,” he said, “to be unwilling to receive good things when those from whom we pray for them offer them.” He also removed Aesculapius's golden beard, saying that it was unfitting for his father Apollo to be beardless while his son was bearded.

Although all the Syracusans desired this Dionysius's death, one woman of extreme old age alone prayed to the gods every morning that he might be kept safe and survive her. When Dionysius heard this, he marveled and asked the reason. She answered: “When I was a girl and had a harsh tyrant, I desired to be rid of him, and another succeeded him. When I desired to be rid of that one also, we began to have you, a third, more troublesome than the others. Fearing, therefore, that a worse man may succeed you, I devote my head for your safety.” Dionysius was ashamed to punish so witty an audacity. Thus Valerius.

Plato was this Dionysius's teacher, as Tully relates. The tyrant received Plato so honorably that he went to meet him with a vast multitude and ships adorned with white sails.

Tully also writes of him that this tyrant was so suspicious and fearful, knowing that everyone hated him, that after removing his friends he substituted in their place the fiercest barbarians, to whom he might entrust his flanks. From fear of barbers, he taught his daughters to shave him. When they were grown, he did not dare entrust a blade to them, but arranged that they should singe his beard and hair with the glowing shells of walnuts.

He acted no more securely as a husband than as a father. For although bound simultaneously in marriages to two women, Aristomache and Doris, he never sought the embrace of either unless she had first been searched. He surrounded his bed like a camp with a broad ditch. He crossed into it by a wooden bridge and carefully barred the inner door.

§ XXVI. Plato

At this time Plato the philosopher was also renowned, namely in the seventeenth year of Artaxerxes. Augustine praises him above the other pagans in book 8 of *The City of God*.

Jerome says *Against Jovinian*: Although Plato was rich and had trampled the couches of Diogenes with muddy feet, so that he might be free for philosophy he chose the Academy, a villa far from the city, not merely deserted but also pestilential, so that the impulses of lust might be broken by anxiety over and continual experience of illnesses. Hence several of his disciples gouged out their own eyes. Thus Jerome. Let wretched Christians learn from this at least to gouge out from themselves the eyes of vain sight for the name of Christ, as they are admonished by his teaching.

Valerius says of him in book 4: When Plato had become violently enraged at the offense of a slave, he feared that he might exceed the measure of vengeance and entrusted the decision concerning punishment to his friend Speusippus.

Plato himself received accusations only with the greatest difficulty. Once he had heard that his disciple Xenocrates had spoken many impious things concerning him, but he rejected the accusation. The accuser persisted, asking why he was not believed. Plato added that it was not credible that the man whom he had loved for so long did not love him in return. When the accuser wished to proceed to an oath, Plato affirmed that Xenocrates would never have said these things unless he had judged it expedient for himself that they be said.

The same Valerius says in book 8 concerning Plato's devotion to study: “Plato received Athens as his homeland, Socrates as his teacher, a place and a man most fertile in learning. Although he was already held to be the wisest of all, and although young men devoted to study hastened to Athens in rivalry to seek Plato as their teacher, he himself, a disciple of the elders, traversed the Nile's inextricable banks, the most extensive plains, and the widespread barbarism of the Egyptians. From the priests of that nation he learned the manifold numbers of geometry and the observation of celestial principles. He also entered Italy to receive the precepts of Pythagoras from Archytas of Tarentum and Arion. So great an abundance of learning had to be gathered from every quarter so that in turn it might be dispersed and spread throughout the whole world.”

As Jerome says of him: “That man found everywhere something to learn, and always made himself better.”

Augustine says in book 8 of *The City of God*: “Although Plato surpassed his disciples in marvelous intellect, thinking himself insufficient for the reception of philosophy in the Socratic discipline, he traveled far and wide wherever the fame of some distinguished knowledge to be received carried him. Thus in Egypt and the regions of Italy, where the fame of the Pythagoreans was celebrated, he learned whatever the greater teachers there possessed and taught.

“Because the pursuit of wisdom is occupied with action and contemplation, one part of it can be called active and the other contemplative. The active pertains to conducting life and instructing morals; the contemplative, to beholding the causes of nature and the most sincere truth. Socrates is remembered as excelling in the active part, whereas Pythagoras devoted himself more to the contemplative with all the powers he possessed.

“Therefore Plato is praised for having perfected philosophy by joining both parts. He divided it into three parts: the moral, which is occupied with action; the natural, which is assigned to contemplation; and the rational, by which the true is distinguished from the false. Although the rational is necessary to both, contemplation nevertheless claims perfection for itself.

“Some think that when Plato went to Egypt he heard the prophet Jeremiah. But a diligent computation of the chronology according to the chronicle history indicates that Plato was born almost one hundred years after the time when Jeremiah prophesied. It could nevertheless be that, as a man of the keenest intellect learned the Egyptian writings, so he also learned the Hebrew writings through an interpreter.

“This may be thought because in Plato's *Timaeus*, which he wrote concerning the constitution of the world, he says that God first joined earth and fire. This saying is very similar to that in the beginning of Genesis: ‘In the beginning God created heaven and earth,’ and so forth. Then what Plato says, that the philosopher is a lover of God, blazes nowhere in those writings as it does there. Most of all, that which especially leads me to assent fully that Plato was not without knowledge of those books is that Plato grasped most strongly and commended most diligently those words of the Lord to Moses: ‘I am who I am.’”

Fourth Title: On the Fifth Age of the World

Chapter One (continued)

That tripartition of Plato, however, which divides philosophy into natural, moral, and rational, is not contrary to the distinction according to which the whole pursuit of wisdom is said to be occupied with action and contemplation.

The same Augustine says in the place cited above: “If the human being was so created that through that which excels in him he may attain to that which excels all things--that is, the one true and best God, without whom no nature subsists, no doctrine instructs, and no use is expedient, as Plato says--let Him be sought where all things are secure for us; let Him be perceived where all things are certain for us; let Him be loved where all things are right for us.

“Therefore, if Plato said that a wise person is the imitator, knower, and lover of Him through participation in whom he becomes blessed, what need is there to examine the others? None have come nearer to us than these men.”

The same Augustine says in book 9 that Apuleius asserts that Plato preached the supreme creator of all, whom we call the true God, in such a way that He alone, because of the poverty of human speech, cannot be comprehended by any discourse, even to a slight degree. His understanding scarcely flashes upon the wise inwardly--and this only at times, like a bright light from a most rapid flash amid the deepest darkness--when they have withdrawn themselves from the body by the vigor of the mind as far as permitted.

Helinand says concerning him: Plato was accustomed to title his books with the names of his teachers or of those who had taught his teachers, so that from their names his words and arguments might acquire greater authority. Hence his books were called *Timaeus*, *Phaedo*, *Gorgias*, and *Pythagoras*. Tully translated the first and the last of these.

In the dialogue *Phaedo*, after the disputation concerning the soul's immortality, he distinguishes the places owed to those departing this life according to the law that each established for himself by living. Similarly, in the *Gorgias*, after completing the disputation, he spoke concerning the condition of souls after the body. He preserved these two matters in the books *On the Republic*: first he granted primacy to justice; afterward he discussed where the soul goes after the body and whence it comes into the body.

Macrobius says in book 1 of the *Dream of Scipio*: Plato defines in the *Phaedo* that a human being must not die by his own will. But in the same dialogue he says again that death should be desired by those who philosophize and that philosophy itself is a meditation upon dying. These statements appear contrary to each other, but they are not.

For Plato knew two deaths of the human being, one of which nature and the other the virtues bring about. A human being dies when the soul, released by the law of nature, leaves the body. One is also said to die when the soul, while still established in the body, at philosophy's command despises the body's allurements and burns away the sweet snares of desires and all the remaining passions. Plato says that this death should be desired by the wise, but he forbids the death which nature has appointed for everyone to be compelled, inflicted, or summoned.

The same Macrobius says in book 2: In Plato's *Phaedo*, which Tully translated, the immortality of the soul is asserted by the strongest arguments. After all the reasonings it is reduced to the compendium of a single syllogism as follows: “The soul is moved

from itself. What is moved from itself is the principle of motion. What is the principle of motion was not born; and what was not born is immortal. Therefore the soul is immortal."

It is read that when Theobrotus had read Plato's book concerning the immortality of the soul, he hurled himself headlong from a wall out of desire for a better life. Although he acted foolishly and damnably, this is nevertheless introduced so that the soul's immortality may be known.

These also are Plato's words in the *Phaedo*: "As long as we have a body and our soul is mingled with so great an evil, we shall never sufficiently attain what we have long desired, that is, knowledge of the truth. For the body brings infinite occupations by which we are worn away on account of our daily sustenance.

"The body is also burdened by diseases, desires, fears, and innumerable appearances of various things and appetites, so that because of it we cannot even be wise in any matter. But the mind of the dead is free and released from the body.

"Therefore, during the time in which we live, we shall finally approach knowledge if we use the body not at all or as little as possible and do not lower the soul into fellowship with it except insofar as necessity requires. For thus we shall be filled as little as possible with the body's turbulent and vicious nature. Instead, pure from its contagion, departing incorrupt and sincere, we shall come to all incorrupt and sincere things."

Vincent says in book 4, chapter 79, of the *Historical Mirror* that many excellent things are read as having been said by Plato, such as what Boethius relates him to have said: "Commonwealths will be blessed if either wise men govern them or their rulers study wisdom."

There is also what Tully asserts that he said: "Pleasure is the bait of evils," because human beings are caught by it just as fish by a hook.

Plato is likewise reported to have said:

"If the form of wisdom could be seen by the eyes, it would arouse everyone to the greatest love of itself.

"The form of justice cannot be comprehended unless the form of injustice is first examined.

"The soul is a self-moving essence.

"Not only knowledge that is removed from justice should be called cunning rather than wisdom; but even a spirit prepared for danger, if it is driven by its own desire and not by the advantage of all, has the name of recklessness rather than courage.

"That justice is most true which is observed toward inferiors.

"It is the triumph of innocence not to sin where one could.

"Cease to sin against the person over whom you have greater power.

"Death should be desired by those who philosophize, and philosophy itself is a meditation upon dying.

"Patience is the chief strength of philosophy."

As Helinand relates, when this Plato saw Dionysius, tyrant of Sicily, surrounded by guards for the protection of his body, he said, "What so great an evil have you done that you must be guarded by so many?"

Vincent says that he asserted the existence of two worlds: an intelligible world in which truth itself dwelt, and this sensible world, which it is evident that we perceive by sight and touch. Accordingly, the former was true, while the latter, made in its image, was truthlike. Concerning the former, therefore, the things the soul knew could be polished, as it were, and truth could be reasoned out. Concerning the latter, not knowledge but opinion could be generated in the minds of fools.

As the same Vincent says in the place cited above, Plato erred in these matters because he said that the ideas are in the divine mind as the eternal exemplar of the things that are made. This is true, but he thought the ideas themselves were something other than the divine mind. This is false, since they are the same in reality.

He also erred greatly because he placed God in the division of existing things, although "to be" is said in one way of the creator and in another of the creature. For this name "being" is predicated not univocally of God and the other creatures, but analogically. Therefore God cannot be placed in the division of the things that are, as though He existed in some category; rather, He exceeds every being of the categories.

He also erred concerning the matter of providence, which he made threefold, as Thomas sets forth in the First Part. Plato said that there are three kinds of providence. The first provides for intellectual creatures and for the whole world with respect to genera and species; this he attributed to God. The second provides for individual animals and plants with respect to generation, corruption, and other natural changes; this he attributed to the gods who circle the heavens. The third provides for matters pertaining to human life, or human acts; this he attributed to demons.

But blessed Thomas refutes all these things there with arguments. For there is one providence of God by which all things together are most excellently provided for, according to Wisdom 6: “He has equal care for all.” From these matters anyone can know that saying of Jeremiah: “Every human being has become foolish through his own knowledge,” unless it is aided by the knowledge of God.

Plato died in the twenty-first year of Darius, the son of Artaxerxes who was also called Ochus. As Seneca says of him in letter 58, Plato died on his birthday and completed exactly eighty-one years, without any deduction. Therefore the magi who were then at Athens offered sacrifice to him after his death, judging that he had been of a lot higher than the human, because he had completed the most perfect number, which nine multiplied nine makes.

Augustine nevertheless says in book 11 of *The City of God*: “Labeo places Plato among the demigods, as he does Hercules and Romulus. He prefers demigods to human beings, but he places both among the divinities. We, however, do not compare Plato even to any Christian human being.” Similarly, Jerome, upon Ecclesiastes, places Plato with other ancient pagan philosophers among the damned.

It is also evident from what has been said that Archytas of Tarentum flourished in these times, since Plato was his pupil. Tully says of him in *On Old Age*: Archytas of Tarentum, while Plato of Athens was present at his discourse, said that nature had given human beings no more deadly plague than bodily pleasure. Since God had given the human being nothing more excellent than the mind, nothing was so hostile to this divine gift as pleasure.

To make this more intelligible, he imagined in his mind someone stirred by as much bodily pleasure as could possibly be experienced. He judged that no one would doubt that for as long as that person enjoyed the pleasure, he could consider nothing with his mind, think nothing, and accomplish nothing by reason.

The same Tully says of him in *On Friendship*: “Nature loves nothing solitary. Hence what I heard our elders say was customarily spoken by Archytas of Tarentum is true, as I think: if someone had ascended into heaven and beheld the nature of the world and the beauty of the stars, his admiration would be unpleasant without a friend and companion, though it would be most delightful if he had someone to whom he could disclose it.”

Valerius says of him in book 4: Archytas of Tarentum said to his steward, “I would have exacted punishment from you if I were not angry with you. For I preferred to leave you unpunished rather than punish you more severely than was just because of anger.”

Aulus Gellius says of him in the book of *Attic Nights*: The philosopher Favorinus affirms that an image of a dove made from wood by a certain method and mechanical art flew to Archytas.

Vincent gives this as his opinion concerning the soul in book 4, chapter 8: “The soul was composed after the example of the one, and it thus rules without location in the body, just as one does among numbers.” And: “There is, finally, no crime and no wicked deed which the desire for pleasure does not impel one to undertake.”

§ XXVII. The Later Reign of Artaxerxes

Returning to the history of Artaxerxes, king of the Persians, who is also believed to be Ahasuerus as was said above: of the 115 sons he had, only three were received from a lawful marriage--Darius, Arabathus, and Ochus.

Contrary to the custom of the Persians, among whom the king is changed only at death, while he was still alive the indulgent father made Darius king, as Justin says in book 10. But in repayment for so great a benefit, Darius contemplated the crime of parricide against his father and took fifty brothers into partnership in the deed. The cause of the parricide was more criminal than the parricide itself.

King Artaxerxes had taken in marriage Astasia, the concubine of his brother Cyrus. Darius had demanded that his father yield her to him just as he had yielded the kingdom. Artaxerxes first promised this. Then, led by repentance so that he might honorably deny what he had rashly promised, he appointed her to the priesthood of the sun, by which perpetual chastity from all men was commanded for her.

Enraged by this, the young man conspired against his father. He was discovered and destroyed with his associates, and the wives and children of them all were killed. After this Artaxerxes died of an illness contracted from grief.

The inheritance of the kingdom was delivered to Ochus. Fearing a similar royal conspiracy, he filled the palace with the slaughter and killing of his relatives, moved by no mercy for blood, sex, or age. Then, as though the kingdom had been pacified, he brought war upon the Susians.

In that war a certain Codomanus advanced with every favor against a champion of the enemy. Having slain the enemy, he obtained victory for his people; on this account he was appointed prefect over the Armenians. Later, after the death of Ochus, in remembrance of his former valor, he was established as king by the people.

In the time of this Ochus, the orator Demosthenes was known. Valerius says of him in book 8: Although Demosthenes could not pronounce the first letter of the rhetorical art because of the thinness of his voice and a defect of his mouth, he attacked the defect with such effort that no one uttered what he wished more clearly. By continual exercise he brought his exceedingly weak voice to a sound pleasing to the ears.

To overcome the weakness of his side, he completed many verses in a single breath and pronounced them while rapidly climbing steep places. Standing upon shallow shores, he delivered declamations against the crashing obstacles of the waves. He was also accustomed to speak much and for a long time with pebbles inserted in his mouth, so that his speech would be readier and more fluent.

This is the Demosthenes who, playfully stroking the belly of Lais, the most famous courtesan, asked, “How much for this?” When she said, “A thousand denarii,” he answered, “I do not buy repentance for so high a price.”

Isidore says of him in book 1 of the *Etymologies*: The orator Demosthenes used a fable against Philip. When Philip demanded that the Athenians give him ten orators and that he would then depart, Demosthenes devised this fable to dissuade them. He said that wolves, wishing to deceive the diligence of shepherds, once persuaded them to enter into friendship, but on this condition: that they hand over the dogs against whom there was cause for quarrels as the pledge of security. The shepherds agreed and in hope of security gave up the dogs, whom they had as vigilant guardians of their sheep. Then, with every fear removed, the wolves tore apart the whole flock not only for satiety but even for lust. Thus Philip intended to act among the people once the orators had been taken away.

Fourth Title: On the Fifth Age of the World

Chapter One (continued)

Helinand says of the same man in book 11: When Demosthenes asked Aristodemus, a performer of plays, how much payment he had received to act, and Aristodemus answered, “A talent,” Demosthenes said, “But I received more to keep silent.” Thus the tongue of legal pleaders is harmful unless, as the saying goes, you bind it with silver cords. Among advocates, therefore, even silence itself is for sale.

The same Demosthenes was being sought by the Athenian senate as an advocate against Philip, king of the Macedonians. Feigning weakness, he lay down in bed, as they say, and answered those who came to him that he was suffering from a disease that passed judgment. One of the messengers replied most bitingly, “Surely you are suffering not from one that passes judgment, but from one that produces silver.”

At that time Aeschines appears to have flourished. Valerius says of him in book 8: The ornaments of eloquence consist in suitable pronunciation and appropriate movement of the body. When someone has equipped himself with these, he approaches people in three ways: by penetrating their ears, charming their eyes, and invading their minds.

Therefore, when Aeschines had gone to Rhodes because of judicial disgrace and there, at the request of the city, had recited first his own most renowned speech against Ctesiphon and then that of Demosthenes on the same matter, everyone marveled at the eloquence of both, but somewhat more at that of Demosthenes. Aeschines said, “What if you had heard the man himself?” So great an orator admired the force of his enemy and the ardor of his speaking so much that he declared himself an inadequate reader of his writings.

For Aeschines had experienced the exceedingly sharp vigor of Demosthenes's eyes, the terrible weight of his countenance, the sound of his voice adapted to each word, and the most effective movements of his body. Thus, although nothing could be added to his work, a great part of Demosthenes is nevertheless absent when he is read rather than heard.

Seneca says of him in the book *On Benefits*: When the other disciples offered many things to Socrates, the poor Aeschines offered himself alone, saying that he offered whatever better thing he had, while the others, although they had given Socrates a few things, retained more and better things for themselves. Hence he said, “I beseech you to cultivate this little gift of my poverty and by your diligence and care render it better and more adorned.” Socrates answered that he had received the greatest gift from him, unless Aeschines valued himself cheaply, and that he would gladly devote his effort to making him better.

Tully says of him in the book *On the Republic*: When Aeschines as a young man had composed an Attic tragedy, he held the commonwealth in check and turned and governed Athens at his judgment, so powerful was he in eloquence.

Orosius says that at that same time envoys were sent from Carthage to Rome and made a treaty with the Romans. The continuous fidelity of the histories, and the places and reputation where these things were done, testify that the entrance of the Carthaginians into Italy would be followed by a hailstorm of evils and the darkness of continual miseries.

Then night appeared to extend into most of the day, and a stony hail descending from the clouds beat the earth with actual stones for twenty-five days. During these days Alexander the Great, that flood of miseries and most savage tempest of the whole East, was also born.

Chapter Two

The Birth of Alexander

In the tenth year of Ochus, king of the Persians, says Vincent in book 5, chapter 1, of the *Historical Mirror*; the sixth year of Philip, king of the Macedonians; and the eleventh year of Nectanabus, king of Egypt--which was the 225th year of the Fifth Age and the 4,735th year of the world according to Bede and the Seventy Translators--Alexander, son of Philip, king of the Macedonians, and of his wife Olympias, was born.

This nevertheless appears not to agree at all with that common history which relates that he was begotten by Nectanabus after the latter had already been driven from his kingdom. For in the fourteenth year of Ochus's reign and the fifteenth of Nectanabus, as Eusebius writes, Ochus held Egypt after Nectanabus had been driven into Ethiopia.

As is gathered from the *History of Alexander*, Nectanabus is remembered as excelling among the wise men of Egypt. If the danger of war threatened him, he did not warn the army or engines of Mars. Instead, entering the inner rooms of the palace and the royal secrets, he carried in with him a basin and hid there alone. He filled the basin with the clearest spring water, fashioned the likeness of a ship from wax, and placed images of people there. All these seemed to move and live.

He also employed a wand of ebony wood and spoke through a hollow channel the words by which he summoned the gods above and below. Thus he labored to sink the little ship in the basin. From this it came about that, together with the sinking of that wax and the waxen images burned in it, all the enemies whose presence was announced would also be drowned at sea.

On one occasion he was told that many nations had risen against him with one conspiracy and the same will: the Indians, Arabs, Phoenicians, Parthians, and whatever barbarous nations inhabit the East. When he heard this, he clapped his hands and dissolved into great laughter. Resorting to the skill of his customary art, he understood that he would be conquered and captured by his enemies unless he took counsel for flight.

Soon afterward, after shaving his head and beard and gathering all his precious things, he reached Macedonia. Clothed there in a linen garment, he professed himself an astrologer and commended the power of his skill with great wonder. His reputation became so celebrated that it did not escape Queen Olympias, the wife of King Philip.

Philip was then away at war. The queen began to consult Nectanabus's skill. Marveling at the woman's beauty, he was captured by love of her. While he gazed more intently upon her face, she said, “Why are you so fixed in looking at me?” He answered: “I recall that oracle which I received from the gods in Egypt, because I must foretell true things to a queen. Consult me, therefore, concerning what you desire.”

Immediately he brought out his tablets, which those learned in this art call a *pinax*. They were varied with gold and ivory and contained a horoscope of seven stars with their figures. There Jupiter was seen in an airy stone, that is, hyacinth; the Sun in crystal; the Moon in diamond; Mars in hematite; Mercury in emerald; Venus in sapphire; and Saturn in ophite. The horoscope itself was in Lygdian stone.

Olympias then marveled at the variety of the stars. Standing nearer, she said, “Oh, look, I beg you, at the harmony between Philip and me. For there is a widespread report that if he returns from the enemy, he wishes to transfer himself to another woman.”

After examining the constellation and the things she had asked, Nectanabus said: “That report is true, but I shall help you so that you need fear nothing from divorce. For according to what I have foreseen, it is fated that you will unite with a god and give birth to a son who will avenge anything Philip may dare against you.”

She said, “To the bed of what god, then, am I destined?” He answered, “To Ammon, god of Libya. Therefore prepare yourself for his nuptials as befits a queen. You will see both a dream and, in that dream, the nuptials that will occur between you and the god.”

To abbreviate the history, by magical arts this wicked Nectanabus caused her to dream that she was united with the god Ammon and made pregnant by him. When she had related this to Nectanabus himself, he said that it must soon be fulfilled. Hence she should prepare a bed for herself beside his own so that when this occurred, if anything were needed, he could help her.

He explained that Ammon would come to her in the form of a dragon with a ram's head and horns, in a white garment, and that she should then prepare herself for union with him. At night in her bedchamber, therefore, that wicked man caused Ammon to appear to her by magical illusions in the form prescribed. While she looked only upon that form, Nectanabus, who was nearby in the adjoining bed, knew her carnally, and Alexander was then conceived from her.

By his incantations Nectanabus also caused Philip, who was then at war, to dream this very thing: that his wife Olympias was united with the god Ammon. When he returned and heard that the queen was pregnant, at first he began almost to believe this. Then he strongly doubted whether she had been joined not to a god but to another man, and he rebuked her harshly.

Perceiving this, Nectanabus contrived by diabolical art that at a solemn banquet where Philip and Olympias were present, a dragon should appear in that form with such terrible sharpness of hissing that the foundations of the house seemed to shake. As it entered the place of the banquet and everyone was struck with fear, Olympias extended her hands to the dragon as she had been instructed. Becoming gentle, it rested its head in her lap and gave her a kiss. Then, withdrawing toward evening, it was changed into an eagle and flew away from their midst.

Deceived by this, Philip asserted that the matter was so--that she had conceived from a god--but that he did not know from which one: whether from Jove because of the eagle, or from Ammon because of the dragon's form, since he was worshiped in that form. She answered, “From the god Ammon.”

At length, as Olympias gave birth, Nectanabus stood by, observing the courses and motions of the stars. When the woman groaned more violently, she brought forth the child. As soon as it fell to the ground, a movement of the earth immediately followed, together with the crash of thunder, the conflict of winds, and the flashing of lightning.

As Justin relates in book 12, on the day Alexander was born two eagles sat continuously throughout the entire day above the roof of his house, presenting an omen of his twofold empire over Europe and Asia.

Philip called him Alexander in memory of his son who had died from an earlier marriage. As Vincent writes in book 5, chapter 5, Alexander was very beautiful in form and countenance, beneath slightly curled and yellowish hair and a leonine mane, and of outstanding beauty. One of his eyes was almost black, but the left was gray and unlike it.

His nurse was called Alacronis. His tutor in letters was Leonides; Polinichus was his teacher of music; Alcippus of geometry; Anaximenes of oratory; and that Aristotle of Miletus of philosophy, as is read in the history. Jerome nevertheless relates that Aristotle showed Alexander the elements of letters for the use of books.

Jerome likewise says to Laeta: “Greek history relates that Alexander, the most powerful king, could not be free in conduct and gait from the faults of Leonides, his tutor, with which he had been infected while still a small child.” As Seneca relates, Alexander later threw this same Leonides to the lions to be devoured.

When Alexander had reached the age of twelve, as is read in his history, he became his father's companion. He always trained himself to put on and use arms, rejoiced to be seen with armies, and, leaping upon horses, performed everything as a most prudent soldier.

When Philip went to a nearby Illyrian city, loving Olympias with an affection unlike that with which he had formerly loved her, Olympias immediately sought Nectanabus again and consulted him about Philip's secret plan. As he sat beside Alexander and spoke from that astral art, Alexander asked him to teach him the art, which he did.

When Alexander had made no small progress in that art, one night he came headlong to the edge of a previously known pit, where Nectanabus was accustomed to teach him. Alexander unexpectedly cast Nectanabus down. Afflicted in the neck by a fatal blow, Nectanabus complained and asked why he had done this to him.

Alexander answered: “You ought to complain about that art which you knew. For, ignorant of the things that were threatening you, you now lie stretched upon the ground while you scrutinize the heavens.” The magician replied: “There is no escape for mortals from fate. Long ago through this knowledge I learned that I would be killed by my son.”

Alexander said, “Am I your son?” Nectanabus then confessed everything: his flight from Egypt and the art by which he had possessed Olympias. Having said these things, he breathed out his soul.

Alexander then placed him upon his shoulders and carried him back to the palace. He erected a most elaborate and marvelous tomb for him and revealed everything to his mother. She marveled that for so many years she had been deceived by a magician and had committed a shameful act. Learn from this that curious persons are often shamefully deceived, as their curiosity deserves, and that deceivers are finally mocked by the devil.

§ I. Bucephalus

At the same time, as is gathered from the *History of Alexander*, King Philip of the Macedonians, anxious about the successor to his kingdom, sent to Delphi. He received this reply: “O Philip, whoever leaps upon the horse Bucephalus and rides through the middle of Pella shall at last obtain rule over your kingdom and the whole world.”

Bucephalus was a horse remarkable in form, from the royal stock of the herd, with feet shaped according to the fable of Pegasus and of whatever horses of this kind are proclaimed to have belonged to Laomedon. He ate human beings like a beast and raged for food of this kind. Philip had ordered him kept behind iron-bound enclosures.

Alexander was then fourteen years old. One day, as he passed the place where Bucephalus was enclosed, he turned to his companions and said, “Does a neigh strike my ears, or some lion's roar?” Ptolemy, who afterward was called Soter, answered him: “Indeed, this is that Bucephalus whom your father ordered to remain enclosed until now because of the savagery of his teeth.”

Alexander summoned the keepers, removed the barriers, and led out the horse. Grasping its left mane, he leapt upon the quadruped's back and led it here and there without a bridle. Since this caused wonder among those who saw it, someone ran and announced the dangerous deed to Philip.

Philip, recalling the oracle, ran to the boy and saluted him as lord of the whole world. When Alexander was fifteen years old, he asked permission to go to Pisa for the sake of competing with chariots. Philip ordered horses and the other necessities to be prepared for him.

Fourth Title: On the Fifth Age of the World

Chapter Two (continued)

Having boarded a ship, Alexander was carried to his destination by a rather favorable storm. When he had entrusted the care of the horses to his servants there and himself went out to examine the condition of the place, he encountered Nicolaus, king of the Athenians and formerly his fellow student.

Nicolaus greeted Alexander first, but not without insult. “Greetings, boy,” he said, and Alexander did not greet him in return. Nicolaus then spoke a second time: “And by whom do you think you have been greeted? Indeed, I am Nicolaus, king of the Athenians.”

Alexander answered: “What benefit is that vain boasting to you? Abandon it, since you waver concerning tomorrow. I do not approve such arrogance.” Nicolaus said, “I would like to know why you are present.” Alexander acknowledged that he had come to the chariot races in pursuit of the crown.

Nicolaus, filled with the gall of excessive indignation, spat upon the youth and left him after assailing him with curses. But Alexander, who had learned to display restraint in every discipline, wiped the spittle from his face. Smiling at the injury he had received, he said: “I swear, Nicolaus, by the majesty of my father and mother that I shall defeat you even in the present contest.”

Not long afterward, when the appointed day arrived, Alexander defeated Nicolaus and the others who had come to the contest. Crowned with the wreath, he returned to Macedonia.

He happened upon Philip, who, having spurned Olympias, was turning to marriage with Cleopatra. On the wedding day Alexander entered the king's dining room crowned. “Receive, father,” he said, “this first fruit of my labor.” He transferred the crown to Philip's head and said: “When I join my mother again in a royal marriage, I shall share in your banquet.” Having said this, he reclined opposite Philip.

Among the royal entertainments was a certain Lysias, most witty at provoking laughter. Wishing to bite at the youth in order to please the king, he repeatedly attacked him with many kinds of verbal mockery. He was repeatedly warned to turn to someone else whom he knew his sport would please, but he did not obey. At last Alexander, angered, hurled the cup that was at hand and wounded Lysias.

But the king, boiling with anger, sprang at Alexander and fell forward with an injured leg. Alexander then seized a sword, drove away everyone who rushed upon him as though to apprehend him, and departed. Those who were present carried the gravely wounded Philip into a chamber and placed him upon a bed. After several days, when there was already hope of recovering his health, Alexander entered before Philip and reconciled his mother Olympias to him.

§ II. The Death of Philip

From the *History of Alexander* and Vincent, book 5: In these times it was reported that the city of Methona had withdrawn from obedience to the king. Although Philip was stirred in spirit, while the strength of his body was still failing he sent Alexander with an army against it. Alexander subdued it in a short time.

When he entered before his father to announce the victory, he saw in the royal house men clothed in barbarian dress. Asking about them, he learned that they were an embassy of King Darius. Those envoys had come for the tribute and tax of the land and water.

Marveling at the manner and title of the demand, Alexander said to the one who appeared to be foremost among them: “Do the Persians claim from mortals these elements, which God has bestowed in common upon all?” He therefore ordered commands from

himself to be carried to Darius: that he should refrain from this custom of demanding. Otherwise, Darius should know that he would contest more fiercely in battle with Alexander. Having said this, he ordered the men to depart.

Again, while a neighboring city wavered in its obedience, the expedition was given to Alexander and he was ordered to go there.

Meanwhile a certain Pausanias, abounding in wealth and pleasures, fell in love with Olympias. When he attempted this through intermediaries and the woman consented--namely, that after Philip's death she would marry him--Pausanias judged the time opportune because Alexander, whose name was already excessively feared, happened then to be absent. He suddenly rushed upon Philip and anticipated him with a wound.

When Philip had been mortally struck, Pausanias immediately hastened to abduct Olympias. While the people were still in turmoil in the theater because the affair had perhaps been accomplished according to plan, Alexander arrived. He encountered the commotion and Philip's wounds. Rushing upon the queen, he apprehended Pausanias's violence.

When Alexander aimed a javelin at him but was held back by fear of wounding his mother, Olympias encouraged him: “Throw it, son; throw it. Do not hesitate.” But when Alexander discovered that Philip was still breathing, he ordered Pausanias brought there and placed a sword in his father's right hand. By striking with Philip's hand, he killed Pausanias.

Philip, now dying, said: “There is nothing about the end of life or death that saddens me. For I gladly die having avenged myself upon the author of the injury.” He added: “I remember, Alexander, that the god foretold to your pregnant mother that she would bear an avenging son.”

§ III. Philip's Character

Justin says in book 9 concerning Philip's character: King Philip was more devoted to the equipment both of arms and of banquets. His greatest riches were the instruments of wars, and he was more skillful in acquiring wealth than in guarding it. Thus amid his daily plundering he was always in want.

Mercy and treachery were equally dear to him. In his eyes no method of conquering was shameful. He was equally flattering and treacherous in speech, promising more than he performed. He cultivated friendships for utility, not fidelity. It was his customary practice to feign favor amid hatred, to stir up hatred between those in harmony, and to seek favor with each side. Amid these traits his eloquence was distinguished and entirely full of acuteness and skill, so that neither did facility lack ornament nor ornament facility.

Valerius says concerning him: Philip rebuked Alexander in a letter for attempting to draw the goodwill of certain Macedonians to himself by gifts: “What reason, son, led you into this vain hope, that you judged those whom you bound to love of yourself by money would be faithful to you?”

The same Valerius says in book 1: Philip, father of Alexander, was admonished by the oracle of Apollo to guard his safety from the violence of a four-horse chariot. He caused every chariot throughout his kingdom to be taken apart. He also always avoided the place in Boeotia celebrated by the name Quadriga. But Pausanias had a four-horse chariot engraved upon the hilt of the sword with which he killed him.

In these times, while Philip was besieging the city of Methona, an arrow shot from the walls gouged out his right eye, says Justin. That wound made him neither more sluggish in war nor more angry toward the enemy. Indeed, when they sought peace several days later, he granted it and was not merely moderate but even gentle toward the conquered.

The Greek cities, however, while each desired to rule, all lost their rule. Thus Philip plotted against the liberty of them all from a kind of watchtower.

That Artaxerxes who is also called Ochus sent his prefect Nagosus to all the regions beyond the River Euphrates, as the Comestor says. At that time the high priest in Jerusalem was named John. His brother, called Jesus, aspired to the high priesthood and made the aforesaid Nagosus his intimate.

When Jesus quarreled with John in the temple, he was killed. Indignant at this, Nagosus went up to Jerusalem, entered the temple, and plundered it. When he was reproved, he answered that he was cleaner than those who had killed a man within it. He imposed tribute upon the ministers of the temple.

§ IV. The Successor of Ochus

After the death of Ochus, whom some also call Artaxerxes and who held the kingdom of the Persians for twenty-eight years, the historians speak variously about his successor.

For in the chronicles it is said that after Ochus his son Arges reigned in Persia for four years. Helinand says: “Justin does not number this man among the kings of the Persians but places Darius immediately after Ochus.” Tertullian calls this Arges “Argus”

and says that he reigned one year. Isidore calls him Xerxes and says that he reigned four years. Jerome upon Daniel calls him Arxes. Certain others call him Arsanius.

The Comestor says: “After King Ochus came his son Arsanius, and after Arsanius Darius reigned in Persia.” This is the Darius with whom, as will be said below, Alexander waged the wars mentioned in 1 Maccabees 1:

“After Alexander the Macedonian, son of Philip, who first reigned in Greece, defeated Darius, king of the Persians and Medes, he fought many battles and captured all the fortifications. He killed the kings of the earth and passed through as far as the ends of the earth. He took the spoils of a multitude of nations, and the earth was silent in his sight. He gathered strength and an exceedingly powerful army. His heart was exalted and lifted up, and he obtained the regions of nations and tyrants, and they were made tributary to him.” Thus there.

After Darius had been defeated, the monarchy was transferred from the Persians to the Greeks through Alexander.

§ V. Alexander's Accession

Therefore some matters must be considered to clarify the foregoing: his battles against Darius and his victory, his subjugation of other nations, and finally his death. Here it also appears sufficiently from the words of Scripture that he was Philip's son, not Nectanabus's as is read in his history and was stated above, because Scripture calls him “Alexander of Philip,” that is, Philip's son.

Unless someone says that he is called Philip's son in the same way that Jesus is called Joseph's son--that is, his putative son--as Luke 3 says, “as it was supposed,” namely, that Jesus was Joseph's son. Thus Alexander was supposed and said to be Philip's son.

In the first year of the 109th Olympiad, which was the 255th year of the Fifth Age and the 3,628th year from the beginning of the world, Darius, the fourteenth king of the Persians and son of Arsanius, reigned for six years. In the same year Alexander succeeded Philip in the kingdom and reigned twelve years, as is also contained in 1 Maccabees 1.

According to Justin, Alexander was greater than his father in both virtues and vices. Each had a different method of conquering. Alexander openly and Philip by stratagems conducted their different wars. Philip rejoiced when enemies were deceived; Alexander when they were openly routed. Philip was prudent in counsel; Alexander more magnificent in spirit.

The father for the most part concealed his anger and even overcame it; when Alexander became inflamed, there was neither delay nor measure to his vengeance. Both were excessively eager for wine, but their drunkenness was different. The father was accustomed even from the banquet to run against the enemy, join battle, and recklessly expose himself to dangers. Alexander raged not against the enemy but against his own people.

The father preferred to be loved; the son, feared. Their cultivation of letters was similar; the father was more skillful, the son of greater fidelity in word and speech. Philip was more moderate in affairs and in sparing the conquered; his son's spirit was readier and nobler. The father was more devoted to frugality; the son to luxury.

Alexander's first care was for his father's funeral rites. Before all else, he ordered those who were complicit in the killing to be killed at his father's tomb. He spared only Alexander of Lyncestis, preserving the omen of his own dignity, for he had been the first to greet him as king. He also ordered Caranus, his rival for the throne and his brother born of his stepmother, to be killed. Thus Justin in book 9.

§ VI. Alexander's Army and First Expeditions

From the *History of Alexander*: After arranging his father's burial, Alexander soon ascended his statue. Summoning the whole multitude of the people, he said: “Behold, it is time for whoever desires to serve with Alexander to hasten to enter a military compact with him. For it seems worthy to me that we first make war upon those who saddened us before and now desire to despoil us even of liberty.”

Having heard these words, every soldier gave assent as though he had been called divinely. At the beginning of his reign, Justin says, Alexander gave the Macedonians immunity from all obligations except the summons to military service. By this deed he won so great a favor from everyone that they said he had changed the body of a man, not the valor of a king.

Then Alexander, according to his history, opened his father's treasuries and distributed arms and riches to everyone. After counting the soldiers whom he himself had newly enrolled, he assembled 15,000 Macedonian infantry and 8,000 troops of various auxiliaries. There were 2,007 native horsemen and 8,000 lightly armed Thracians. Hence, with this number joined to the veteran soldiery, he gathered about 70,704 fighting men.

As Justin in book 11 and Quintus Curtius say, he chose not robust young men flourishing in the prime of life but veterans, most of them even discharged soldiers who had served with his father and uncles, so that you would think not soldiers but masters of warfare had been chosen. No one younger than sixty led the ranks. If you had seen the front lines of the camp, you would have said

that you were seeing the senate of some ancient commonwealth. Thus no one thought of flight in battle but of victory, and no one's hope was in his feet but in his arms.

According to the *History of Alexander*, Alexander took most abundant traveling money from Philip's treasuries. After preparing a fleet, he crossed into Thrace and from there into Lycaonia, to which the present age has newly given the name Lucania. Proceeding from there, he traversed all Libya.

When the army had been collected into one body, he hastened toward the interior of Egypt. The Egyptians judged him worthy of the royal garment and throne, saying that a second Sesoncosis had come to them.

Again, he added to his name all the cities of Syria through which he passed. At length he came to Tyre, but the Tyrians closed their gates and denied him entry. While he sought to plunder the city violently, many Macedonians were slain and he withdrew.

Fourth Title: On the Fifth Age of the World

Chapter Two (continued)

After this destruction Alexander threatened the Tyrians. He sent messengers and ordered a letter of the following tenor to be delivered to them:

“I had judged it befitting imperial clemency and justice to spare your city. But because you were the first of all to oppose my commands with insolence, you shall provide a fearful example to others of the strength in Macedonian hands. Farewell, if you are wise; for you will not fare well if you persist in this course.”

When this letter had been read, the leading Tyrians ordered the envoys seized. First they subjected them to tortures and then fastened them to crosses. Provoked by these insults and moved by grave indignation, Alexander attacked the city with greater violence. He destroyed it and laid it waste, killing persons of every sex and age. He appointed a satrap over Tyre.

It should be noted, however, according to Vincent, book 5, chapter 25, that Justin says Alexander came into Syria after his two victories over Darius. There many kings, together with their islands, came to meet him. According to the merit of each, he received some into alliance, but stripped others of their kingdoms and installed new kings in their places.

§ VII. Letters Exchanged by Darius and Alexander

As Alexander was marching against him, Darius sent him a letter saying:

“Darius, king of kings and kinsman of the gods, commands and declares this to Alexander, my servant: Return to your parents, who are my servants, and lie in your mother's lap to be instructed in manly duty. For that purpose I have sent you here a rein, a ball, and a little box containing gold. The ball is sent because play with it suits your tender age, not these undertakings upon which you have embarked after the manner of robbers. Even if you led the whole human race with you in an equal conspiracy, you could by no means terrify the Persian empire. I possess so great a multitude of armies that nothing can better be compared to it than the sands of the sea. Here too is such an abundance of gold and silver that, if I wished, I could cover the whole earth with it. I have therefore sent you gold coins so that, should you require funds for your return, you may buy what is necessary for yourself and your men. But if you delay in obeying our commands, I shall immediately send men to bind you, disgracefully scourge you, and bring you before our majesty.”

These words greatly frightened Alexander's nobles. But Alexander said to them: “Why are you disturbed by barbarous speeches that bear witness to arrogance, not proof of confidence? It is the habit even of weaker dogs to indulge the more in barking the more strength they lack.”

Having said this, he presented the Persian envoys with the gold that they had brought, sent them home, and gave them this letter:

“Alexander, king of kings and kinsman of the gods, greets Darius. It appears to me shameful and utterly absurd that so great a king, supported--as he boasts--by so many forces, should long and grievously serve under the dominion of contemptible little rhetoricians and, among them, of one abject little man and robber named Alexander. I ask, then, what intention led you to say that you overflowed with riches of gold and silver. Was it that, on learning this, we might burn with desire for the gold and fight you more stubbornly and boldly? You add that you sent me a rein, a ball, and little boxes of gold. However you may choose to explain them, I shall declare that by an auspicious sign everything has been granted to me by you. For I take the rein so that I may use it upon those subject to you. By its roundness, the ball likewise promises me dominion over the whole world. The third gift you added bears witness that I shall become lord of your wealth.”

When Darius had read Alexander's letter, he was moved by its arrogance and wrote as follows to the satraps dwelling beyond Mount Taurus: “Philip's son, a young man, is said to be mad and to be raiding all Asia. It is therefore our pleasure that he be severely beaten with childish rods, then clothed in purple and handed over to us. But let the satraps sink the fleet with its sailors in the sea, and let all the soldiers be transported to the farther shores of the Red Sea.”

When Darius again wrote arrogantly to Alexander, Alexander swore that the matter would henceforth be conducted not with words but with drawn swords.

As they fought and hope of the outcome wavered, a sudden rain at last arose. Saying that heaven itself was opposing them, they took flight, with Darius leading the way, his chariot abandoned and a swift horse mounted. In this first battle, which took place on the plains of Adrestis, the Persian army numbered seven hundred thousand soldiers, according to Justin, and a great slaughter was made of them. From Alexander's army, however, only nine infantrymen and one hundred and twenty horsemen fell. King Alexander buried them with great honor, gave them equestrian statues, and granted immunities to their relatives. After this victory, the greater part of Asia defected to him.

Only the *History of Alexander* speaks of this sudden rain as though sent from heaven. It says that after the victory Alexander sent to Scamander, commander of his regions, to dispatch reinforcements. Alexander himself traversed all Achaia and, after gaining many cities, gathered one hundred and seventy thousand armed men, whom he led across Taurus.

The same history says that he next directed his march through Thebes toward Darius, but the Thebans closed their gates against him. While he besieged the city, one of the Thebans took up his pipes, fell upon his knees before the ruler, and played a song of entreaty, saying: “O mightiest of kings, do not destroy this city, which the immortal gods, ancestors of your lineage, founded for you. Remember that Liber was born here and that this city nursed Hercules. Amphion and Zethus, who are a great part of your stock, built these walls.”

Yet Alexander could not be induced to refrain from devastating it with fire and sword. Later, however, he had it proclaimed that rebuilding Thebes was permitted in honor of three gods: Hercules, Mercury, and Pollux.

After this Alexander proceeded to Athens. The Athenians, together with the Lacedaemonians, had defected from him to the Persians at the instigation of Demosthenes, who had been corrupted by the Persians with a great weight of gold. Demosthenes had suborned a man to report that the king of the Macedonians had perished among the Triballi with all his forces. Thus Alexander arrived unexpectedly. When he had suppressed these disturbances, Aeschines urged the Athenians to surrender to Alexander, while Demosthenes strove in opposition to make them rebel.

The excellent saying, “When a friend asks me for a loan, I lose both friend and money,” is attributed to Demosthenes. Demades himself, when the Athenians wished to bestow divine honors upon Alexander, said, “Take care that while you guard heaven you do not lose the earth.” When Demosthenes was consulted amid this difference of opinion between Aeschines and Demades, he answered that the advice of Aeschines should prevail. A golden crown was therefore sent to Alexander through Demosthenes himself. After defeating the Athenians, Alexander overcame the Lacedaemonians. Justin, however, says that Alexander did all these things before his first encounter with Darius, concerning which something was said above.

§ VIII. Alexander Crosses Taurus and Defeats Darius

Therefore, Justin says in book 11, Alexander feared the narrow passes and crossed Taurus with great speed, traversing five hundred stadia in a single day. When he came to Tarsus, he was captivated by the charm of the River Cydnus, which flowed through the middle of the city and which, according to the *History of Alexander*, was second to no river in either size or clarity. Covered with dust, he cast aside his weapons and threw himself into its exceedingly cold water. A chill suddenly seized his sinews.

The *History of Alexander* says that he threw himself from the bridge with his arms on and swam out. But because his body was hot when he entered the violent cold of the water, the chill so injured his sinews and brought him so near destruction that he appeared about to breathe his last. He received a prepared drink from his physician Philip and, according to Justin, recovered his health on the fourth day.

Then, according to Quintus Curtius, he led his army through Media, emerging from a most laborious passage through the desert. Darius's army was positioned beside the channel of the Tigris. According to Justin, it had four hundred thousand infantrymen and one hundred thousand horsemen.

Alexander exhorted his troops to despise that battle line gleaming with gold and silver, in which there was more booty than danger. After battle had begun and the fighting had become frequent, a Persian dressed in Macedonian arms struck Alexander from behind. The blow failed and glanced away because of the strength of the helmet. The man was seized and brought before the king. Asked the reason for his act, he said that Darius had promised him part of the kingdom together with his daughter if he could kill Alexander. Alexander praised the promise and the man's daring and allowed him to return to his own people.

Alexander then gathered an innumerable multitude and approached more closely. At first he disguised his arrival in this way: after collecting a countless number of cattle into one place, he ordered leafy branches fastened to their horns and tails. With the horns raised, they presented something like the appearance of a forest, while the dragging branches raised dust that, seen from afar, obscured recognition of the army.

When battle was joined, both kings were wounded. The contest long remained uncertain, until Darius fled. A great slaughter of Persians then followed. Sixty-one thousand infantrymen and ten thousand horsemen were killed, and forty thousand were captured. Of the Macedonians, one hundred and thirty infantrymen and one hundred and fifty horsemen fell.

When Alexander beheld Darius's resources and display of riches, he was seized with wonder at such great wealth. He then first began to pursue luxurious banquets and magnificence. He also began to love the captive Barsine for her beauty; the son he later had by her he named Heracles. Yet remembering that Darius still lived, he sent Parmenion to seize the Persian fleet and other friends to receive the cities of Asia. As soon as they heard the report of victory, those cities came into the victors' power, their own prefects of Darius surrendering them with a great weight of gold.

Then, as the Comestor says, Alexander began to aspire to the monarchy of the East. Entering Syria, he took Damascus; after occupying Sidon, he besieged Tyre. At that time Saraballa, whom Darius had made prefect of those regions, selected eight thousand of his men and went over to Alexander's aid. He said that he preferred to obey Alexander rather than Darius and would hand over the places subject to his authority. Alexander received him gratefully.

Saraballa further said that he had a son-in-law named Manasses, brother of the high priest of the Jewish nation, and that many others of that nation were present with him. They wished, he said, to build a temple under Alexander in the appointed place. He declared that this would benefit Alexander because Jewish power, divided into two, would not rebel. Once Alexander granted permission, Saraballa zealously built a temple and altar. It endured until the destruction wrought by the Romans, and he established Manasses there as high priest.

While Alexander was continuing the siege of Tyre, he wrote to the high priest in Jerusalem, inviting him to furnish aid, prepare provisions for sale to the army, and pay to Alexander the tribute that he had rendered to Darius. The high priest Jadus answered that he had sworn an oath to Darius and could not violate the agreement while Darius lived. Alexander then threatened the Jewish nation, saying that through him they would learn to whom they ought to keep their promises.

After raising siegeworks he made Tyre part of the mainland. Once it was devastated, he besieged Gaza, and Saraballa died. Having captured Gaza, Alexander hastened toward Jerusalem. The terrified Jews cried out to the Lord and offered sacrifices, while Jadus prayed for the Jewish nation. When he fell asleep after the sacrifice, God instructed him to be confident, to adorn the city with garlands, and to go out to meet Alexander clad in his pontifical vestments, with the other priests wearing their lawful robes. Rising from sleep, he made the oracle known to everyone.

Hearing that Alexander was not far from the city, Jadus proceeded with the priests and a multitude of citizens to a place from which Jerusalem and the temple could be seen. What happened was contrary to the expectation of all who followed the king. Alexander looked upon the high priest distinguished by his pontifical robe and upon the plate above his headdress, on which was written the four-letter name of God. He dismounted, approached alone, adored the Name, and venerated the high priest.

The commanders of his army were astonished and thought that the king had lost his senses. Parmenion alone asked why he had adored the high priest of the Jewish people. Alexander answered: “I did not adore this man but the God whose high priesthood he bears. For in a dream I saw God in just such a habit while I was still in the Macedonian city of Dium. As I deliberated whether I could obtain Asia, he ordered me to be confident, for he himself would lead my army and hand over to me the dominion of the Persians. Now I have seen his likeness in this priest, and I trust that what he promised me will come to pass. For this reason I adored God and venerated the man.”

Alexander entered the city and sacrificed to God in the temple according to the priest's direction. They brought him the prophet Daniel, in whom it was written that one of the Greeks would destroy the power of the Persians. Believing that this had been written about him, he rejoiced. On the next day he summoned the people and ordered them to ask for whatever they wished. At their request he granted that the Jews everywhere might use their ancestral laws and that the seventh year should be free of tribute on account of the sabbath of the land. He then departed for other cities.

The Samaritans, seeing his generosity toward the Jews, declared that they were their kinsmen and of Jewish seed, tracing their origin from Ephraim and Manasseh. They asked him to honor their temple on Mount Gerizim, which he promised to do upon his return.

Fourth Title: On the Fifth Age of the World

Chapter Two (continued)

When the Samaritans asked Alexander for remission in the seventh year, he asked who they were, and they said that they were Hebrews. When he further asked whether they were Jews, they denied that they were Jews. He replied to them, “I granted this privilege only to the Jews.”

Augustine says in book 18 of *The City of God*: “Alexander indeed offered sacrifices in the temple of God, not because he had been converted to worship him with true piety, but because in impious vanity he supposed that God ought to be worshiped together with false gods.”

Justin says in book 11 that Alexander then went to the oracle of Ammon, desiring both to acquire a divine origin and to free his mother from infamy. Through agents sent in advance, he instructed the priests what answer he wanted them to give him. As he entered the temple, they immediately greeted him as the son of Hammon. Delighted by this adoption, he ordered that Hammon be regarded as his father.

Orosius says in book 3: “Alexander revealed to us that in the case of deaf and mute gods it lies within the power of the priest to invent whatever he wishes, or within the pleasure of the inquirer to hear whatever he wishes.”

Valerius says: “Alexander mounted three steps of insolence. In disdain for Philip, he adopted Jove and Ammon as his fathers. Weary of Macedonian culture, he assumed Persian dress and customs. Spurning mortal attire, he emulated the divine. Nor was he ashamed to dissemble being a son, a citizen, and a human being.”

§ IX. The Fall and Death of Darius

When Darius had fled to Babylon, he begged Alexander by letter to permit him to ransom the captives from the nations, for which he promised a great sum. But Alexander demanded the entire kingdom as the price, not money. Darius again sent word that he would give a portion of his kingdom and his daughter in marriage. Alexander wrote back that Darius was offering him what was already his. He ordered Darius to come as a suppliant and to promise that the victor might dispose of the kingdom at will.

Then, as Justin says, Darius, having lost hope of peace, marched against Alexander with four hundred thousand infantrymen and one hundred thousand horsemen. On the journey he was informed that his wife had died from the shock of a miscarried birth. He heard that Alexander had followed her death with tears and had generously conducted her funeral rites, and that he had done this from humanity rather than love. For Alexander had seen her only once, although he frequently consoled her mother and little daughters.

Darius then judged that he was truly conquered, since after losing in battle he was also surpassed by his enemy in kindness. He was grateful that, if he could not conquer, he was conquered above all by such a man. He wrote a third letter thanking Alexander for doing nothing hostile to his family. He then offered the greater part of the kingdom as far as the Euphrates, another daughter as wife, and thirty thousand talents for the remaining captives.

Alexander replied that thanks from an enemy were needless. He had done nothing to flatter an enemy or to seek inducements to peace because the outcome of war was uncertain; rather, he had learned by greatness of spirit to contend against an enemy's strength, not his misfortunes. He promised that he would do these things for Darius if Darius wished to be regarded as second to him, but not his equal. The world, moreover, could not be ruled by two suns, nor could the globe possess two supreme kingdoms without imperiling the order of the earth. Therefore Darius should either surrender that day or prepare his battle line for the next.

Alexander encamped near the River Stranga. It seemed good to him that he should go to Darius himself as an intermediary. Accompanied only by Eumedes and a single attendant, he came to the Stranga, a river which the frequent cold usually bound so hard that it was passable even by the heaviest wagons. Ordering Eumedes to remain there, Alexander approached Darius's tents while Darius was away inspecting his army.

When Darius returned, Alexander met him and said: “Behold, I am here as Alexander's intermediary, bearing these instructions: I judge that the king who advances less promptly to battle thereby testifies to his own cowardice and mistrust. Answer, therefore, what time you have granted us for the contest.”

Darius said, “Are you perhaps Alexander himself, who so resolutely and confidently declares war upon us?” Alexander denied that he was Alexander and professed that he was only his intermediary. Darius then took him by the hand and led Alexander with him into the royal pavilion for dinner, where Alexander was ordered to recline opposite Darius.

He happened to do something remarkable. Whatever drinking vessel he took up, after drinking the wine he hid the vessel in the fold of his garment. When this was reported to Darius by his servants and the angry king accused him of theft, Alexander answered that this custom was observed at Alexander's court and that he had supposed the same custom was observed there.

After the king had been pacified and silence restored, one of the diners, named Pasarges, who had once been received as Philip's guest, began to recognize Alexander. Perceiving this, Alexander suddenly leapt up and departed, carrying with him the cups hidden

in his garment. Immediately outside the doors he ran through with his sword a Persian holding his horse, mounted, and fled. The Persians pursued him, but their pursuit was slower and Alexander's course more effective. Darius was overwhelmed with grief at the loss of the enemy who had escaped.

Returning to the river, Alexander came upon another place that was not frozen, and he and his horse plunged together into the depths. It was night, but he drove the horse forward and swam out. He found Eumedes, explained to him the whole order of events, and cheered his commanders with the same account. On the following day he positioned his battle line, arranged and equipped, beside the Stranga.

Meanwhile Darius, Justin says, approached with his men. Suddenly Alexander, exhausted by cares, was seized by sleep before battle. When only the king was absent from the battle, Parmenion awakened him with difficulty. Everyone asked why he slept amid dangers, although even in peace he always took less sleep than others. He answered that he had been freed from great anxiety and that sudden security had given him sleep. He had feared that if Darius divided his army, he would have to endure a long delay in the war; now he would fight all Darius's forces together.

Alexander ordered that none of his men cross the river and gave the Persians room to cross. When battle was joined, great slaughter was made on both sides. At length the Persians fled, Darius leading the way. When all of them rushed heedlessly into the river together, the Stranga ceased to perform its usual service: it swallowed and killed everyone who entered it. The pursuing Macedonians cut down the rest. As Justin says, rarely was so much blood shed in any battle.

When Darius saw his men being defeated, the *History of Alexander* says that he wished to die himself, but his companions compelled him to flee. Some then advised him to break down the bridge over the river and block the enemy's approach. He answered that he did not wish to consult his own safety in such a way that so many thousands of allies would be exposed to the enemy; the road to escape that had lain open for him ought also to lie open for others.

Alexander, Quintus Curtius says, undertook even the most perilous actions. Whenever he saw the enemy fighting in the densest ranks, he always plunged into the midst of them most fiercely and wished his dangers to be shared with very few.

Darius, abandoning every better hope, entered his palace, cast himself miserably upon the ground with loud wailing, and was exhausted by excessive lamentation. At last, after resting, he wrote to Alexander as follows:

“Darius greets my lord Alexander. You will act more fittingly if by mercy you conquer those whom fortune has subjected to you. I ask you, therefore, to remember my mother, wife, and daughters in a manner worthy of yourself and restore them to me. In return for your goodwill, I promise to hand over to you all the treasures that my royal ancestors and forefathers left buried in the earth. I also concede to you the kingdoms of Persia, Media, and other nations.”

When Alexander said that he would not do this, Darius then wrote to King Porus, asking him to assist against Alexander and making many promises. This did not remain hidden from Alexander. He hastened to overtake Darius before he entered the Caspian Gates.

Thus by this battle, as Justin and Orosius say, Alexander seized imperial rule for himself in the fifth or sixth year of his reign. His success was so great that thereafter no one dared rebel. He traversed Persia in thirty-seven days. In the city of Susa he found sixty thousand talents. He also stormed Persepolis, capital of the Persian kingdom, a city illustrious through many years and filled with the spoils of the world that had until then lain open to Persian rule.

Amid these events, Justin says, eight hundred Greeks came to Alexander. Darius had held them captive and mutilated parts of their bodies. Although Alexander gave them permission to return home, they preferred to die there rather than carry home their disfigured appearance.

According to the *History of Alexander*, two satraps, Bessus and Ariobarzanes, were with Darius while he was planning his flight. Wishing to gain Alexander's favor, they found Darius alone, overpowered him, mortally wounded him, and fled until they could see which way events would turn.

Meanwhile Alexander discovered Darius bound by his own kinsmen with golden chains and fetters in a Parthian village named Tara, as Justin says. When Alexander came to where he lay, Darius stretched out his suppliant hands and, as best he could, grasped Alexander's knees. At last he addressed him:

“Even in this fortune I possess a great consolation in my death: I shall breathe out my spirit in your hands, O Alexander, bravest of kings. Therefore, I beg you, do not begrudge me a burial, which I ask your Macedonians to perform for me together with the Persians. I commend Dunem, my mother, and Cilitho, my wife, into your hands. My daughter Roxane I commend to you with this plea: deem her worthy to be your wife.”

Having said this, he breathed out his spirit. Alexander shed many tears and ordered him buried with royal dignity according to the Persian rite.

Orosius reports in book 3 that in these three battles and as many years, one million five hundred thousand infantrymen and horsemen were destroyed, drawn from that kingdom and those peoples. Over not many more years, the number of those routed is reported as one million nine hundred thousand.

Justin says that while pursuing Darius Alexander buried his lost soldiers with great funeral expense and distributed thirteen thousand talents among his surviving allies. Most of the horses had been lost through heat, and those that survived were rendered useless. All the money, one hundred and ninety thousand talents, was gathered at Ecbatana, and Parmenion was placed over it.

Meanwhile Agis, king of the Lacedaemonians, rebelled in Greece and was crushed by Antipater. When Alexander heard this, Quintus Curtius says, he rejoiced that the enemies had been defeated but did not conceal his indignation that Antipater had won, considering anything achieved by another to have been taken from his own glory.

Therefore, according to Jerome, in the sixth year of his reign and the second year of the 112th Olympiad, Alexander captured Babylon after Darius was slain. The Persian kingdom was destroyed in Darius; it had endured for 231 years under fourteen kings, from the first Cyrus to the last Darius, son of Arsanius.

According to his history, Alexander wished to learn who had killed King Darius. He therefore said: “I rejoice that I have overcome my greatest enemy. Although I did not personally execute him, I have fitting gratitude to repay those who have shown me their goodwill toward me. I therefore exhort them to reveal themselves. I swear also by the majesty of my father and mother that I shall make them exalted and exceedingly well known.”

On hearing this, Bessus and Ariobarzanes revealed themselves. Alexander had them crucified in the highest place, saying that he had fulfilled his oath and was not guilty of perjury, since he had made them exalted and known to everyone.

Justin says that another of Darius's friends who had been captured was brought to Alexander; he had not only betrayed Darius but had killed him. In vengeance for the treachery, Alexander handed him over to Darius's brother for torture. Alexander used to say, according to Quintus Curtius, that those who expected from him a reward for betrayal were mistaken: no one would be a harsher avenger and punisher of violated faith.

Then, so that he might leave his name in those lands, Alexander founded a tower called Alexandria above the River Chanaim. He also founded twelve cities in Bactria and Sogdiana and called them Alexandrias after his own name.

Afterward, Justin says, Alexander assumed the dress and diadem of the Persian kings, until then foreign to Macedonian kings, as though passing over into the laws of those he had conquered. So that these customs might not be conspicuous in himself alone, he ordered his friends also to wear long garments embroidered with gold and purple. From a flock of royal concubines, chosen for beauty and nobility, he assigned each her turn by night. To these things he added immense preparations for banquets, lest his luxury appear lean and impoverished, and he adorned the feast with games suited to royal magnificence. He entirely forgot that such riches were customarily lost, not acquired, through these practices.

He began to rage against his own people not with royal displeasure but with hostile hatred, indignant that he was criticized by those who said he had overthrown the customs of his father Philip and of his country. On account of these charges, the aged Parmenion, who stood nearest to royal rank, was killed together with his son Philotas.

One day, at a formal banquet, when Alexander's drunken friends began speaking of the deeds accomplished by Philip, Alexander began to prefer himself to his father and to exalt the greatness of his own deeds to heaven, while the greater part of the banqueters assented.

Fourth Title: On the Fifth Age of the World

Chapter Two (continued)

But Cleitus, an old and wise man who held the chief place in the king's friendship, relied on that friendship and defended Philip's memory. Angered by this, the king snatched a weapon from an attendant and killed him at the banquet. Exulting in the slaughter, he reproached the dead man with his defense and praise of Philip.

Later, when he understood his crime, Alexander wished to kill himself. Weeping, he embraced Cleitus, touched his wounds, and confessed his madness to him as if he could hear. Alexander would have killed himself had his friends not intervened. He remembered that his nurse had been Cleitus's sister and that he had killed so many friends: Parmenion and Philotas, his cousin Amyntas, his stepmother and his brothers, as well as Attalus, Eurylochus, Pausanias, and other Macedonian nobles.

Justin says that Alexander ate nothing for four days; his fast continued throughout that four-day period until he was won over by the prayers of the whole army. The pleas of the philosopher Callisthenes were especially helpful to him. Callisthenes had studied

with Alexander under Aristotle, was close to him, and had then been summoned by the king himself to commit his memorable deeds to writing.

§ X. Callisthenes, Lysimachus, and the Captive Tribes

Having therefore recalled his mind to war, Justin says, Alexander received the Carasmi and Dahae into submission. He then ordered that he be not merely greeted but adored. Callisthenes stood foremost among those who refused. Angered by this, Alexander falsely charged him with knowledge of a conspiracy prepared against him. With savage cruelty he mutilated every one of his limbs, cutting off his ears, nose, and lips, and rendered him a deformed and pitiable spectacle. In addition, he ordered him shut in a cage with a dog and carried about to frighten the others.

Seeing this, Lysimachus, a pupil of Callisthenes who was accustomed to receive instruction in virtue from him, pitied so great a man, who suffered punishment not for guilt but for freedom. He gave him poison as a remedy for his calamity. When Alexander heard of this, he ordered Lysimachus thrown to a lion. But when the roused lion charged at the sight of him, Lysimachus wrapped his hand in his cloak, thrust it into the lion's mouth, tore out its tongue, and killed the beast.

When this was reported to the king, his anger yielded to admiration, and he held Lysimachus dearer because of the constancy of such great courage. Lysimachus, too, bore the king's insult with a great spirit, as though it came from a parent. Alexander killed many Macedonian leaders who would not adore him under the pretense that they were conspiring against him. Nevertheless, the Macedonians retained their customary way of greeting the king and rejected adoration.

After this Alexander subdued the Dranti, Enargitae, Parimae, Papameni, Adaspii, and other peoples dwelling at the foot of the Caucasus.

When Alexander came to the Caspian Mountains, as the *Scholastic History* relates, the descendants of the ten captive tribes sent to him and asked permission to leave, for by decree they were forbidden to go out. When he inquired into the cause of their captivity, he learned that they had openly revolted from the God of Israel by sacrificing to golden calves and that the prophets had foretold they would not return from captivity.

Alexander answered that they deserved to be confined still more closely. When he sought to close the narrow passes with soft bituminous material and saw that human labor was unequal to the task, he prayed to the Lord God of Israel to complete the work. The mountain cliffs moved toward one another. From this it plainly appears that God's will is that they should not come out. Nevertheless, they will emerge near the end of the world and cause a great slaughter among humankind. Josephus adds here: “What will God do for the faithful, if he did so much for the faithless?”

§ XI. Alexander in India

After this Alexander sought India, which is the beginning of the East, whence Asia rises. Marcianus says that in India there are two summers every year and two harvests. It is believed to constitute a third part of the world.

When Alexander entered India, his history relates, envoys whom Porus had sent immediately met him with this letter:

“I advise you, who raid and harass these borders, to remember that you are a man and attempt nothing against the gods. You can learn who I am and that no fortune has power against us. Therefore I command you to return from here to your own Greece and be content. If your Greece were useful to us, it would long ago have been subjected to the Indians; but because it is useless and possesses nothing worthy of our wealth, it has neither been sought nor will be sought.”

These words did not frighten Alexander at all. Entering India, Justin says in book 12, he covered the trappings of the horses and the arms of the soldiers with silver. From their silver shields he called his army the Argyraspids.

When he came to the city Nysa, a city of Liber, he ordered its inhabitants spared, although they did not resist because they trusted in the religion of Father Liber, by whom the city had been founded. He then led his army to view the sacred mountain. By nature's gifts it was clothed with vines and ivy as though cultivated and adorned by hand. When the army reached the mountain, its men suddenly began to rave and, amid the king's astonishment, immediately ran about uttering the cries of Liber. Alexander thereby understood that by sparing the townspeople he had consulted his own army's welfare more than theirs.

He next sought the kingdom of Queen Cleophis. When she surrendered herself to him, she received her kingdom back from Alexander, having redeemed it by sleeping with him and obtained by seduction what she could not obtain by force. She named the son born to her Alexander; he later reigned over the Indians. But the Indians thereafter called Queen Cleophis, who had cast aside her chastity, the “royal harlot.”

Later, while Alexander was pursuing certain fleeing enemies in India and had been left behind by the speed of his attendants and crowd, Lysimachus alone accompanied him across the broad masses of sand. When Lysimachus's brother Philip had attempted the same thing, he died in his hands. But Alexander dismounted and wounded Lysimachus in the forehead with the point of his spear.

Because the flow of blood could be stopped only by binding it, the king removed his own diadem and placed it upon Lysimachus's head while tending the wound. For Lysimachus this was the first omen of his future royal dignity.

Porus prepared for war and ordered his army to attack the Macedonians, while challenging King Alexander to fight him alone. Alexander did not delay. In the first encounter Porus struck Alexander's horse Bucephalus with his right hand and killed him, as Alexander's history records. The Macedonians regarded this as more bitter than all the other misfortunes that could befall them in battle. Alexander was thrown from his horse and rescued by the rush of his attendants.

Abandoning every other concern of battle, Alexander grasped the dead horse by the tail and dragged it back toward his own side, fearing that the enemy would seize the corpse as a trophy, which would have been deeply shameful to him. Thus, when his own men had been recovered, both sides were granted ten days either to heal the wounded or to bury the dead.

During those days Alexander formed the plan of challenging Porus to single combat, saying that commanders could gain no glory from actions in which they exposed their subjects to danger. This pleased Porus, who considered Alexander's small body: Porus measured five cubits, while Alexander measured only three.

Meanwhile Alexander cast aside his royal dress, assumed the habit of a soldier, and came to Porus's camp as though intending to buy some meat and wine. Porus asked him what Alexander was doing and what his age was. Alexander answered, “Like an old man, our commander warms himself in his tent by the heat of the fire.” Rejoicing that, while he was young and swollen with pride, he was about to fight a decrepit old man, Porus said, “Why, then, does he not consider his age?” Alexander said that he was a common Macedonian soldier and did not know what Alexander was doing.

Porus handed him a threatening letter, promising him many things if he delivered it to Alexander. Alexander swore that he would ensure the letter reached Alexander's hands.

When the day and place appointed for battle arrived, the royal combat began. It long remained uncertain, Alexander probing for a place to wound Porus and Porus avoiding him. At last Porus turned suddenly to see the cause of a commotion among his own men. Alexander immediately ran him through the groin with his sword and felled him.

At this sight the Indians at once began rising against Alexander. But Alexander raised his hand for silence, suppressed the tumult, and, after the situation had been explained by Porus, the whole strength of the Indians submitted to him. Thus the *History of Alexander*.

Justin, however, says that in the first battle, in which Alexander's horse was wounded, Porus was overwhelmed by many wounds and captured. He grieved so intensely at being taken that, although he received pardon from his enemy, he refused both food and the treatment of his wounds. Alexander obtained his consent to live only with difficulty, and in honor of his courage restored him unharmed to his kingdom.

Alexander founded two cities there, Nicaea and Bucephala. Besides the infantry forces, Porus's army contained fourteen thousand eight hundred chariots, all fitted with scythes. Four hundred elephants were captured there, bearing towers with performers stationed upon them.

Vincent records the ornaments and riches of gold and silver in Porus's household in book 5, chapter 50 of the *Historical Mirror*. When Alexander had brought all these things into his possession, he enclosed the entire column with sheets of gold and made golden standards and banners. So great was the mass of gold that the soldiers could scarcely carry it. A thousand elephants of immense size bore the gold. The mules, horses, and camels also had golden bridles, although in their many thousands they carried the soldiers' baggage and necessary provisions.

§ XII. Alexander's Further Conquests in India

After this Alexander, Justin says, subdued the Prasii and Gangaridae. When he came to Aphytes, where two hundred thousand enemies awaited him, the whole army wished to return home. Alexander calmed it by a speech.

He then proceeded to the River Agisines and was carried by it into the Ocean, where he received into submission the Byacennae and Silei, whom Hercules had founded. From there he sailed to the Mandri and Sicambri. Those peoples met him with eighty thousand armed infantrymen and sixty thousand horsemen. After defeating them, he led their army to a city deserted by its defenders.

Alexander was the first to leap down from its wall, without a single attendant, and alone sustained the attack of so many thousands of enemies until his whole army, learning of his danger, leapt down with him after the walls had been thrown down. In that battle an arrow pierced him beneath the breast, and as he was failing from loss of blood he nevertheless fought on one knee until he killed the man who had wounded him.

The treatment of his wound was more grievous than the wound itself. Seneca says that while tormented by its pain Alexander declared: “Everyone swears to me that I am the son of Jove, but this wound cries aloud that I am a man.”

After arranging affairs, Justin says, he sent Polyperchon with the army to Babylon. Alexander himself boarded ships with a most select force and traversed the shores of the Ocean.

While he sailed along them, he captured Dionides, a certain arch-pirate. Alexander asked what it seemed to him that he was doing by making the sea unsafe. Dionides answered: “What does it seem to you that you are doing by making the whole world unsafe? But because I do it with a little ship, I am called a robber; because you do it with a great fleet, you are called an emperor.”

Meanwhile Queen Candace heard of Alexander's fame. She sent one of her painters and ordered him to paint Alexander's likeness with the greatest care and bring it to her. Alexander had already sent her letters containing terms of friendship. She wrote back that above all things it pleased her to establish that alliance so that it might endure between them forever. As a token of friendship, the queen sent him great gifts, precious stones, and marvelous animals.

Alexander, disguised as though he were Antigonus, Alexander's own friend, came to Queen Candace's palace, where she showed him her riches. When the queen said that he was Alexander, not Antigonus, he denied it. She then showed him his own portrait. Gnashing his teeth, he complained that he did not have his sword with him.

The queen said to him: “Put aside this fear. For I shall always preserve for you the same faith that you preserved for my son.” A little earlier, a petty king had carried off the wife of the queen's son; Alexander sent several of his army and caused her to be restored to him.

Another of Queen Candace's sons, named Charogarus, who had the daughter of Porus as his wife, wished to kill Alexander, but his mother did not permit it.

Vincent then relates in book 5, chapter 53 and the chapters following of the *Historical Mirror* the marvels that Alexander found as he passed through different places. Alexander says that he discovered them in India in his own letter. I omit that letter for brevity and because its truth is very doubtful.

Fourth Title: On the Fifth Age of the World

Chapter Two (continued)

§ XIII. Alexander and the Brahmans

When Alexander, as is read, was traversing the farthest shore of the Ocean, he was preparing to attack the island of the Brahmans. They sent him this letter:

“Most unconquered king, we have heard of your battles and of the good fortune that has followed you everywhere. But what will satisfy a man for whom the world is not enough? We possess no riches through desire for which you ought to attack us. Everyone's goods are common to all. Food is our wealth; in place of adornment with gold and gems we have cheap and scant clothing. Our women do not strive to please, for they account the cultivation of ornaments a burden rather than an honor. They do not know how to seek any greater increase of beauty than that with which they were born.

“Caves serve us a double purpose: shelter in life and burial in death. We have a king not to administer justice but to preserve nobility. For what place has vengeance where no injustice is done?”

Moved by these words, Alexander left them in peace.

There also survive letters of Alexander to Dindimus, king of the Brahmans, and of Dindimus to Alexander. They are abbreviated here.

Alexander to Dindimus:

“It has often reached my ears by report that the manner of your life differs from the common practice of people everywhere. The matter is indeed marvelous in its novelty, yet appears incredible because of the freedom of rumor. I have therefore hastened, Dindimus, to consult you directly through this letter. If what we have heard is true and you do these things from philosophy, explain it without delay, so that when I have been made more certain I too, if it is possible, may become a follower of this discipline.”

Dindimus answered:

“You were not wrong to reject the reports long ago brought to you about us, since rumor is untrustworthy; it commonly delights in inventions. Now, however, learn the truth of the matter from me without doubt.

“The race of Brahmans lives a pure and simple life. It is captivated by none of the enticements of things and desires nothing beyond what the law of nature demands. Our nourishment is readily obtained--not that which the cunning of luxury searches for throughout all the elements, but that which the earth, unviolated by iron, brings forth. We load our table with harmless foods. Hence we count neither kinds nor names of diseases but enjoy lasting health.

“We do not ask assistance from one another where life is lived among equals. No place is provided for envy where no one is superior. Equality in poverty makes everyone rich. We have no courts because we do nothing requiring correction. We observe no laws such as those that expose crimes among you. The one law of our nation is not to act contrary to the law of nature.

“We do not perform labor that nourishes avarice, yet we avoid shameful idleness. We do not surrender our limbs to lust so as to weaken them. We possess everything that we do not desire. We are warmed by the sun, moistened by dew, and quench our thirst from a stream. The earth supplies our bed. Anxiety does not interrupt sleep, nor does thought weary the mind.

“We do not exercise the rule of pride over people like ourselves and do not demand even the least servitude, except from the body, which alone we believe ought to serve the mind. In building houses we do not melt rocks with fire, because we dwell more effectively in caves dug into the earth and the hollow recesses of mountains. There we hear no roaring of winds and fear no tempestuous storm. A cave protects us from rain more safely than a roof.

“We possess no costly clothing. Our limbs are covered with a wrapping of papyrus--or, more truly, with modesty. Our women do not adorn themselves. For who can correct the work of nature? Whatever is attempted is either fruitless, because nature overcomes it, or culpable, because it is presumptuous. Lust does not summon us to intercourse, but love of offspring.

“We wage no wars but establish peace by our customs, not by force. Fortune is the only enemy against which we often fight and which we always conquer. No parent accompanies the funeral rites of a son. We erect no tombs for the dead in imitation of temples.

“You are the cause of every evil among mortals: you possess everything and command all who possess you. The wisdom of the Brahmans alone surpasses you by refusing to love such things. We Brahmans do not suffer plague, for we do not dishonor heaven by foul acts. Nature always maintains harmony with the seasons among us, and the unoffended elements preserve their proper courses.

“Frugality is our remedy of medicine. It can not only cure pains that have already fallen upon us but also ensure that they do not come. We delight in no games or spectacles, no horse races or obscenities of the stage. When we wish to watch a theater, however, we reread the memorials of your deeds; although they are exceedingly laughable, we lament them.

“The structure of the world provides us other spectacles and diverse pleasures. In it we see the beautifully formed heaven shining with the variety of its constellations and the radiance of its stars. We see the sea, graced with purple color, embracing its sister earth, while fishes of many forms leap through its waves. We delight also in the appearance of green fields, from which a most pleasing odor breathes forth flowers of sweetness and nourishes eye and mind together. The shade of groves and the charm of springs smile upon us; among them varied birds, sounding together in musical harmonies, compose a sweet melody. These are the spectacles of nature, which it is difficult to imitate and blameworthy to reject.

“We do not furrow the sea with fleets for the sake of commerce. No foreign beauty has ever inflamed us with desire by the ardor of its loveliness. We do not learn the arts of speaking well and do not seek the service of rhetorical eloquence and orators, whose office is to devise lies with falsified speeches and attach credibility to accusations against innocence. Among us eloquence is simple and common to all, instructing only that one must not lie.

“We rarely attend the schools of those whose discordant teaching defines nothing stable or certain, one party placing the good in honor and another in pleasure. For divine honor we do not slaughter innocent cattle, nor do we establish temples inlaid with silver metals, nor dedicate altars glittering with gold and gems. God does not accept sacred offerings of blood; he loves worship free from blood.

“May he be made favorable by the Word to those who pray, for that alone is shared by him and humankind, and he delights in his own likeness. For God is the Word. By it he created this world; by it he rules and nourishes all things. This Word we love, and from it we draw spirit. Since God himself is spirit and mind, he is appeased not by earthly riches or munificent largess but by works of religion and thanksgiving.

“Therefore we judge you exceedingly senseless and miserable, because you do not suspect that your origin is heavenly and that you have a great kinship with God, but obscure the splendor of your race with the vilest things. You foster, cultivate, and love that in which the greatest pleasure is found in the flesh, though its handling while alive is horrible and its contact when dead is unclean. The elements are harassed in serving its uses, and the world labors to render it obedience. O most unhappy people, whose religion is a crime and whose life a punishment!”

Alexander replied by letter to Dindimus:

“If these things are as you claim, the Brahmans alone are counted among human beings only insofar as their trust is in God. They alone are believed to be exempt from bodily substance. Those who are said to lack all vices because they do not use the pleasures granted by nature either profess themselves gods or begrudge God his work. In my judgment these things should be numbered under madness rather than philosophy.”

Dindimus to Alexander:

“We are not inhabitants of this world but strangers. We did not come into the world so that we might choose to remain in it, but to pass through. We hurry toward our ancestral home, burdened by no weight of sins and lingering in no lodging places of enticements.

“We do not say that we are gods, nor do we enviously detract from God's work; rather, we assert that you misuse his goodness. We do not assert that everything is permitted to us, nor do we teach it. Instead, for the sake of honor we commonly refuse to admit those things that pleasure claims for itself.

“God, the creator of things, formed various kinds within the world because it could in no way subsist without their diversity. He permitted their use to be discerned by human judgment. Therefore whoever abandons the worse and pursues the better is certainly not himself a god, but is made a friend of God.”

Alexander to Dindimus:

“Now you call yourself blessed because nature placed your dwelling in a part of the world where neither entrance nor exit lies open to strangers nor departure to natives. Besieged by guards placed over the means of movement, you praise your homeland because you cannot change it, and boast that you have deserved by devotion of conscience what you suffer as a cause of condemnation.

“Yet there is no merit of virtue in obtaining what cannot be changed. What deserves praise is to have lived temperately not amid narrowness and poverty but amid abundance; otherwise blindness and poverty alone would acquire the glory of virtues--the blind man because he does not see what he might desire, the poor man because he does not have what he might seize.

“We, who are constrained by no law of fasting, are stirred by free choice to live well, so that voluntary continence may obtain a worthy reward. Nature has given us many allurements, which virtue commonly restrains.”

§ XIV. Alexander's Return to Babylon

When Alexander was about to return to Babylon, Justin says, he sacrificed to the Ocean in the sea, praying for a prosperous return to his homeland. Valerius says that while he sacrificed, a certain noble boy assisting him took up the censer, and a burning coal fell upon his arm. Although it burned him so fiercely that the odor reached the bystanders, he kept his arm motionless lest he interrupt the sacrifice. Alexander allowed him to be burned for a long while, wishing to test the boy's perseverance.

After this he made the Amazons tributary and at last hastened to Babylon. As he returned, Justin says, he was informed that embassies of the Carthaginians and other African cities, as well as of Spain, Sicily, Gaul, Sardinia, and certain cities of Italy, were awaiting his arrival in Babylon.

The frightened Carthaginians had earlier sent Avulchar, surnamed Rodonus, to investigate Alexander's intentions. He was a man distinguished above others for cleverness and eloquence. Their fear was increased by the capture of Tyre, the city from which their people took their origin, and by the founding of Alexandria, Carthage's rival, on the borders of Africa and Egypt.

Avulchar obtained access to the king through Parmenion. He pretended that he had fled to the king as though driven from his homeland and offered himself as a soldier for the expedition. Having thus discovered Alexander's plans, he wrote everything for his fellow citizens on wooden tablets from which the wax above had been removed.

As Alexander hastened toward Babylon to hold what seemed like a gathering of the whole world, one of the Magi foretold that he should not enter the city, declaring that this entry would prove fatal to him. Alexander therefore withdrew from Babylon to the deserted city of Bursia beyond the Euphrates. There the philosopher Anaxarchus compelled him once again to scorn the Magi's predictions as false and uncertain, because if they depend upon fate they are unknown to mortals, while if they are due to nature they are immutable.

Alexander therefore returned to Babylon. Quintus Curtius says that Cobares, distinguished more for his profession of magical art than for knowledge, was angered. Human nature may in this respect be called perverse and ill-disposed, since everyone is duller in his own business than in another's.

When Alexander came to Babylon, Justin says, many conquered peoples accused their governors. Without regard for friendship, Alexander immediately ordered those governors killed in the envoys' presence.

Afterward he took Roxane, daughter of Darius, in marriage and gave to the Macedonian nobles the choicest and noblest maidens selected from every nation. He then called the army to an assembly and promised to pay everyone's debts at his own expense: twenty thousand talents.

After dismissing the veterans, he replenished the army with younger men. Those who were grieved at the veterans' departure demanded their own discharge as well. They no longer acted with prayers but with abuse, saying that Alexander should wage wars alone with his father Ammon. When words accomplished nothing in restraining them, Alexander leapt unarmed from the tribunal into the assembly and, with no one preventing him, personally struck down eleven authors of the sedition.

§ XV. Alexander's Death

His mother had long before written to him about her quarrels with Antipater and her separation from his father, and had warned him to guard against their plots. Alexander therefore recalled Antipater from Macedonia. Angered, Antipater sent an exceedingly effective and powerful poison on the journey through a servant so that it might be given to the king to drink.

According to Quintus Curtius, after returning to Babylon Alexander passed many days in leisure, then solemnly renewed a banquet long interrupted. Entirely given over to pleasure, he spent the day and night awake. As he was already departing from the banquet, the physician Thessalus renewed the drinking party and invited both Alexander and his companions. Alexander accepted a cup, and in the middle of drinking groaned as though pierced by a weapon.

His friends spread the report that intemperate drunkenness had caused his illness, but in truth it was a plot. The power of his successors suppressed the infamy of it. Antipater had devised the plot. The poison had such force that it could be contained neither in bronze, iron, nor earthenware and could be carried only in a horse's hoof.

Alexander was therefore carried away from the banquet half-dead and tortured by pain, so that he asked for a sword as a remedy. He suffered at a person's touch as if his wounds were being aggravated.

Antipater had already instructed his son Cassander to seize the kingdom. Cassander, together with his brothers Philip and Iollas, customarily served the king. He had been warned to trust no one except Thessalus and his brothers. The banquet was therefore prepared and renewed in Thessalus's house. Philip and Iollas, who customarily tasted and tested the king's drink beforehand, kept the poison in cold water and poured it into the drink after tasting it. Valerius says that Alexander had long before seen in a dream that he would perish by Cassander's hand, although he did not yet know Cassander when he saw it.

On the fourth day, Justin says, the king perceived that his death was certain and said that he recognized the destiny of his own house and ancestors, for most of the Aeacidae had died before their thirtieth year. The soldiers then became disorderly, suspecting that the king was dying from a plot, but he himself calmed them. When he had been carried to the highest place in the city, he admitted them all to his presence and extended his right hand for them to kiss as they wept.

At last he ordered his body buried in the temple of Ammon. When his friends asked whom he made heir to the empire, he answered, “The most worthy.” He did not name his son Heracles or his brother Aridaeus, although he also left behind his pregnant wife Roxane, as though it were a crime for anyone but a brave man to succeed a brave man, or for the resources of so great a kingdom to be left to any but proven men.

On the sixth day, after losing his voice, he breathed out his spirit. Alexander therefore died at the age of thirty years and one month. He had inspired such confidence in his soldiers that, while he was present, even when unarmed they feared the weapons of no enemy. He never engaged any enemy whom he did not defeat, besieged any city that he did not take, or approached any nation that he did not trample down. Yet in the end he was conquered, not by an enemy's courage but by the plot of his own men and the treachery of citizens. The Comestor says that poison was given him by his sister.

When he died in the flower of his age and victories, a mournful silence fell throughout all Babylon. Even the conquered nations did not believe the report, for they considered immortal the man whom they had so often seen snatched from the presence of death. But when his death was confirmed, they mourned him not as an enemy but as a father.

On hearing of his death, the mother of Darius took her own life. The Macedonians, however, rejoiced at his death as if an enemy had been lost. Jerome says against Jovinian that after her husband's death Rhodogune, daughter of Darius, is said to have killed the nurse who advised her to marry a second time.

Of Alexander's death and the length of his reign it is said in 1 Maccabees: “Alexander reigned twelve years, and he died.” From all these things understand that all flesh is grass and all its glory like the flower of the field. The grass withers, the flower falls, and all its glory fades; therefore the world must be despised.

Chapter Three

Fourth Title: On the Fifth Age of the World

Chapter Three (continued)

On the Philosophers Who Flourished in or About the Time of Alexander the Great

Aristotle, Alexander's Teacher

First, concerning Aristotle, who was Alexander's teacher. As Eusebius says in the *Chronicles*, Aristotle became Plato's pupil at the age of eighteen. Augustine testifies in book 8 of *The City of God*: “This Aristotle, a disciple of Plato, was a man of excellent intellect. Although inferior to Plato in eloquence, he easily surpassed many others. He founded the Peripatetic school, so called because he was accustomed to dispute while walking. While his teacher was still alive, his eminent fame gathered very many disciples into his own school.”

Seneca says of him in Letter 65: “Aristotle thinks that ‘cause’ is spoken of in three ways: matter, maker, and the form imposed upon each thing, that is, its idea. He adds a fourth cause, the purpose of the artisan--that which invited the artisan to make the work, such as money, glory, or religion.”

Valerius says that Aristotle taught that a man ought to speak about himself on neither side, since to praise oneself belongs to the vain and to condemn oneself to the foolish.

Aristotle also said: “It is a most useful precept to consider pleasures as they are when departing, for it presents them to our minds exhausted and full of repentance, so that they may be sought again less eagerly.”

According to Vincent, Aristotle also said that poverty suffered only one disadvantage: it could not come to the aid of the needy. When Alexander asked under whose teaching he professed himself learned, he answered, “Under the things themselves, which do not know how to lie.”

These sayings also belong to him:

“We should never be more reverent than when the gods are under discussion.”

“It belongs to a good man neither to know how to suffer an injury nor to commit one. An injury unjustly inflicted is the disgrace of the one who does it.”

“If people had the eyes of lynxes, so that their sight penetrated obstructions, would not even the most beautiful body appear most ugly when its inward organs were inspected?”

To this saying Boethius adds in book 3 of *The Consolation of Philosophy*: “Therefore it is not your nature but the weakness of the beholders' eyes that makes you appear beautiful.”

Likewise Aristotle said: “Victory against our enemies is to be sought within our own walls.”

Valerius says concerning him: “Aristotle, scarcely preserving the last remains of life in aged and wrinkled limbs amid the most complete leisure of literary study, applied himself so vigorously to the preservation of his homeland that, while lying upon his bed in Athens, he snatched it from the hands of the Macedonians to whom it had been subjected, though hostile arms had leveled it to the ground. Thus the city is known not so much as the work of Alexander, by whom it was cast down and overturned, as of Aristotle, by whom it was restored.”

Augustine says in book 9 of *The City of God*: “Some say that disturbances of the soul fall upon the wise, that is, the virtuous man, but are moderated and subjected to reason, so that the rule of the mind imposes laws upon them and reduces them to the necessary measure. This is the opinion of the Platonists or Aristotelians, that is, the Peripatetics. The Stoics, however, think that no disturbances at all fall upon the wise man.”

Cicero says that in this matter the Stoics contend with the Peripatetics more in words than in substance. Hence Aulus Gellius says that he read in a book of Zeno and Chrysippus, the leaders of the Stoics, that the Stoics held the following opinion: impressions of the soul, which they call appearances, are not within our power as to whether or when they fall upon the mind. When they arise from terrible and fearsome things, they necessarily move even the wise man's mind, so that for a little while he either trembles or contracts through fear or sadness, as though those passions anticipated the office of mind and reason.

Nevertheless, an opinion that the thing is evil is not thereby formed in his mind; it is neither approved by him nor assented to. This, they maintain, is within his power. They wish the difference between the mind of the wise man and that of the fool to be this: the fool's mind yields to those passions and accommodates the mind's assent to them, whereas the wise man, although he suffers them

by necessity, nevertheless preserves with an unshaken mind a true and stable judgment about what should rationally be sought or avoided. Thus Augustine.

These matters have been introduced at such length because Aristotle was the leader of the Peripatetic school.

Aristotle wrote a very great number of books in the art of logic, which are in common use: the *Categories*, *On Interpretation*, the *Prior Analytics* and *Posterior Analytics*, the *Sophistical Refutations*, and the *Topics*. In physics, that is, natural science, he published the books of the *Physics*, *On Generation and Corruption*, *On the Soul*, *On Sense and What Is Sensed*, *On Memory and Recollection*, *On Sleep and Waking*, *On Death and Life*, *On Plants*, and *On Animals*. According to some, he also wrote *On the Four Elements*, as well as the *Meteorology* and the *Metaphysics*. There also survives another book called Aristotle's *Perspective*, and his book of *Rhetoric*.

His books and teaching are used more than those of other philosophers because he wrote in a more orderly and concise fashion than the rest. He also appears to have erred less than others and to disagree less with matters of faith. Nevertheless, the ancient holy doctors were more deeply imbued with Platonic teachings.

He also wrote books on moral philosophy: the *Ethics*, *Politics*, and *Economics*. These do not disagree with the morals of Christian life, although they do not contain them fully. Nothing there treats the faith, hope, and charity of believers, or penance, or grace.

Some notable sayings from book 1 of his *Ethics* follow:

“The good is what all things seek, and every act of knowledge and every deliberate intention desires some good.”

“We call that which is sought for its own sake more perfect than that which is chosen for the sake of something else. Happiness appears above all to be such a thing, for we choose it for itself and not for something else.”

“Activities in accordance with virtue possess a certain pleasure within themselves.”

Likewise: “Happiness is an activity of the soul in accordance with perfect virtue.”

Likewise: “All honorable things accord with reason.”

From book 2 of the *Ethics*:

“Virtues arise neither from nature nor contrary to nature. Rather, the capacity to receive them is innate in us, and we are perfected through habit.”

“From similar acts similar acts [read: habits] arise, and differences in habits follow differences in acts.”

Likewise: “Discourse concerning particulars does not possess certainty, for they fall under neither art nor rule. The things with which virtue is concerned are naturally corrupted by excess and deficiency. A person who takes every pleasure and withdraws from none is incontinent; one who flees every pleasure is insensible. Chastity and courage are therefore destroyed by excess and deficiency, but preserved by the mean.”

“Pleasure or sadness in one's works ought to be taken as the sign of a habit. Whoever withdraws from bodily pleasures and rejoices in that very thing is chaste; but whoever is saddened by it is incontinent.”

Likewise: “It is exceedingly difficult to repel the passion of pleasure, which, as Heraclitus says, is coeval with life. Art and virtue are always concerned with what is most difficult.”

“In things done according to virtue, one must ask in what condition the agent acts. First, whether he acts knowingly; second, whether willingly; and third, whether firmly and immutably. For possessing the other arts, these things are not reckoned except knowledge. To possess the virtues, however, knowing profits little or nothing; for the other arts it profits not a little but everything.”

Likewise: “There are three things in the soul: passions, powers, and habits. Virtue will be one of these. Passions are neither virtues nor vices, for we are not called good or evil according to our passions, nor are we praised or blamed according to them. But according to virtues or vices we are called good or evil and are praised or blamed. Passions such as anger and fear are involuntary, whereas virtues are voluntary or at least not without will.

“For the same reason, virtues are not powers. We are not called good or evil simply because we are capable of suffering passions, nor are we praised or blamed for that. We possess these powers by nature, but are not good by nature. It remains, therefore, that every virtue is a habit. Whatever possesses its virtue well is thereby perfected and renders its work good.”

Likewise: “There are many ways to sin but one way to act rightly; therefore the former is easy and the latter difficult. It is easy to miss the mark but difficult to hit it. Vice therefore belongs to excess and deficiency, but virtue to the mean. The good is simple, but evil takes every form.

“Virtue, then, is a voluntary habit that consists immediately [read: in a mean] relative to us, determined by reason as the wise man would determine it. It is the mean between two vices, one through excess and the other through deficiency. For virtue concerns passions and actions in which excess is blamed and defect condemned, but the mean is praised and loved.”

Likewise: “It is difficult to be good; indeed, to find the mean is difficult. For example, not everyone but only one who knows can find the center of a circle. In the same way anyone can become angry and give money, but not everyone can determine to whom, when, how much, for what reason, and in what manner. Nor is this easy. Yet this is good, rare, and praiseworthy.

“Therefore one who aims at the mean ought first to separate himself from the more contrary extreme and ought to pull in the opposite direction. By withdrawing far from sin we come to the mean, as those who straighten bent wood do. In everything, however, what is pleasing and pleasure itself must especially be guarded against.”

In book 3: “The good man judges particulars correctly because he sees the truth in each. He exists as their rule and measure. Deception comes to the evil through pleasure.”

Likewise, in the *Topics*: “What is more lasting or more certain is more eligible than what possesses these qualities less.”

“What the prudent man, the good man, a right law, or those recognized as diligent in particular matters choose is more eligible, insofar as such persons seek the good.”

“What is such for its own sake is more eligible than what is such for the sake of another. What is nearer the end is likewise more eligible, and in every case what pertains to the end of life is more desirable; the possible is more desirable than the impossible.”

“That whose consequence is a greater good or a lesser evil is preferable, as are more goods to fewer. Where one thing is for the sake of the other, neither both together nor the one is thereby more eligible.”

“Each thing is more eligible at the time when it has greater force--for example, prudence in old age. No one chooses youths as leaders, because it is not established that they are prudent. Temperance, however, is more eligible in youth, for youths are troubled by desires more than old men.”

“What is nearer to the good is better and more eligible. What is more like the good and the better is also more eligible, provided that it resembles it in that which is better.”

Likewise: “What is more difficult is more eligible, for when we possess it we love more what is not easily acquired.”

“Sometimes even better things are not to be chosen. Philosophizing is better than becoming rich, but it is not more eligible for a needy person.”

“What is useful for all things or for more things is more eligible than what is not.”

§ I. The Philosopher Apuleius

According to Hugh of Fleury in his *History*, Apuleius succeeded Plato, and the Egyptian Hermes, whom they call Trismegistus, succeeded Apuleius.

In the book that he wrote *On the God of Socrates*, Apuleius says: “Among prudent men, judgment is commonly stricter concerning carefully wrought works, but pardon more generous concerning sudden things. Nothing can be both hastened and examined, nor is there anything that can possess both the praise of diligence and the favor of speed.”

Describing human beings, he says: “Human beings rejoice in reason and are powerful in speech, but possess immortal souls and dying limbs, flighty and anxious minds, dull and vulnerable bodies, dissimilar customs and similar errors, obstinate boldness, persistent hope, fruitless labor, fleeting fortune; individually mortal, swift in time, slow in wisdom, and quick in death. Association breeds contempt, while silence wins admiration.”

Concerning demons he says: “Demons are animals in kind, rational in intellect, subject to passions in soul, airy in body, and eternal in time. Certain of them creep through alleys and gather counsels not from their own heart but from the words of others. If I may say so, they think not with their mind but with their ears.”

“Nothing is more pleasing and more like God than a man perfectly good in mind, who excels the rest. In certain people it is astonishing that they neglect to learn the very things they least wish to appear not to know. They disparage both the teaching and the ignorance of the same art.”

“We commonly examine rich men in the same way that we purchase horses. In buying horses, we do not consider the trappings but the horse itself, naked and alone: whether it is comely in appearance, vigorous in running, and strong in carrying. So too in examining human beings, do not esteem those things that belong to another; consider the man himself. Look upon him as you would upon my poor Socrates. I call those things alien that parents beget and fortune bestows, such as lineage and riches that provoke envy.” Thus Apuleius.

What he says about demons being animals with airy bodies is false, unless it is understood of those times when they appear in bodies formed from air and afterward dismiss them. By their nature they have no bodies.

§ II. The Philosopher Hermes Trismegistus, or Mercury

Hermes the philosopher, who is called Trismegistus and Mercury, wrote a book *On the Perfect Word*. Vincent extracted these passages from it in book 5 of the *Historical Mirror*:

"The Lord and maker of all things made a second Lord of the gods. He made this one first, only, true, and good; he appeared to him full of every good thing, and he rejoiced. This is the Son of the blessed God and of good will, whose name cannot be uttered by a human mouth. From the one God comes the Lord of all things, while God rules mortals. He whom no one can completely discover is above all. God loved this one as his only-begotten Son." Thus Hermes.

Vincent adds: "These words of Mercury, who is also Hermes, appear in part to agree with our faith concerning the Father and Son. But they disagree in saying that God made God; he ought to have said 'begot.' This does not cause a great obstacle, however, because in Scripture also the Son of God is called 'made,' and this is explained as 'begotten.' Thus in John 1 the Baptist says of Christ, 'After me comes one who was made before me,' that is, begotten by the Father.

"His statement that the Son is second to the Father does not mean that the Son is later in time or dignity, but only that he is under the Father's authority, since the Father is the source of the Son. That the Son is the source of the Holy Spirit and of all things, he possesses from the Father."

Hermes also wrote two books on astrology, in which he attempts to affirm a fated configuration of the stars and to answer those who deny and reject it. According to Augustine in book 5 of *The City of God*, this must be understood as follows: it is not altogether absurd to say that certain sidereal influences have power only over differences of times [read: bodily conditions]. The wills of souls, however, are not subject to the positions of the stars.

Although the constellations under which a person is born can incline the sensitive faculty, which is attached to a bodily organ, toward vicious passions, the will always remains free to assent or dissent. Hence Ptolemy says: "A wise man will rule the stars."

Another book of Mercury addressed to Asclepius also survives. Vincent extracted the following passages from it:

"If through understanding God you see him, your whole mind will be filled with every good, provided that goods are many and not one in which they all exist, for one is recognized as agreeing with another. That all things are one, or that the one is all things, is philosophy alone--frequent contemplation in knowing divinity and holy religion.

"To worship divinity with a simple mind, to venerate his works, and to give thanks to the will of God, which alone is the fullest goodness: this is philosophy, violated by no troublesome curiosity of the soul.

"Man alone among animals is twofold. One part of him is simple, which we call the form of divine likeness; his humanity is always mindful of its nature and origin and perseveres in imitation of divinity.

"Eternity is immovable, and within it the motion of all times takes its beginning. Whatever belongs to movable time is always called back into eternity, and thus eternity remains stable under a fixed law of motion.

"God is Lord of all; all things are from him, in him, and through him. We therefore worship him by giving thanks. These are the highest intentions of God: that thanks be rendered by mortal human beings in adoration, praise, and obedience. Heavenly beings delight in heaven. We ask with most pious prayers, if it pleases the Lord's goodness, that he free us from worldly custody and restore us to the nature of the higher part."

Fourth Title: On the Fifth Age of the World

Chapter Three (continued)

From this comes the reward for those who live piously with the world under God. Thus Hermes. Although this man was an unbeliever, he nevertheless spoke these things faithfully and truthfully, just as the Lord spoke true things through the ass of the diviner Balaam.

§ III. The Platonist Philosopher Plotinus

There was also another Platonist philosopher named Plotinus, according to Vincent in book 5, chapter 8 of the *Historical Mirror*. Augustine reports in *The City of God* that this notable saying was his: "We must flee to our most radiant homeland; there all things will lie open to you."

Mercury says concerning him: "What parts of philosophy did Plotinus, that singular philosopher, not reach? The distinctions of his life followed his teaching, since he demonstrated what he taught by an example of virtue not another's but his own.

“That man was composed for every ornament of the virtues and strengthened by zeal for every divine disputation: just, courageous, prudent, temperate, and one who believed that by reasoned foresight he could overcome the assaults of fortune. He therefore chose a place for a quiet abode so that, separated from every noise of human society, he might free himself from fortune's envy. He would devote himself only to the distinctions of divine instruction and arm himself against every threat of fortune with virtue as an intact and uncorrupted defense.

“Raised up by this confidence of mind, he also undertook the care and preservation of his body. For the location of his pleasing residence he chose the soil of a city in Campania, where the air's always tranquil moderation sustained all the inhabitants in wholesome vigor. There was neither the force of winter nor the burning of the sun, but a temperate climate composed and moderated from both. There also, for people laboring under some illness, health was restored by the wholesome comfort of immense hot springs and boiling waters.

“Once settled there, he first despised distinguished honors, thinking the true honors to be those that the divine governance of providence had conferred upon him. No desires for riches took possession of him; rather, he thought those the true riches with which an adorned mind could discover the authority of its own origin.

“In one part of his discourse he attacked the power of fatal necessity and severely chastised those who feared the decrees of fortune. He attributed nothing to the power of the stars, reserved nothing to the necessities of fate, but said that everything was placed within our power.

“At last, although he had been established in such secure confidence, the power of fate laid hold of him. First his limbs grew cold as the blood stiffened in his body, and the keenness of his eyes gradually lost the diminished splendor of its light. Afterward a plague nourished by fluids erupted throughout his skin, so that as his limbs failed, his putrid body wasted toward death through the corruption of his blood.” Thus Mercury.

Augustine says in *The City of God*: “If anyone calls divine providence ‘fate,’ let him preserve his meaning but correct his language.” This is understood as follows: if “fate” means divine providence, everything is infallibly subject to it. Nevertheless, the language should be corrected so that we do not use the word “fate,” because the gentiles took it otherwise and wrongly: namely, as the influence of the constellations or some other thing necessitating free will toward what it does. This is false.

Accordingly Gregory says: “Far be it from the hearts of the faithful that they should believe fate to be anything.”

Likewise, if that effect whose proximate cause is unknown is said to happen by fortune, it is not meant that some things happen by fortune. Thus someone digging the earth to cultivate a field may find a treasure. But if something is said to happen by fortune in the sense that it escapes divine providence, it is false that anything happens by fortune. Certain gentiles understood it in this way.

Plotinus perhaps erred in this respect, because he trusted too greatly in the power of his own will, thinking that by his own virtue he could remain healthy and good.

Macrobius says concerning him in his book *On the Dream of Scipio*: “Plotinus, who wrote on the virtues, said that there are four kinds of virtues.

“He calls the first political virtues. It belongs to their prudence to direct, according to the standard of reason, everything one thinks and does and to will or do nothing except what is right. It belongs to courage to raise the mind above fear of danger, to fear no shameful things [read: to fear nothing except shameful things], and bravely to endure adversity and prosperity. It belongs to temperance to seek nothing that must be regretted, never to exceed the law of moderation, and to tame desire beneath the yoke of reason. It belongs to justice to preserve for each person what is his. A man possessing such virtues is made first ruler of himself and then of the commonwealth.

“The second virtues, which he calls purgative, belong to a man capable of divine things and prepare his soul alone. He has resolved to cleanse himself from bodily contagion and, through a certain flight from human affairs, to insert himself into divine things alone. These are the virtues of those devoted to duty who separate themselves from the activities of commonwealths. What each of these virtues intends we expressed elsewhere when speaking of the virtues of philosophers, which they indeed considered the only virtues.

“The third virtues belong to the soul already purified and cleansed, thoroughly and purely wiped clean of every stain of this world. There it belongs to prudence not to prefer divine things as though choosing them, but to know them alone and to look upon this as though nothing else existed. It belongs to temperance not merely to repress earthly desires but entirely to forget them. It belongs to courage not to conquer the passions but to be ignorant of them, so that one does not know how to become angry and desires nothing. It belongs to justice to be so associated with the supreme and divine mind that by imitating it the soul maintains an everlasting covenant with it.

“The fourth virtues are those that exist in the divine mind itself, which are called *nous*. From their exemplar all the others flow down in order. If ideas of other things are believed to exist in the divine mind, much more must the ideas of the virtues be believed to exist there. There prudence is the divine mind itself. Temperance is that the mind is turned toward itself in perpetual intention.

Courage is that it is always the same and is never imitated [read: never changes]. Justice is that it does not bend from the everlasting law and perpetual continuation of its work.

“These four kinds, each containing four virtues, differ greatly in relation to the passions by which human beings fear and desire, grieve and rejoice. The first soften them; the second remove them; the third forget them; in the fourth it is impious even to name them.” Thus Macrobius.

Concerning these virtues and others, however, you have material above in the fourth part of the *Summa*, in the first title generally and afterward concerning each one specifically.

§ IV. Anaximenes and Epicurus

In those same times of Alexander the Great, Epicurus and Anaximenes were considered illustrious. Vincent says in book 5, chapter 39, that this Anaximenes was not the philosopher who was the disciple of Anaximander, but the orator who was Alexander the Great's teacher in the art of rhetoric. Some believe that he wrote the anonymous *History of Alexander*.

Valerius relates this story about him. When Alexander was moving violently to destroy the city of Lampsacus, his teacher Anaximenes advanced beyond the walls and met him. Knowing that Anaximenes would oppose his prayers to him, Alexander swore that he would not do anything that he requested. “I ask, then,” Anaximenes said, “that you destroy Lampsacus.” Thus the salvation of one city was obtained through the beneficial use of a shipwrecked oath.

Although Epicurus himself, as Jerome says, had not learned letters and, according to Boethius, did not know the art of disputation, many excellent sayings are nevertheless reported from him, as are other most evil errors, as will appear.

Tertullian says concerning him: “Epicurus despises every torment and pain, declaring a slight one contemptible and a great one not long-lasting.”

Jerome says against Jovinian concerning him: “Epicurus, the advocate of pleasure, although his disciple Metrodorus had Leontion as wife, nevertheless says that a wise man should rarely enter marriage, because many disadvantages are mingled with matrimony. Just as riches, honors, bodily health, and the other things that we call indifferent are neither good nor evil but, being placed as it were in the middle, become good or evil by use and outcome, so too wives stand on the border of good and evil. It is a serious thing for a wise man to enter into doubt whether he is going to marry a good or evil wife.”

The same Jerome says in book 2 against Jovinian that what is astonishing is that Epicurus, the advocate of pleasure, filled all his children with vegetables and fruits [read: books], saying that one should live on cheap foods. Meat and elaborate banquets, prepared with immense care and misery, have greater pain in their acquisition than pleasure in their consumption. Our bodies require only food and drink, such as water and bread and things similar to these, so that nature may be satisfied. Whatever exceeds these things pertains not to the necessity of life but to the vice of pleasure. Nor can we devote ourselves to wisdom if we think about abundance at table, which requires excessive labor and care.

Seneca also extracted the following from the more elegant sayings of Epicurus in his books:

“Cheerful poverty is an honorable thing; but if it is cheerful, it is not poverty.”

“We are a sufficiently great theater for one another.”

“No one departs from life except as though he had just entered it.”

“He to whom his possessions do not appear most abundant is nevertheless wretched, even if he is lord of the whole world.”

“We ought to choose some good man and keep him always before our eyes, so that we may live as though he were watching and do everything as though he saw it.”

“If you live according to nature, you will never be poor; if according to opinion, you will never be rich. Nature desires little; opinion, an immeasurable amount.”

“For many, the acquisition of riches was not the end of miseries but an imitation of them [read: a change of them].”

“We should consider with whom we eat and drink before considering what we eat and drink. For without a friend, feasting is the life of a lion or wolf.”

“If you wish to make someone rich, you must not add to his money but subtract from his desire.”

“It is ridiculous to run toward death from weariness of life.”

“Knowledge of sin is the beginning of salvation.”

“Meditate upon death.”

“Immoderate anger begets madness.”

“Neither eating together, drinking parties, intercourse with women, nor an abundance of fish and other things of this kind prepared for splendid use makes the life of a banquet pleasant, but sober conversation.”

“Those who do not seek banquet provisions immoderately use them with moderation, for many troubles arise from luxurious feasts.”

These are among the sayings of Epicurus.

But he erred in many things more than all other philosophers. Lactantius says in his *Institutes* that he thought and said there was no providence of God, for he believed that God did not care about human affairs but remained idle and did nothing. He said that pleasure was the highest good and that souls perished with bodies.

He had, and still has, many followers, because fools--whose number is infinite, as Ecclesiastes 1 says--are devoted to sensible things and are more inclined to follow the impulse of sensuality than the reason of intellect, and bodily delights more than those of the soul.

Speaking in their person, Solomon says that there is nothing better than to eat and drink and display the good things of one's life, and similar things. Such people say in Wisdom 2: “The time of our life is short and full of weariness, and no one is known to have returned from the lower regions. After this we shall be as though we had not been,” and so forth. “Let us therefore enjoy good things and swiftly use the creature in our youth. Let us crown ourselves with roses before they wither. Let there be no meadow through which our luxury does not pass,” and so forth.

But afterward it is added: “These things they thought, and they were mistaken, for their wickedness blinded them.” As it is written in the same place, when set in hell and groaning they say, “What has profited us?” and so forth.

Seneca answers Epicurus's first error in book 4 of *On Benefits*, especially where Epicurus denies that the world is ruled by divine providence. He says: “You, Epicurus, make God defenseless. You have stripped him of all weapons and every power and, so that he might be feared by no one, you have cast him beyond fear. Therefore you have no reason to fear this god, enclosed by a vast and impenetrable wall and separated from the contact and sight of mortals. There is no material there for either giving or harming. Abandoned in the middle interval between this heaven and another, without animal or human being, why do you worship him?

“‘Because,’ you say, ‘of his majesty and his excellent and singular nature.’ Granting this to you, you plainly do it induced by no price and no hope. Therefore there is something to be sought for its own sake, to which its own dignity leads you.” Thus Seneca.

Lactantius likewise answers in his book *On the Workmanship of the Human Body*. Cicero answers Epicurus's second error in *On Duties*. The same author answers the third in *On the Republic* and *On Old Age*, but Augustine does so much more fully and perfectly in *The City of God*, as does Thomas in the book *Against the Gentiles*.

From these thorny thickets of the gentiles, therefore, learn to pluck the rose of truth and leave the thorns of falsehood. Observe also what the Apostle says in 2 Corinthians 9, following Jeremiah: “Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, nor the mighty man in his might, nor the rich man in his riches. But let him who glories glory in this: to understand and know me.”

Neither broad dominion profited Alexander the Great, nor power and riches Darius, nor their wisdom the philosophers. They were destroyed and descended to the lower regions because, although they knew God, they did not glorify him as God but became foolish.

Fourth Title: On the Fifth Age of the World

Chapter Four: The Kingdoms after Alexander

When Alexander the Great died at Babylon, as Eusebius reports in the *Chronicles*, different men reigned after him in many divisions of the empire. This is also evident from 1 Maccabees 1. From this arose the kingdom of the Alexandrians, which is Egypt, while different men reigned among the various nations that Alexander had possessed.

Ptolemy, son of Lagus, was the first to begin reigning in Egypt, in the 267th year of the Fifth Age and the 4,777th year of the world. He reigned forty years. Philip, also called Aridaeus, Alexander's brother, reigned in Macedonia for seven years. Lysimachus held Lydia, Thrace, and the Hellespont.

The Comestor says that when Alexander had returned to Babylon and, after taking poison from his sister, had lost the use of his tongue, he expressed his will in writing. He did not wish to transfer his monarchy to any one man, lest anyone be read by posterity

as equal to him in power. Instead, he appointed as successors to the kingdom the twelve men whom he had had as companions from his youth.

This arrangement did not stand, for only four of them reigned after the others had been cast aside, as is contained in Daniel's fifth vision. The he-goat signifies Alexander striking the ram, that is, Darius. From that goat afterward arose four horns, namely, the four kings who succeeded immediately after Alexander's death and divided the monarchy among themselves.

Thus Ptolemy, king of Egypt, who was surnamed Soter, after adding Syria to his realm, sought also to add Judea. He therefore went up to Jerusalem on the sabbath, knowing that the Jews would not take up arms on that day under the pretext of sacrificing to God, and entered the city without anyone resisting. Hence, according to Josephus, Ovid mockingly called the Jews “Sabbath-keepers,” because through excessive superstition they had suffered grave harm.

Ptolemy took many captives from Judea and Mount Gerizim and returned to Egypt, where he exposed them for sale. Merchants of the nations bought and dispersed them. Through this captivity, although it was not general, the Jews were dispersed still more widely among the nations. Hence it is read in Acts of the Apostles that Jews assembled in Jerusalem from every nation under heaven. Jadus the high priest was succeeded by his son Simeon the Just.

The philosopher Theophrastus flourished at that time. Cicero says that he received his name from the divine quality of his speech. According to Vincent in book 6, chapter 2 of the *Historical Mirror*, he was Aristotle's disciple and successor.

Aulus Gellius says of him in the *Attic Nights*: When Aristotle was already exhausted by old age, sick in body, and possessing little hope of life, the whole company of his followers came to him and begged him to select the person whom they should follow as successor to his place and teaching. At that time the two foremost men in his school were Theophrastus of Lesbos and Menedemus of Rhodes.

Aristotle ordered Lesbian and Rhodian wine brought to him. He praised both sufficiently, but the Lesbian more. No one therefore doubted that by this remark he had gracefully and modestly selected his successor, not merely the wine. Accordingly, after Aristotle's death, the whole Academy flocked to Theophrastus.

The following approved sayings are attributed to Theophrastus:

“It is expedient to love friends already proven, not to prove those already loved.”

“You have lost vengeance upon an enemy if he perceives you to be his enemy.”

“You will deceive an adversary more effectively by making him feel secure.”

Another opinion of his was: “The judgments of lovers are blind.”

He also wrote a book on friendship, in which he places friendship before every form of affection, that is, love, but testifies that it is rare in human affairs. A book *On Marriage* is also said to be his, in which he asks whether a wise man should take a wife. You have material from that book in Part Three, Title One, Chapter One.

§ I. Menander, Philemon, Cassander, and Olympias

In the fifth year of Ptolemy, Eusebius says in the *Chronicles*, Menander the comic poet first won by producing a play surnamed *Art*. According to Jerome, the Apostle's saying to the Corinthians, “Evil communications corrupt good morals,” belongs to this Menander.

Aulus Gellius reports that in contests of comedies this Menander was frequently defeated by Philemon, a writer in no way his equal. When by chance he encountered him, Menander said, “Tell me, Philemon, if you please: when you defeat me, are you not ashamed?”

Valerius says in book 9 that either this Philemon or another man called Polemon was carried off by the force of immoderate laughter. Once an ass ate some figs that had been prepared and placed within sight. Philemon called to a boy to drive it away. When the boy arrived only after all the figs had been eaten, Philemon said, “Since you were so slow, now give the ass unmixed wine.” He immediately followed the wit of his remark with repeatedly gasping peals of laughter, until rough, constricted breath burdened his aged throat.

In Ptolemy's eighth year, according to Eusebius in the *Chronicles*, Cassander reigned among the Macedonians after Philip Aridaeus.

Justin relates that Olympias, Alexander's mother, came from Epirus accompanied by Aeacides, king of the Molossians, but was barred from the borders of Macedonia by Eurydice and Aridaeus. Moved by this, the Macedonians went over to Olympias. By her order Eurydice and the king were killed, after he had possessed the kingdom for six years following Alexander.

According to Orosius, this Eurydice had accomplished many things under her husband's name through Cassander. She had known him shamefully and had advanced him through every rank of honor to the highest summit. At the woman's desire, he afflicted many cities of Greece.

But Olympias too, Justin says, did not reign long. By indiscriminately massacring the leading men, in the manner of a woman rather than a king, she turned favor toward herself into hatred. When she heard of Cassander's approach, she distrusted the Macedonians and entered the city of Pydna with her daughter-in-law Roxane and her grandson Heracles. She was accompanied by Deidamia, daughter of King Aeacides, Thessalonica, Olympias's stepdaughter and Philip's daughter, and many other matrons--a company more splendid than useful.

Cassander soon besieged the city of Pydna. When he pressed Olympias with hunger and the sword, she wearied of the long siege, bargained for her safety, and surrendered to the victor. Cassander summoned the people and asked what they wished done with her. Without regard for her former majesty, they immediately decreed that she should be killed.

When Olympias saw resolute armed men coming toward her, she put on royal clothing, leaned upon two maidservants, and voluntarily advanced to meet them. At the sight of her the executioners were stunned by her former majesty and by the names of so many of their kings united in her, and they halted until other men were sent by Cassander. These men stabbed her as she neither fled from the sword and wounds nor cried out in womanly fashion, but submitted to death for the glory of her ancient lineage in the manner of brave men, so that even in his dying mother one could recognize Alexander. Moreover, as she expired, she composed herself so that nothing indecorous might be seen on her body.

Valerius says in book 6 concerning the philosopher Polemon, whom Helinand says succeeded Xenocrates: Polemon was a young man of abandoned luxury at Athens, rejoicing not only in enticements but in infamy itself. When he had risen from a banquet not after sunset but after sunrise and, returning home, saw the open door of the philosopher Xenocrates, he entered the school, which was filled with a crowd of learned men, heavily soaked with wine, perfumed, his head wreathed with garlands, and clothed in a translucent garment. Not content with so disgraceful an entrance, he sat down to make light of the most illustrious eloquence and wisest precepts by the wantonness of his drunkenness. Although, as was fitting, everyone became indignant, Xenocrates maintained the same expression and bearing. Setting aside the matter he had been discussing, he began to speak about modesty and temperance. Compelled by the weight of the discourse to look back upon himself, Polemon first tore the garland from his head and threw it away; shortly afterward he drew his arm back within his cloak. As time passed, he laid aside the convivial cheerfulness of his countenance; finally he cast off all luxury. Thus healed by the medicine of the discourse, from an infamous debauchee he became a very great philosopher. These are his words.

§ II. The Syrian Kingdom and the First Seleucids

In Ptolemy Soter's twelfth year the kingdom of Syria, Babylon, and the upper regions arose.

Seleucus Nicanor reigned first, for thirty-two years; second, Antiochus, also called Soter, for twenty years; then Antiochus called Theos, for fifteen; afterward Seleucus Gallinicus [read: Callinicus], for twenty; and after him Seleucus Gerannus [read: Ceraunus], for three. Antiochus the Great then succeeded him and reigned thirty-six years. Seleucus Philopator succeeded him for twenty-two years; after him Antiochus Epiphanes reigned eleven; Antiochus Dupater [read: Eupator] after him, two years; and then Demetrius, three years. Next Antiochus Sedites [read: Sidetes] reigned nine years, and Demetrius Soter twelve.

Alexander afterward reigned nine years and ten months. When he was killed by Arsaces the Parthian, his brother Demetrius reigned again for four years. Then Antiochus Gryphus, or Cyprus [read: Cyprius], reigned twelve years. Antiochus Cizethenus expelled Gryphus [read: Cyzicenus] and held Syria, but Gryphus defeated Cizethenus [read: Cyzicenus] and recovered it. Thus by turns they reigned and fought against each other for eighteen years. Philip then reigned two years; when Gabinius captured him, the kingdom of Syria came to an end.

Seleucus Nicanor, the first king of Syria, captured Babylon at the beginning of his reign. His strength increased by this victory, he conquered the Bactrians and then crossed into India. After Alexander's death India had cast the yoke of servitude, as it were, from its neck and killed his governors.

Sandrocottus had been the author of its liberty, but after victory he had turned the title of liberty to his own tyranny. After seizing the kingdom, he oppressed with servitude the very people whom he had freed from foreign dominion. King Vanandro [read: Nandrus] once ordered him killed, but he sought safety in the speed of his feet. Exhausted by flight, he lay overcome by sleep. A lion of immense form approached the sleeper, wiped away the flowing sweat with its tongue, and gently left him when he awakened.

First stirred by this prodigy to hope for a kingdom, Sandrocottus gathered a band of robbers and incited the Indians to a change of rule. Later, when he made war upon Alexander's governors, a wild elephant of immeasurable size offered itself to him voluntarily and, with the gentleness of a tamed beast, received him upon its back. Thus it served as both commander in war and distinguished fighter. Seleucus made peace with him.

§ III. Simeon the Just and the Lighthouse of Alexandria

At that time Simeon, son of Onias and high priest of the Jews, was regarded as illustrious. His surname was “the Just” because of his devoted worship of God and his ready clemency toward his fellow citizens.

Seleucus transferred many Jews into the cities he had built, granting them civic rights and municipal rank with honor equal to that of the Greeks. Eleazar, Simeon's brother, assumed the ministry of the temple because Simeon's son Onias had been left still very young.

Among the Macedonians, Pyrrhus reigned and afterward Lysimachus. Valerius reports that when Theodorus of Cyrene rebuked King Lysimachus and Lysimachus consequently ordered him fastened to a cross, Theodorus said: “The cross is terrible to your courtiers in purple; to me it makes no difference whether I decay upon the ground or on high.”

According to Eusebius, in the fortieth year of this Ptolemy, Sostratus Chidius [read: of Cnidus] constructed the lighthouse at Alexandria, which is numbered among the seven wonders of the world. According to Vincent in the *Historical Mirror*, it was founded twenty paces into the sea upon four crabs of glass.

How were such great glass crabs cast? How were they transported into the sea without being broken? How could foundations of cement adhere upon them, and how could the cement remain beneath the water? How did the crabs not break, and how did the foundation above them not slip? It appears a great marvel and exceedingly difficult to understand.

Isidore says that a lighthouse is a very great tower built in a harbor for the service of giving light.

§ IV. Ptolemy Philadelphus and the Seventy Translators

After the first Ptolemy, son of Lagus, Ptolemy Philadelphus reigned in Egypt. He began to reign in the 307th year of the Fifth Age and, according to some, in the 3,680th year of the world; according to others, such as Bede and the Seventy interpreters, in the 4,000th year.

He ordered that the Jews in Egypt be free. He sent votive vessels to Eleazar, high priest of Jerusalem, and had the divine scriptures translated from the Hebrew language into Greek by seventy interpreters. He kept them in the library of Alexandria, which he had assembled for himself from every kind of literature, as is found in the *Chronicles*.

The Comestor explains this more fully. He says that this king, being exceedingly studious and desirous of books, placed Demetrius over his library. When he asked Demetrius about the number of books, he answered that twenty thousand were present but that the number could shortly reach fifty thousand.

Demetrius also said that he had been informed that the Jews possessed a law uttered by the Lord's own mouth and written by his finger. He said that every effort should be made to obtain it, so that once it was translated into Greek its utterance might be kept in the royal archives. For this was the law of God, whom the philosophers call *Zena*, that is, “the Living One,” since *zen* signifies life or to live; the common people call him Jove.

To demonstrate the sanctity of that law, he added that it could be translated only by worshipers of the living God. Josephus the historian also says that when a certain Theopompus wished to insert this law of God into the histories he was writing, he was turned to madness for thirty days. Another man named Theodectus became blind for the same reason, but both were healed when they repented. Theopompus also saw in a dream that this had happened to him because he had scrutinized divine matters and brought them before impure people.

Demetrius therefore advised the king to write to the high priest of the Jews, asking him to send Jews skilled in Hebrew and Greek with the law of God, sufficient to translate it. To obtain this, he judged that gifts should be sent with the letters.

Aristeas was present. Having long felt compassion for the Jews' affliction, he seized the opportunity to free them and said: “How will you obtain what you request while so many Jews serve in your kingdom? Free them, therefore, and nothing could be more pleasing to the high priest of the Jews. Do not suppose from what I say that I am related to the Jews, but understand that it is in your interest to honor God, the maker of all.”

The king freed one hundred and twenty thousand Jews, giving their masters one hundred and twenty thousand silver drachmas [read: one hundred and twenty silver drachmas] for each person. When the king said that this was a great sum, they answered: “It is indeed great, but not for a munificent king.”

The king then wrote to Eleazar the high priest in this manner:

“I have granted liberty to your nation that was among us, judging this to be pleasing to God. Some of them I have assigned to military service; others whose fidelity I have tested I have established in the palace. I have also decreed that your laws should be placed in the library. You will therefore do well by sending us elders who are able carefully to leave us a translation of them.

“I have just sent one hundred talents of silver for sacrifices and have set apart five hundred talents for making bowls and libation vessels, as well as gems without number for the work of craftsmen according to their choice. Command us what you wish to be made from these things, and we shall embrace it the more gladly.”

Eleazar sent him what he requested and wrote back:

“To interpret the law you request, I have sent elders, six from every tribe, carrying the law. It will be the duty of your piety and justice to return it carefully to us.”

According to Vincent in book 6, chapter 16 of the *Historical Mirror*, following the Comestor, these were the Seventy interpreters. Although there were seventy-two, they are nevertheless called seventy after the manner of Scripture, which often leaves unmentioned a small number exceeding a round total.

When they came to the king, they were received kindly but were not admitted to him until the fifth day. A triumphal solemnity was then imminent on account of a certain triumph that his ancestors had celebrated on that same day. On that day, therefore, he received those whom he had determined to honor before the whole body of the princes.

After their reception they remained with the king for twelve days. He questioned them about matters he had arranged in his heart, especially two: knowledge of God and the government of a kingdom. When they had instructed him concerning royal government, they disputed more fully about the worship of one God and that no creature was God. Hence, whenever in either their discussion or translation they encountered the mystery of the Trinity or of the Incarnation, they either passed over it in silence or translated it enigmatically, lest they appear to have taught that three gods should be worshiped or that a creature was God.

Fourth Title: On the Fifth Age of the World

Chapter Four (continued)

Thus in Isaiah, after the prophet had said that a child would be born and had added his six names--“Wonderful, Counselor,” and the rest--in place of those six names the translators wrote “Angel of Great Counsel.”

They then showed the king the scroll that they had brought with them. He could not sufficiently marvel at the thinness of its sheets and at their joining, which the eyes could not perceive, although golden letters appeared legible upon the whiteness of the pages.

The translators were brought into the king's private house, which was reserved for deliberating upon affairs. Individual cells and everything that seemed opportune and convenient for translating were given to them. At dawn they went out to wish good things to the king. They then washed themselves in the sea according to the purification of the Jews and afterward translated until the ninth hour. From there they proceeded to take food and rest. They completed the work in seventy-two days.

For this reason it has seemed to some that at that time they translated only the Pentateuch; afterward--either before they returned home or when some of them came back to the king--they translated the Prophets and Psalms. Nevertheless, if the work was done so miraculously that, as Augustine relates, one and the same edition without disagreement was found at the end of that period, it could no less miraculously have happened that within the brief space of seventy-two days they translated both the Law and all the Prophets together with the Psalms.

Jerome, however, does not approve the opinion that without any comparison among themselves all seventy-two produced one edition without any disagreement, because neither Josephus nor the other ancient historians report this. Instead, he asserts that the work was done not miraculously but by human intelligence and diligence: on the sabbath they all compared together what each had translated during the six days of the week; whichever interpretation was judged more suitable was adopted by all, so that all agreed upon one version.

Jerome asserts that this is not marvelous, since Ezra corrected the Law that he had recovered through the Spirit after it had been burned by the Chaldeans by comparing it with the ancient text preserved among the Samaritans.

When the work had been completed, Demetrius, who was placed over the books, summoned all the Jews in Alexandria and the more learned men from the province. The translators' version was read before them and approved. When the interpreters asked the king to give it authority so that it might remain unchangeable, he promised to do so, provided that they corrected it so carefully that they would not afterward be compelled to nullify what had once been judged.

He sent them back laden with gifts. He also sent presents to Eleazar and dispatched to the temple golden vessels and a golden table distinguished by priceless gems.

Thus this most learned King Ptolemy assembled for himself, as was said, a library from every kind of literature. He placed over it Demetrius Valerius [read: of Phalerum], at that time the most approved of grammarians, to whom among other things he had

entrusted the prefecture. This Ptolemy composed canons of the stars and wrote many books. He caused the earth to be described by the philosopher Eratosthenes and sent Dionysius into India to transmit its illustrious matters to memory.

§ V. Sosthenes, Brennus, and the Gauls at Delphi

In the fourth year of Philadelphus, Sosthenes, the tenth king of the Macedonians, reigned for two years.

Meanwhile, Justin says, Brennus, under whose command a portion of the Gauls had poured into Greece, heard of the victory of his people, who under their commander Belgius had defeated the Macedonians. He gathered 150,000 infantrymen and 15,000 horsemen and invaded Macedonia, laying waste fields and villas.

Sosthenes met him with his army in battle formation, but the few were easily defeated by the many, the fearful by the strong. Then Brennus, as though earthly spoils already seemed worthless to him, turned his mind toward the temples of the gods. He jested scurrilously that wealthy gods ought to give generously to human beings.

He immediately went to Delphi, preferring gold to religion and plunder to the offense of the gods. He affirmed that the gods needed no wealth, since they were accustomed to bestow it upon human beings.

The temple of Apollo at Delphi stands upon Mount Parnassus. Cliffs converging from every direction meet there upon a single rock. Thus not walls but precipices, not artificial but natural defenses, protect the temple and city. The center of the rock recedes in the form of a theater. For this reason the shouting of people, or any sound that arises there, is multiplied as the cliffs resound and answer one another; it commonly echoes more loudly than would be believed. The majesty of the place frequently brings greater terror to those ignorant of its nature and wonder to those who are amazed.

Within this winding rock, about halfway up the mountain, is a small plain. In it lies a deep opening in the earth used by the oracle. From it a fervid breath, expelled upward by a certain force as though by wind, turns the minds of seers to frenzy and compels them, when filled by the god, to give responses to inquirers. Many rich gifts of kings and peoples may be seen there.

When the multitude of Gauls first found the countryside filled with wine and other provisions, it rejoiced no less in the abundance than in the victory. It scattered through the fields, abandoned the standards, and wandered about to seize everything. The people of the countryside are said to have been warned by oracles at the first report of their approach not to carry their harvests and wines out of their villas.

Brennus's army contained seventy thousand selected infantrymen, while the Delphians and their allies had only four thousand soldiers. In the temple were many statues with four-horse chariots cast in solid gold. Greedy for this plunder, the Gauls rushed into battle without regard for danger.

From the summit of the mountain the Delphians overwhelmed the falling Gauls partly with rocks and partly with weapons. During this engagement, the soothsayers of all the temples and the prophet himself, with hair unbound and wearing their insignia and sacred fillets, suddenly ran terrified and frenzied into the front line of the fighters. They cried that the god had arrived and that they had seen him leap into the temple through an opening in its roof. They said that a youth of beauty distinguished beyond human measure and his companions, two armed maidens, had come from the neighboring temples of Diana and Minerva, and that they had heard the twang of a bow and the clamor of arms. They warned the others not to delay in slaughtering the enemy while the gods led the way.

Inflamed by these cries, all rushed eagerly into battle. An earthquake soon broke off part of the mountain and crushed the Gallic army. A storm followed, killing with hail and cold those already suffering from wounds. Brennus himself, unable to endure the pain of his wounds, ended his life with a dagger.

The other of the two commanders who were with him left Greece with ten thousand wounded men. As they fled in terror, they passed no night under shelter and no day without labor and danger. Continual rains, frost, hardened snow, hunger, looseness, and above all the great sleepless evil of the disastrous war wore away its survivors. Not one man from so great an army remained even to preserve the memory of the hidden disaster.

§ VI. Antigonus, the Gauls, and Pyrrhus

After Sosthenes, Antigonus reigned among the Macedonians, thirty-six years after Alexander and for eleven years, as Eusebius writes in the *Chronicles*.

When Brennus set out for Greece, Justin says, fifteen thousand infantrymen and three thousand horsemen had been left to protect the borders of the nation. After routing the forces of the Getae and Triballi, they threatened Macedonia. They sent envoys to King Antigonus to offer him peace for a price and at the same time to spy upon his camp.

When they were invited to dinner, a great weight of gold and silver was displayed, and elephants were shown to inspire terror. On their return, the envoys exaggerated everything and reported both the king's wealth and his negligence. The Gauls therefore attacked the royal camp at night.

But the king had given his men a signal the previous day that, after carrying away everything, they should hide in a nearby forest. The Gauls found everything empty and, long afraid to enter, finally took what they found and returned to the shore. While they heedlessly plundered the ships there, the rowers and the part of the army that had taken refuge there with their wives and children slaughtered them.

At that time the eastern kings waged no wars without a mercenary Gallic army and, when expelled, fled to no one but the Gauls. So great was the terror of the Gallic name and the unconquered success of their arms that those kings judged they could neither protect their majesty nor recover it after losing it except by Gallic courage. Thus the survivors were summoned to aid Eumenes, king of Bithynia. After gaining victory with him they divided the kingdom and named that region Gallograecia.

At that time, Alchimus reports, Pyrrhus returned to Epirus, invaded the borders of Macedonia, defeated Antigonus, and received Macedonia into submission. Just as Pyrrhus was regarded as unconquered in subduing kingdoms, so he quickly lost those he had subdued and acquired.

His first war was among the Spartans, where he was opposed with greater courage by the women than by the men. There he lost his son Ptolemy and the strongest part of his army. So great a multitude of women ran together to defend the city that Pyrrhus withdrew no more because he had been bravely defeated than because he had been shamed.

§ VII. Arcesilaus, Crates, Stilbo, and Aratus

At that same time, after the death of the philosopher Polemon, the philosophers Arcesilaus and Crates were regarded as illustrious. Arcesilaus was the man from whom, as Augustine says, the school of the New Academics began. They say that nothing can be known and that all things are uncertain. Seneca says that they take away all hope of knowledge; yet it is better to know superfluous things than nothing.

Augustine briefly refutes their opinion in book 11 of *The City of God*: “We exist, we know that we exist, and we love both our existence and this knowledge. In these truths we fear none of the arguments of the Academics, who say, ‘What if you are deceived?’ For if I am deceived, I exist. One who does not exist cannot be deceived; therefore I exist if I am deceived.

“Since I exist if I am deceived, how am I deceived in believing that I exist, when it is certain that I exist if I am deceived? Therefore, since I would exist if I were deceived, I am undoubtedly not deceived in knowing that I exist. Consequently I am also not deceived in knowing that I know I exist. Just as I know that I exist, so also I know this very fact: that I know it.

“When I love these two truths, I add to the things I know love itself as a third thing of no lesser value. Nor am I deceived that I love myself, since I am not deceived in those things that I love. Even if those things were false, it would still be true that I loved false things. For how would you rightly rebuke and forbid me from loving false things if it were false that I loved them? But since both those things are true and certain, who doubts that love of them is also true and certain?

“Moreover, no one exists who does not wish to exist, just as no one exists who does not wish to be happy. For how could one be happy if one were nothing?” Thus Augustine.

Seneca says of Arcesilaus in *On Benefits*: When Arcesilaus judged that he should secretly aid a poor friend who concealed his poverty, was sick, and would not even confess that he lacked money for necessities, he placed a purse beneath his pillow without his knowledge. Thus the man, uselessly modest, would find rather than receive what he desired.

Crates, whom the *Chronicles* places with Arcesilaus, is said to have been a Theban by nation. It is read of him that he threw a great weight of gold into the sea, saying: “Begone, most evil riches. I drown you lest I be drowned by you.”

Seneca also reports of him in Letter 9: Crates, a pupil of Stilbo, saw a young man walking secretly and asked what he was doing there alone. “I am speaking with myself,” the youth replied. Crates said, “Take care, I beg you, and consider diligently lest you speak with an evil man.”

Stilbo was the teacher whom Epicurus's letter praises. When his homeland was captured and he lost his wife and children, Stilbo alone came out from the fire. Demetrius asked whether he had lost everything. “I carry all my goods with me,” he answered, for he bore them in his breast, not upon his shoulders.

At that time, according to the *Chronicles*, Aratus flourished. This Aratus, together with Eudoxus, was an astrologer who, Augustine says in book 16 of *The City of God*, boasted that he had comprehended and recorded the entire number of the stars. Augustine says that the authority of the Lord's words to Abraham condemns them: “Look up to heaven and number the stars, if you can.” For how can all be numbered when not all can be seen?

§ VIII. Zeno, Cleanthes, and Chrysippus

In the fourteenth year of Philadelphus, the Stoic Zeno died. After him Cleanthes flourished, according to Eusebius in the *Chronicles*.

According to Vincent in the *Historical Mirror*, this saying belonged to Zeno: “It belongs to the wise man to be incapable of disturbance, provided that his reason does not yield to depraved passions.” Seneca says that Zeno also used this syllogism: “No evil is glorious. Death is glorious. Therefore death is not an evil.” Hence, Lactantius says, Zeno inflicted death upon himself with his own hand so that he might live more happily after death.

Augustine says that Zeno and Chrysippus were leaders of the Stoics. Many excellent sayings and many wrong ones are attributed to Chrysippus.

Seneca says of him in Letter 9: “Chrysippus says that the wise man lacks nothing, and nevertheless has need of many things. By contrast, the fool has need of nothing--for he knows how to use nothing--but lacks everything.”

The same Seneca says in book 2 of *On Benefits*: “I wish to use the analogy of our Chrysippus about a game of ball. There is no doubt that the ball falls through the fault either of the thrower or of the catcher; it keeps its course only when it is suitably thrown and caught.”

Fourth Title: On the Fifth Age of the World

Chapter Four (continued)

A good player must throw the ball differently to a tall fellow player than to a short one. The same principle applies to a benefit: unless it is adapted to both persons, giver and recipient, it will neither leave the former nor reach the latter as it ought.

In the eightieth year of his age, Chrysippus left a begun volume of most exact subtlety. He had expended so much labor upon that work that a long life would be needed to understand thoroughly what he wrote, Valerius says concerning him. According to Solinus, he came from Heliopolis, an ancient town of Sicily. Cleanthes, however, was an Asian.

According to Vincent in book 6, chapter 26 of the *Historical Mirror*, Asia produced many illustrious persons: among poets, Homer, Anacreon, Minerum [read: Mimnermus], Antimachus, Hipponax, Alcaeus, and the woman Sophon [read: Sappho]; among historians, Xanthus, Hecataeus, Herodotus, Ephorus, and Theopompus; among the Seven Sages, Bias, Thales, and Pittacus; and among philosophers, Cleanthes the Stoic, Anaxagoras the natural philosopher, Heraclitus the Obscure, and Xenophanes of Colophon.

Lactantius says that Chrysippus himself, believing that souls were eternal, laid hands upon himself as though about to migrate to heaven.

Jerome says against Jovinian that Diodorus the Socratic is read to have had five daughters, dialecticians of distinguished chastity. Philo, the teacher of Carneades, wrote a very full history about them.

Valerius says in book 8 concerning Carneades: “Carneades, a laborious and long-serving soldier of wisdom, made an end of living and philosophizing in his 110th year. When he sat at table absorbed in thought, he forgot to extend his hand toward the food. But Melissa, whom he regarded in place of a wife, moderated between the duties of interrupting his studies and relieving his hunger, and with her own right hand applied what he needed. When he was about to dispute with Chrysippus, he first purged himself with hellebore. Such draughts his diligence made desirable to those who covet solid praise.”

§ IX. Opinions of the Stoic Philosophers

Vincent speaks of the opinions of the Stoic philosophers in book 6, chapter 27 of the *Historical Mirror*. The opinion of the Stoics, whose leading figures are said to have been Zeno and Chrysippus, was, Jerome says, that every passion can be rooted out and extirpated from human minds. The Old Academics held the same opinion. The Peripatetics, however, say that these passions are to be broken, ruled, and moderated, and restrained with certain bits like unbridled horses. Cicero sets out their opinions in the *Tusculan Disputations*, as does Origen in the *Stromata*.

Cicero's book *On Paradoxes* is wholly composed of Stoic opinions. Some are true, but most are false. These are the six paradoxes set down there:

1. Only what is honorable is good.
2. The man who possesses virtue lacks nothing necessary for a blessed life.

3. Small and great faults are equal, as though there were no greater and lesser degrees among faults.
4. All fools are insane.
5. All wise men are free and all fools slaves.
6. Only the wise man is rich.

The following statements that Seneca gives in *On Benefits* also belong to the Stoics: “We deny that the wise man can receive an injury, yet one who strikes him with his fist will be condemned for assault. We deny that anything belongs to a fool, yet one who steals some property from a fool will be condemned for theft. We say that all are insane, yet we treat them all with hellebore. To these very people whom we call insane we entrust both the vote and jurisdiction.”

Seneca says in *On Benefits*: “The Stoics say that nothing useful can come to evil men--indeed, nothing that does not harm them. Whatever happens to them they turn to their own nature. Therefore they cannot give a benefit, since no one can give what he does not possess.”

Although this is so, an evil person can nevertheless receive certain things resembling benefits, for failure to return which he will be ungrateful. There are goods of the soul, goods of the body, and goods of fortune. The first are removed from the fool and evil man. The Peripatetics, however, who establish the limits of human happiness far and wide, say that small benefits can reach evil people and that one who does not return them is ungrateful. We do not regard as benefits things that will not make the soul better, although we do not deny that they are advantages and ought to be sought.

The same Seneca says in book 7 of *On Benefits*: “You Stoics say that all things belong to the wise man. How, then, can anyone give something to the wise man if all things are his? Yet nothing prevents a thing from belonging both to the wise man and to the person who possesses it. In the civil order all things belong to the king, yet those things whose universal possession pertains to the king are apportioned among individual owners. We can therefore give the king a gift, money, and a slave, yet we do not say that we give him something from his own. For authority over all belongs to the king, but properties belong to individuals.”

The same author says in the same book: “We Stoics command certain things beyond measure so that they may return to their proper truth. When we say, ‘The man who gives a benefit ought not to remember it,’ we wish this to be understood: he ought not proclaim or boast of it or be burdensome.

“Whenever you have too little confidence concerning things that you command, more than enough must be demanded so that enough may be performed. Every hyperbole is extended in this fashion, so that by falsehood it may arrive at truth. Hyperbole never hopes for as much as it dares, but urges incredible things so that it may reach things credible but great.” Thus Seneca.

It should nevertheless be noted that the Apostle says: “The Lord does not need our lie.” Augustine says first in Cause 22, Question 3: “No one should be led to eternal salvation with a lie as helper.”

Seneca also says: “If you promised to give someone a benefit and afterward learned that he was evil, will you give it or not? If you do, you know that you sin, for you give to one to whom you should not, namely, an evil man. If you refuse, you also sin in this way, for you promised.”

Here our conscience wavers, as it does at the Stoic promise that a wise man never regrets his decisions, never corrects what he has done, and never changes his plan. A wise man does not change his plan while all the circumstances that existed when he adopted it remain. Yet everything is undertaken with an exception: provided that nothing occurs to prevent it. This confidence--promising fortune to oneself--belongs to the imprudent; the wise man considers each of its two sides.

“I shall then break faith and hear the charge of inconstancy if, while all things remain the same as when I made the promise, I do not perform what was promised. For all things must be as they were when I promised before I am bound to perform it.”

Augustine also says in book 14 of *The City of God*: “The Stoics wished there to be three states in the wise man's soul corresponding to three disturbances. What the Greeks call *eupatheiai*, Cicero calls *constantiae* in Latin: in place of desire, pleasure [read: will]; in place of delight, joy; in place of fear, caution. But corresponding to sickness or pain--which, to avoid ambiguity, we have preferred to call sadness--they denied that anything could exist in the wise man's soul.

“For will seeks the good, which the wise man does. Joy concerns a good obtained, which the wise man certainly obtains. Caution avoids evil, which the wise man ought to avoid. But sadness concerns an evil that has already occurred; since they think that no evil can happen to the wise man, they said that nothing corresponding to sadness could exist in his soul.

“Among us, however, the question is not so much whether a pious soul becomes angry as why it becomes angry; not whether it is sad, but why it is sad; not whether it fears, but why it fears.” Thus Augustine.

Vincent says in book 6, chapter 33 of the *Historical Mirror* that the following is also believed to be a Stoic opinion: “Whoever has one virtue has them all, and whoever lacks one has none.” They say similarly of vices that whoever has one has all. This is not true

of vices, however, since vices sometimes oppose one another and contraries mutually expel each other. They cannot exist together at the same time in the same person, as avarice and prodigality, and similar vices.

§ X. Erasistratus and Antiochus Theos

In the fifteenth year of Philadelphus, the physician Erasistratus flourished. It is read that he recognized a lover by his pulse. Valerius reports that when Antiochus, son of Seleucus, had been seized by boundless love for his stepmother, he was cured by the physician Erasistratus. The physician perceived that his pulse became sometimes stronger and sometimes weaker according to the approach and withdrawal of his stepmother and disclosed the matter to his father. The father did not hesitate to yield his dearest wife to his son. Thus Valerius. But each man acted most wickedly.

In Philadelphus's twenty-ninth year, Antiochus, who was called Theos, reigned in Syria. He reigned fifteen years. Jerome says upon Daniel that he waged very many wars against Philadelphus and fought him with all the strength of Babylon and the East.

After many years Ptolemy Philadelphus wished to end the troublesome contest and gave his daughter Berenice to Antiochus as wife. Antiochus had two sons by his former wife Laodice: Seleucus, surnamed Callinicus, and another Antiochus. Philadelphus brought Berenice to Pelusium and received countless thousands of gold and silver in the name of a dowry.

Antiochus said that Berenice was his partner in the kingdom and that Laodice held the place of a concubine. After a long time, overcome by love for Laodice, he restored her with her children as queen. Fearing her husband's unstable mind and that he might restore Berenice, Laodice had her husband killed with poison by her servants. She handed Berenice and the son born to her by Antiochus over to Icadion and Gener [read: Genneus], leaders of Antioch, to be killed. She established her elder son Seleucus Gallinicus [read: Callinicus] as king in his father's place.

Valerius Maximus relates that the death of this Antiochus was concealed in the following manner. A certain Artemo, one of King Antiochus's equals and himself of royal stock, was exceedingly like him. After killing her husband, Laodice forcibly placed Artemo in the bed as though he were the sick king, in order to conceal her crime. He deceived all the people admitted to him by speech and countenance like the king's. They believed that the dying Antiochus was commending Laodice and his children to them.

Jerome says upon Daniel that this Philadelphus, king of Egypt, was regarded among the Greeks as an orator and philosopher. He is reported to have possessed so great a power that he surpassed his father Ptolemy.

The histories relate that he had two hundred thousand infantrymen, twenty thousand horsemen, two thousand chariots, and four hundred elephants, which he was the first to bring from Ethiopia. He had one thousand five hundred long ships, now called Liburnians, and another thousand for carrying the soldiers' provisions. He also possessed a great weight of gold and silver, so that from Egypt each year he received fourteen thousand and eighty talents of silver and five times a thousand times one hundred thousand artabas of grain, an artaba being a measure containing three modii and one third of a modius.

§ XI. Ptolemy Euergetes and His Successors

After Philadelphus, his brother Ptolemy Euergetes reigned, as the Comestor reports in the *Scholastic History*. The Egyptians called him Euergetes, which signifies “Bringer Back,” because after laying waste Syria, Cilicia, and part of Asia, among the innumerable spoils he took he brought back the gods that Cambyses had carried away to Persia.

At that time the high priest of the Jews was Onias, son of Simeon the Just. His son Simeon succeeded him. Under this Simeon, Jesus son of Sirach wrote the book of wisdom called *Ecclesiasticus*, which the Hebrews call *Panarethon*: from *pan*, meaning “all,” and *arethon*, meaning “virtue,” as though it were entirely about the virtues. Hence Jesus makes mention of Simeon in it. The Hebrews nevertheless place it among the apocrypha.

When Onias refused tribute to Euergetes out of zeal for the law--or rather out of avarice, as Josephus says--he provoked the king to anger. Even against Onias's will, the Jews sent to the king as their envoy Joseph, a noble man and son of Tobias and of Onias's sister. He not only restored peace but was sent back by the king as ruler of the Jews and neighboring regions.

At that time Empnius [read: Ennius], a philosopher of Tarentum, was brought to Rome by Cato the quaestor. He was content with meager expenditure and the service of one maidservant.

After Euergetes his son Ptolemy Philopator reigned, and after him Ptolemy Epiphanes. This Epiphanes died in the twenty-fourth year of his reign, killed with poison by his commanders, as Jerome says upon Daniel. When someone asked how he would obtain money while undertaking such great things, he answered that his friends were his riches. When this was spread among the peoples, the commanders feared that he would take away the property of the impious and killed him by wicked arts.

After him Ptolemy Philometor reigned. Antiochus the Great, king of Syria, defeated him and subjected Judea to himself.

Arvis, king of the Lacedaemonians [read: Areus], sent envoys to Onias the Great, high priest of the Jews to renew the alliance that he had read existed between Abraham and his ancestors. Antiochus revoked from the Jews the tribute remission for the seventh year and for the ministers of the temple that Philadelphus had granted.

When Antiochus harassed the neighboring regions beyond measure, the matter was reported to the Romans. Scipio Africanus and Scipio Nasica were sent to him so that under the solemn obligation of an oath they might remove him from the aforesaid harassment. In addition, they took his son Seleucus as hostage. Wishing to receive Seleucus back from them, he delivered to them his younger son Antiochus--that is, Epiphanes--on the condition that he should be a perpetual hostage, never to return.

Because of the cruelty of this same Antiochus, Onias went down to Egypt to Ptolemy Epiphanes. Antiochus the Great himself was killed in Persia at the temple of Nanea: the priests tore him limb from limb and cast him out. They had deceitfully promised him treasures, led him with a few men into the hidden places, and killed him.

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Chapter Four (continued)

§ XII. Seleucus and Antiochus Epiphanes

After Antiochus the Great, his elder son Seleucus, a very wicked but inactive man, reigned in Syria. Onias was high priest of the Jews; for when Onias passed into Egypt, as has been said, his son Simeon sat in his place, and Simeon was succeeded by his son Onias.

Under this Onias, Seleucus sent Heliodorus to Jerusalem to despoil the entire treasury of the temple. When he entered, a certain most terrible armed horseman appeared. His horse struck Heliodorus with its forefeet and cast him to the ground. Then two other attendants beat him most fiercely. Josephus says that they were angels. Some say that he was left dead, others half alive. But through Onias's prayer for him, he was restored to life or fully healed. He returned to the king and proclaimed the power of God that he had experienced in himself. This is contained in 2 Maccabees.

At that time Aristobulus, a Jew by nation and a Peripatetic philosopher, wrote commentaries explaining Moses for Ptolemy Philometor.

When Antiochus Epiphanes, who was a hostage at Rome in his father's place, heard that his father had died and knew his brother's inactivity, he presumed that he could possess the kingdom of Syria and secretly departed from Rome. Some nevertheless relate that he returned with the connivance of the senators. Having returned to Syria, he showed himself kindly and munificent in all things. He was energetic in action and fierce against enemies; hence he was surnamed Epiphanes by the people, a name that means “Illustrious.”

After two years, as Justin says, he again assembled an army against Ptolemy. Antiochus made war upon the elder Ptolemy, his wife's son and king of Egypt, who was exceedingly sluggish and so enervated by daily luxury that he not only neglected the duties of royal majesty but through excessive fattening even lacked the sense of a human being. Driven from his kingdom, Ptolemy fled to Alexandria to his younger brother Ptolemy. After sharing the kingdom with him, they sent envoys to the Senate at Rome.

When the two Ptolemy brothers were therefore besieged at Alexandria by their uncle, Roman envoys came. One of them, Marcus Popilius, ordered Antiochus to depart from Egypt. When the king offered him a kiss--for among others he had cultivated Popilius while he was a hostage at Rome--Popilius told him to put aside private friendship for the present, since the commands of his country intervened.

He produced and delivered the Senate's decree. When he saw Antiochus hesitate and confer with his friends for counsel, Popilius, as Jerome also says upon Daniel, made a circle in the sand with the staff that he held in his hand. For he had found the king standing on the shore. Drawing a circle around him, he is said to have declared: “The Senate and Roman people command that you answer in this place what counsel you intend to follow.” Terrified by these words, Antiochus said, “If this pleases the Senate and Roman people, I must withdraw,” believing that not an envoy but the Senate itself had spoken before his eyes.

Two years after Antiochus had plundered the temple, he sent men to Jerusalem to exact tribute from the Jews, to change the worship of God, and to place an image of Olympian Jove and statues of Antiochus in the temple. At that time, according to Eusebius, Perses reigned among the Macedonians.

§ XIII. The Persecution under Antiochus

Under this Antiochus, who was called Epiphanes, that is, Illustrious, began the deeds narrated in the books of Maccabees. Although the Hebrews number these books among the apocrypha, the Church has nevertheless received them as representing useful doctrine, the spiritual battles of demons against the people of God, and the divisions and schisms that have arisen in the Church.

In the first chapter of the first book it is said that from those who reigned after Alexander the Great came forth a root of sin, Antiochus the Illustrious. He had been a hostage at Rome and was the son of King Antiochus the Great. He reigned in Syria after the death of his brother Seleucus, who had sent Heliodorus to despoil the temple; but Heliodorus, scourged by angels, departed empty-handed in the 137th year of the kingdom of the Greeks.

In those days wicked sons went out from Israel and persuaded many, saying, “Let us go and make a covenant with the nations.” They did so, sending to Antiochus himself and asking his permission. For this purpose they offered a great sum of money so that they might establish a gymnasium in Jerusalem, that is, schools for teaching the rites of the gentiles, and an *ephebia*, that is, a brothel for males. They obtained and did all these things, abandoning circumcision and the other ceremonies of the Law.

Two priests, Jason and Menelaus, contended for the high priesthood. To please the king, they changed their proper names: Jason had been called Jesus, and Menelaus had been called John, but they took gentile names for themselves. Yet all things had been according to the order of the Law. The true high priest was a good man and Jason's brother, but Antiochus removed him and made Jason high priest in return for a great sum of money.

As Augustine says, the fire of the temple altar that had lived under the waters during the Babylonian captivity was then extinguished, as is said in Cause 1, Question 1, *As a Eunuch*, because of the priesthood purchased in the abomination of simony.

The king took dominion over the Jews, made a great slaughter in Judea, and plundered the temple, as was said above. He commanded all the Jews, under penalty of death, to assume the rites of the gentiles, placing an image of Jove in the temple so that sacrifice might be offered to it. He caused the books of God's Law to be burned and those in whose possession they were found to be killed, and likewise those who observed the legal ceremonies. For this reason many were killed because they observed the Law.

These matters are contained in the second book of Maccabees, in which certain things omitted from the first book are supplied, although they happened at that time. In the first and second chapters of this second book is placed a letter sent by those in Jerusalem to the Jews dispersed in Egypt. They recount the great tribulations they had previously suffered but from which God had delivered them, and they exhort the others to give thanks with them and celebrate the feast of the temple's purification. In the third chapter mention is made of Heliodorus, who was sent to despoil the temple but was scourged by angels during the plundering, as was said above.

It is then narrated that, after the death of Seleucus, his brother Antiochus Epiphanes, who had been a hostage at Rome but had returned from Rome to Syria after the death of his father Antiochus the Great, assumed the kingdom. Jason, brother of Onias the high priest, approached him and obtained the high priesthood by promising the king 360 talents of silver. He also promised another 150 talents for permission to construct a gymnasium and an *ephebia* in Jerusalem.

This most wicked Jason sent three hundred drachmas from Jerusalem to the king for sacrifices to Hercules, for the construction of triremes. Jason also sent Menelaus, brother of a certain Simon who had instigated Seleucus to send Heliodorus to plunder the temple as related above, to the king with much money. With it Menelaus diverted the high priesthood to himself, adding three hundred talents of silver to what Jason had offered in order to obtain it; and he obtained it from the king.

When Menelaus did not pay the money promised for obtaining the high priesthood, he was removed by the king, and his brother, called Lysimachus, was appointed in his place. When King Antiochus departed from Antioch and left there in his place one of his companions named Andronicus, Menelaus stole some vessels of the temple and gave them to Andronicus to gain his goodwill. Reproved for this by Onias, a holy man and priest, Menelaus became indignant and asked Andronicus to kill Onias, which he did.

When the king returned and heard of the unjust death of so great a man, he grieved and wept. The king caused Andronicus himself to be stripped of his purple and killed in the place where he had killed Onias. But after Lysimachus had committed many sacrileges in the temple at Menelaus's counsel and carried away gold from it, the report spread abroad and a multitude of the people rose against Lysimachus. In the resulting sedition between Lysimachus, accompanied by three thousand armed men, and the people, many were killed on either side. At last the sacrilegious Lysimachus himself was killed beside the treasury. Menelaus, however, because of the avarice of powerful men and his supporters, remained in power and increased in malice.

At that time Antiochus prepared a second expedition into Egypt in order to subdue it. For forty days horsemen were seen running through the air over the whole city of Jerusalem, wearing golden robes and carrying spears like armed cohorts. There were charges of horses, hurling of weapons, a multitude of helmeted men with drawn swords, and armor of every kind. All therefore prayed that the portents might be turned to good.

Meanwhile a false rumor arose concerning Antiochus's death. Jason joined a thousand men to himself, attacked the city, and caused Menelaus to flee into the citadel. Although a great slaughter was made, Jason did not obtain the principality he sought. Instead he became a fugitive, first fleeing into the land of the Ammonites and afterward into Egypt, going from city to city. Hateful to everyone as a deserter from the laws and accursed as an enemy of his country and fellow citizens, he died among the Lacedaemonians, unlamented and unburied.

After these things had happened, King Antiochus suspected that the Jews would desert the alliance. Departing from Egypt, he came to Jerusalem and commanded his men to spare no one, but to kill those whom they encountered and enter the houses for the same purpose. Hence it came about that in three days eighty thousand were killed, four hundred thousand were bound, and no fewer were sold.

With Menelaus as his guide--Menelaus who was a traitor to the laws and his country--Antiochus dared to enter the temple, handle and carry away the holy vessels with criminal hands, and remove eighteen hundred talents of silver from the temple. He then returned to Antioch. He left in Jerusalem Philip, a Phrygian by birth and more cruel than himself, to afflict the people, and Menelaus on Mount Gerizim.

He sent the hateful prince Apollonius with an army of twenty-two thousand. Arriving in Jerusalem and pretending peace, Apollonius ordered his men to take up arms on the sabbath, when the Jews were at rest, and slaughter everyone they encountered. Judas Maccabeus, however, had withdrawn into the wilderness with many others, where they ate hay for food, as will be said below.

Not long afterward the king sent a certain old man of Antioch to compel the Jews to transfer themselves from God's laws to the rites of the gentiles and to place an idol of Jove in the temple. Thus the temple was filled with luxury and banqueting. Under penalty of death they were compelled to offer sacrifices to idols, and at the suggestion of the Ptolemies the same edict applied in the neighboring cities.

Two women were accused of having circumcised their sons. With the infants hung at their breasts, they were led around the city and cast down from the walls. Eleazar, one of the chief scribes and an old man, was compelled to eat swine's flesh, which is contrary to the Law. When he refused, his friends urged him at least to pretend that he had done so in order to escape death. He refused to use such a fiction, lest others, following his example and hearing that he had done it, should be induced to eat such meats. He was therefore scourged to death, leaving an example of constancy.

Amid these events is placed the celebrated martyrdom at Antioch of a certain matron with her seven sons. With them she endured various torments of death inflicted by Antiochus rather than violate God's Law by eating pork contrary to that Law, which the king compelled them to do. Their mother watched and encouraged them to endure; as each was tortured, he uttered words attesting faith in the resurrection of bodies and rebuking the king. Hence, among all the saints of the Old Testament, the Latin Church celebrates a feast only for these, on the first day of August, because of the marvelous constancy they showed in observing the Law.

§ XIV. Mattathias and Judas Maccabeus

Returning to the things contained in the first book of Maccabees: when Antiochus first sent out an edict that the Jews should pass over to the rites of the gentiles, a certain Mattathias, from the priestly stock of the division of Joachim, had five sons energetic in arms: John, Simon, Judas Maccabeus, Eleazar, and Jonathan. Grieving vehemently from zeal for the Law over such a command of the king, he withdrew with his sons from Jerusalem, together with all who possessed zeal for the Law, and settled upon Mount Modin.

The king's messengers came to the city of Modin to induce people to obey the king in observing gentile rites and idolatry. They urged Mattathias, as the worthiest man, to act first so that he might gain the king's friendship and receive gifts and honors from him. He expressly contradicted them. In zeal for God he also killed a certain Jew who practiced idolatry in his sight, together with the king's messenger who commanded it.

Abandoning the city and all their goods, he fled with his sons and many others zealous for observance of the Law into deserted places, and many joined them. When those who supported the king in Jerusalem heard this, they went against them and made war on the sabbath. About a thousand of them, refusing to resist out of reverence for the sabbath, were slaughtered and died in their simplicity.

Mattathias and his companions, guided by better and more prudent counsel, decreed that if their enemies made war on the sabbaths they would resist and fight bravely against them, which they did. A company of men strong in might, everyone who freely willed to follow the Law, assembled to them and became a reinforcement for them. Mattathias and his men passed through the cities of Judea, destroying altars and performing circumcisions. He was their leader, and the work prospered in their hands.

At last, when brought to his final hour, Mattathias strengthened his sons in zeal and observance of the Law. He instructed them with many examples of Abraham, Joseph, Elijah, and others who had endured many adversities so that they might remain in virtue. He died and was mourned by all.

His son Judas Maccabeus then arose as leader of the army in his place, as Mattathias himself had appointed, and his brothers aided him. He became like a lion in his deeds, passed through the cities of Judah, destroyed the impious among them, and became renowned to the ends of the earth.

A certain prince named Apollonius arose with many men against him, but Judas defeated and killed him. Judas took away the sword of Apollonius and always fought with it. Then another man called Seron, leader of the Syrian army, gathered a very great multitude and prepared for battle against Judas. Judas strengthened and encouraged his own men, who were comparatively few, wearied by fasting, and therefore afraid. Advancing against Seron, he defeated and routed him, killing eight hundred from his army.

When Antiochus heard these things, he became very angry and resolved to exterminate Judea and its inhabitants. He gave his soldiers a year's pay. Fearing, however, that funds would fail him thereafter, he himself went into Persia and Ptolemais to obtain money. He gave half his army to Lysias, a man of royal stock, with whom he also left his son named Antiochus.

Lysias selected as leaders of the army Ptolemy, Nicanor, and Gorgias, powerful friends of the king, and sent them with forty thousand men and seven thousand horsemen to destroy Judea. Many merchants assembled to buy the Jews, all of whom they expected would be conquered and made slaves. When Judas Maccabeus and his men perceived this, they humbled themselves with fasting and prayer, in ashes and sackcloth, asking help from God.

One of Lysias's commanders, namely Gorgias, moved to battle with five thousand men and one thousand horsemen against Judas and his followers, who numbered three thousand and were unarmed. When they met in battle, Judas exhorted his men to pray to God, routed Gorgias, and killed three thousand from his army. They took much spoil and gave thanks to God.

In the following year Lysias again assembled an army of sixty thousand chosen men and five thousand horsemen and came to battle against Judas. After first praying to God, Judas, with only ten thousand men, obtained victory and killed five thousand from Lysias's army. When this was accomplished, Lysias saw the boldness of the Jews and returned to Antioch to rebuild his army.

Moreover, Nicanor, Bathis, and Timothy [read: Bacchides], leaders of the army, came against Judas, who had only seven thousand in his company, while the enemies were three times more numerous. Judas exhorted his men to confidence in divine aid. After prayer had been made, Judas and his followers fought and defeated them, killing twenty thousand of the enemies, while Nicanor escaped by flight, as is contained in 2 Maccabees 8.

Fourth Title: On the Fifth Age of the World

Chapter Four (continued)

Meanwhile the people of Joppa, after receiving as friends the Jews who lived among them, deceitfully drowned two hundred of them in small boats. Judas came by night to avenge this deed, burned the harbor of Joppa and the boats, and killed the men. He acted similarly toward the Jamnites, who were also plotting such things against the Jews.

When Judas fought against Gorgias and his men, some of the Jews were killed. After victory in the battle, when Judas took care that the bodies of the slain should be buried, offerings to idols that they had taken in the battle against the Jamnites--things forbidden to them--were found beneath their tunics. For this reason Judas made a collection and sent ten thousand drachmas of silver to Jerusalem, to be offered there for the sins of those dead men.

Afterward Judas Maccabeus and his followers went to Jerusalem and cleansed from its impurities the temple profaned by Antiochus. They restored it to its former condition according to the Law and celebrated the solemn feast of dedication, decreeing that it should also be observed annually in the future.

When the nations surrounding Judea learned that the sanctuary had been restored as before, they assembled against the Jews to destroy them. Judas met them in battle and struck the Idumeans with a great blow; he then crushed the Ammonites together with their leader Timothy.

When very many nations made war against the Gileadites, while other nations attacked the inhabitants of Galilee, those who were afflicted by the enemies requested Judas's aid by letters. Judas sent his brother Simon with three thousand men to free their brethren who were in Galilee, while Judas himself, with his brother Jonathan and eight thousand men, went into Gilead to aid those who were there. Simon freed Galilee, killing three thousand enemies. Judas likewise obtained victory with Jonathan, killing eight thousand enemies and putting the rebellious cities to the sword, all their men and women.

After this, Timothy joined a multitude of nations to himself and added Arabs as auxiliaries. Judas and his men crushed them as they fled to Phanu and burned that place with them. He also captured the city of Ephron, which lay on his route and had refused him harmless passage, destroyed it, and killed all its people. They returned to Jerusalem blessing God.

Joseph and Azariah had been left as leaders of the people who remained at Jerusalem and had been warned not to make war against anyone. But they did not obey. Hearing of the victories of Judas and Simon and wishing to make a name for themselves before their return, they made war upon the neighboring nations. Gorgias routed and defeated them, killing two thousand of their men.

§ XV. The Death of Antiochus Epiphanes and the Reign of Eupator

Meanwhile King Antiochus traveled through the upper regions. When he heard that the city of Elymais in Persia was exceedingly rich, he sought to capture it and expose it to plunder, but he was put to flight. Greatly saddened, he returned to Babylon. There he heard of Judas's victories over Lysias and his men, and he became exceedingly angry, as is contained in 2 Maccabees 9, where the miserable death of Antiochus is more fully narrated.

While upon the road Antiochus ordered his chariot to be driven so that he might reach Jerusalem more quickly, promising that he would make it a heap for the burial of the Jews. But God suddenly struck him with an invisible plague of pain in his bowels. When, uplifted by pride and breathing fire in his mind against the Jews, he ordered the undertaking to be hastened, it happened that he fell from the chariot and was tormented by the severe bruising of his body. He became so infirm that worms swarmed from his body and so great a stench burdened his army that no one could endure it.

When his pains began to increase and he could not bear his own stench, he said: “It is just to be subject to God and for a mortal not to consider himself equal to God.” The wicked man prayed to God but did not obtain mercy from him, because he did not truly repent. He promised to make Jerusalem free, establish the Jews as equals of the Athenians, and give many gifts to God's temple.

Moreover, he wrote the Jews a letter professing great kindness toward them. Although weakened, he still hoped for health and meanwhile exhorted them to preserve their fidelity toward himself and his son Antiochus. Thus he ended his life miserably.

Timothy, who had been defeated on another occasion, again gathered a very great army and came against Judas, who had few men with him. But after the Jews first offered prayer and humility, five men appeared from heaven to the adversaries during the battle itself, splendid upon horses with golden bridles and providing leadership to the Jews. Two of them enclosed Maccabeus with their weapons and preserved him unharmed, while they cast weapons and thunderbolts against the adversaries. Confused with blindness, they fell, and twenty thousand of them were killed. When Timothy fled into Gazara, Maccabeus pursued him, captured the city, and killed Timothy and his brother.

When Antiochus was dying, he had entrusted the care of the kingdom to a certain intimate companion named Philip, who was with him. He appointed Philip over the army so that he might rear his son Antiochus and gave him his ring, diadem, and robe to assign to his son. But Lysias, who then had Antiochus son of Antiochus with him, heard of the father's death and himself established Antiochus as king of Syria in his father's place, calling him Eupator. Lysias himself was commander of his army.

Meanwhile Judas sought to take the citadel of Zion, in which their enemies were. Many Jews and gentiles approached Antiochus Eupator and Lysias, requesting aid against Judas. When he heard them, the angry king assembled a very great army: one hundred thousand infantrymen, twenty thousand horsemen, and thirty-two elephants trained for battle. The elephants bore wooden towers, upon each of which were thirty-two strong fighting men; a thousand armed infantrymen and five hundred soldiers surrounded each beast in battle. They showed these animals the blood of grapes and mulberries to sharpen their spirit for battle. When the sun shone upon the golden shields, the mountains reflected their light like lamps of fire.

Judas and his army approached in battle and killed six hundred men from the king's army. A certain Eleazar, whom the Comestor calls Judas's brother, saw one of the beasts ornamented with royal trappings and taller than the rest. Thinking that the king was seated there, he passed through the midst of the enemy and approached it. Placing himself beneath its body, he wounded it with his sword, and when it fell dead it crushed him.

When Judas and his men saw the king's strength and the army's assault, they turned away from them. The king's forces advanced against them to Jerusalem. While they remained in the siege, Lysias heard that Philip, whom Antiochus had appointed over the affairs of the kingdom as he was dying, had come and taken dominion over Antioch. He advised the king to make peace with Judas and his companions and permit them to observe their lawful rites, because it was for this reason that they had rebelled against his father, and especially because they needed to take thought for the kingdom. This advice was followed.

Menelaus, of whom mention was made above, urged King Antiochus to make war against Judas under a pretense of piety, hoping that he himself might thereby be established in the principality. Lysias told the king that this man was the cause of all their evils. The angry king therefore ordered him killed and cast from a high tower into ashes, as is contained in 2 Maccabees 11.

Although peace had been made, the king himself immediately acted against the oath taken concerning it and ordered the wall around the citadel of Zion destroyed. Hastening back to Antioch, he found Philip ruling the city; but he fought against him and took the city by force.

§ XVI. Demetrius, Alcimus, and Nicanor

In the 151st year, Demetrius son of Seleucus departed from the city of Rome and landed with a few men in a maritime city. This Demetrius was first cousin to the last Antiochus: for Seleucus, father of this Demetrius, and Antiochus Epiphanes, father of this Antiochus Eupator, were brothers. But when Seleucus died, it was not his son Demetrius but Seleucus's brother Antiochus who usurped the kingdom of Syria for himself, and Demetrius went to Rome.

When Demetrius returned to his father's kingdom, the troops who were with Lysias and Antiochus son of Antiochus seized Lysias himself and Antiochus. At Demetrius's request, the army killed Lysias and Antiochus.

After Demetrius received the kingdom of Syria, a certain very wicked man of priestly stock named Alcimus approached him. As is said in 2 Maccabees 13, he had been high priest. He offered the king a golden crown and certain other things, claiming that he intended to serve the interests of the king and the Jewish people. He complained that the priesthood had been unjustly taken from him and accused Judas Maccabeus of many things.

The king then sent Bacchides with an army and established Alcimus as high priest. Alcimus pretended that he wished to make peace with Judas and his men, deceived them, and, together with Bacchides, killed many of the people. Alcimus exerted himself greatly for the sake of the supremacy of his priesthood. When he could not prevail against Judas, he returned to the king and accused him of many things.

Demetrius sent Nicanor with troops. He was the foremost of the king's commanders and was to capture Judas, disperse his men, and establish Alcimus as high priest. When Nicanor arrived and heard of the courage of Judas and his companions, he made peace with him, and they lived together in Jerusalem.

When Alcimus observed this and their affection for one another, he came to King Demetrius and reported it. In anger Demetrius wrote that he bore that friendship gravely and ordered Nicanor to send Judas to him in chains. Nicanor sought to capture him treacherously, but Judas perceived this and took precautions for himself. Nicanor then proceeded openly against him. When the priests showed him the sacrifices that they offered for the king, he mocked them, stretched out his hand against the temple, and declared that he himself would burn it unless they delivered Judas into his hands.

Nicanor heard that a certain venerable man named Razias lived in Jerusalem, who because of his affection was called the father of the Jews. He sent many men to his house to seize him. When Razias was on the point of being captured, he struck himself with his sword. Since he did not die from the wound, he cast himself from the wall into the crowd. Still breathing, he raised himself and stood upon a rock. Grasping in his hands the entrails that came out of his body, he threw them into the crowd, calling upon the Ruler of life and spirit to return them to him again in this manner. Thus he died.

When they finally prepared for battle, Nicanor, uplifted with pride, thought that he would crush Judas, trusting in his own strength and multitude. Judas, trusting in the Lord's aid, exhorted his companions to do the same. He armed them not with the defense of shield and spear but with the best words, recounting that in a dream he had seen Onias praying for the people and Jeremiah with him, giving Judas a golden sword and saying: “Receive this holy sword, a gift from God, with which you will cast down the adversaries.”

Judas and his men therefore fought with their hands but prayed to God with their hearts. They struck down thirty-five thousand from Nicanor's army, and Nicanor himself was also killed. They cut off Nicanor's head and the hand he had extended against the temple and hung them up. They cut his tongue into small pieces and cast it to the birds. Thus they returned with a very great victory to Jerusalem, gave thanks to God, and decreed that a feast in honor of so great a victory should be celebrated annually. This is the end of the second book of Maccabees.

When Judas heard the name of the Romans--because they were mighty in strength, agreed to everything asked of them, and established friendships and battles with all who approached them--and learned also the good qualities attributed to them in chapter 8 of the first book, Judas and his followers, by their common counsel, chose Eupolemus son of John and Jason son of Eleazar as their envoys. They sent them to Rome to establish friendship and alliance with the Romans.

Arriving at the city, they entered the Senate and explained in the council the purpose of their embassy. The Romans agreed to enter peace and alliance with them. They therefore inscribed upon bronze tablets that the Romans and the Jews should in turn bring aid against those making war upon whichever of them war first assailed.

Meanwhile, when Demetrius heard of Nicanor's death, he again sent Bacchides, leader of the army, and Alcimus into Judea. They came and pitched camp against Judas. Many of Judas's army withdrew from him out of fear of the enemy's multitude, and he remained with only eight hundred. His companions advised him to avoid the contest and withdraw, but he refused. He proceeded to battle; his army was defeated and he himself was killed.

Here it should be noted that after making peace and an alliance with the Romans, he was defeated and killed in the first battle.

Fourth Title: On the Fifth Age of the World

Chapter Four (continued)

The same thing happened to his brothers Jonathan and afterward Simon, perhaps because, abandoning confidence in divine aid, they trusted too much in the strength of men.

After Judas had died and been mourned and buried, they all chose his brother Jonathan as their leader and prince. The sons of Jambri seized and killed John, Jonathan's brother. When these sons of Jambri afterward celebrated a solemn wedding to which many people of consequence came, Jonathan and Simon laid an ambush. As the bridegroom and bride proceeded with a great company and with musicians, Jonathan and Simon rose against them and made a great slaughter in vengeance for the blood of their brother John.

Thereafter Bacchides came against Jonathan near the Jordan but was defeated by him, with many killed. When the most wicked Alcimus, who had sought to be restored to the high priesthood, ordered the walls of the temple destroyed, he was struck with paralysis. He could no longer speak and died in great torment.

Bacchides returned to King Demetrius. After two years, at the instigation of certain Jews, they summoned Bacchides back, seeking treacherously to capture Jonathan while he was living in peace and therefore more securely. But the treacheries were detected, and Jonathan protected himself by killing the traitors. Bacchides advanced against Jonathan in battle but was defeated. Indignant at those who had recalled him to Judea, he killed many of them. After making peace with Jonathan and returning the captives, Bacchides went back to his own region, no longer to molest him.

§ XVII. Jonathan under Alexander and Demetrius

In the 160th year, Alexander, son of the Antiochus who had been killed with Lysias by his own army at Demetrius's insistence, came to Ptolemais, captured it, and began to reign there. Hearing this, Demetrius assembled an army against him and sought to enter an alliance with Jonathan, leader of the Jews. He sent letters to seek Jonathan's friendship, ordering that the hostages in the citadel be returned to him, along with many other concessions.

When Alexander heard this, he too sought Jonathan's friendship by sending letters for that purpose. He appointed him high priest and gave him a golden crown, purple, and many other things. When Demetrius perceived this, he was saddened and again wrote to Jonathan, offering him much more than Alexander had offered so that he would give him aid. Jonathan did not consent to these proposals but allied himself with Alexander.

Alexander met King Demetrius and his army in battle, defeated and killed him, and routed his army. Afterward Alexander asked Ptolemy, king of Egypt, to give him his daughter Cleopatra as wife, which he did. Jonathan was invited to the wedding celebrated at Ptolemais. When he came, Alexander and Ptolemy honored him greatly. Although certain pestilential men brought complaints against Jonathan, Alexander did not listen to them. Rather, he caused Jonathan to be clothed in purple and led through the city by his princes, while a herald commanded that no one should bring any charge against Jonathan in any matter.

In the 165th year, Demetrius, son of the Demetrius killed by Alexander, came from Crete into the land of his fathers. He appointed Apollonius, governor of Coele-Syria, commander of his army. Apollonius wrote Jonathan and challenged him to battle. When they fought together, Jonathan prevailed against him, killing eight thousand adversaries and burning many of their cities.

Ptolemy, king of Egypt, assembled a very great army and deceitfully sought to obtain the kingdom of his son-in-law Alexander. As Ptolemy passed through many of Alexander's cities with his consent, Alexander being ignorant of his malice, Ptolemy took them for himself. After his enmity was discovered, he took his daughter Cleopatra away from Alexander and gave her to Demetrius son of Demetrius, pretending that he acted thus because Alexander had sought to kill him.

When battle was joined between Ptolemy and Alexander, Alexander was defeated and fled into Arabia to protect himself there. But the prince of Arabia cut off Alexander's head and sent it to Ptolemy. Three days after receiving it, Ptolemy died.

Demetrius son of Demetrius therefore reigned in Syria in the 167th year. When Jonathan was summoned to meet him, he came to Ptolemais and was received honorably. Demetrius established him in the supremacy of the priesthood, conferred many other things, and granted his requests.

A certain Tryphon, who had been the chief man of Alexander's party, saw that the whole army murmured against Demetrius. He went to the Arab Hemalcuel, who was raising Antiochus son of Alexander, so that Hemalcuel might deliver the boy to him to reign in his father's place. Demetrius saw his army leave him to join Tryphon and sent to Jonathan for auxiliaries. Jonathan sent him three thousand men at Antioch.

One hundred and twenty thousand men had assembled there against King Demetrius to kill him. The men sent by Jonathan ran through the city in the king's defense, killed one hundred thousand of them, and burned part of the city. Thus they delivered the king, while the remainder cast down their arms and sought peace from him. Glorified and renowned in the kingdom, the Jews returned to Jerusalem with much spoil.

But when Demetrius sat peacefully in his kingdom, he dealt falsely with Jonathan concerning what he had promised. Most ungratefully, he estranged himself from him and afflicted him severely.

Antiochus, together with Tryphon, assembled many nations, came to Antioch, captured it, and placed the diadem upon himself. He wrote Jonathan to establish friendship, at the same time appointing him to the priesthood. To make him the king's friend, he sent gifts of gold and silver vessels, gave him the right to drink from gold, to wear purple, and to bear a golden clasp, and made his brother Simon leader in certain places.

When Jonathan entered battle against foreigners, his army fled from him. But he recalled it to himself through prayer and prevailed against them, killing three thousand.

Afterward Jonathan sent envoys to renew friendship with the Spartans and Romans. Among other things it is said there: “Having as consolation the holy books that are in our hands, we nevertheless preferred to send to you to renew fraternity and friendship.” They recounted the tribulations they had suffered, their deliverance through God's aid, and that they remembered the Spartans and Romans in their sacrifices and prayers. Demetrius arose against Jonathan with great forces to defeat him but could not prevail.

Tryphon, however, intending to take the kingdom of Asia for himself, planned to kill King Antiochus. But fearing that Jonathan might impede him, he sought to capture Jonathan. When Jonathan came to meet him with forty thousand chosen men, Tryphon said that it was unnecessary to trouble so great a multitude. Instead, Jonathan should retain a few men with him and go with Tryphon to Ptolemais, so that Tryphon might deliver the city to him.

Believing this, Jonathan dismissed the others and entered Ptolemais with only a thousand men. Once inside, he was captured and all his companions were killed. Tryphon also sent his army to destroy the other men whom Jonathan had sent into Galilee, but, warned by Jonathan's capture, they resisted them bravely.

§ XVIII. Simon, the Last of the Maccabees

When Jonathan's brother Simon heard that Tryphon intended to advance into Judea to destroy it because its people had lost their prince, he went up to Jerusalem and before all the people offered to expose himself to death for the people's defense, as his brothers had done. They accepted this most gratefully and appointed him their leader.

When Tryphon came into Judea, bringing the captive Jonathan with him, he learned that Simon had been made leader. He sent envoys to him, pretending that he had detained Jonathan because of a great sum of money owed to the king and promising that he would release him if Simon sent the money and two of Jonathan's sons as hostages. Simon perceived that he spoke deceitfully. Nevertheless, he sent the money demanded and Jonathan's sons, lest he make the people hateful toward him by giving them occasion to say that Jonathan had been killed because he had not sent the sons and the money. But Tryphon lied.

When Tryphon saw that he could not prevail against them because Simon resisted bravely, he killed Jonathan and his sons and returned to his own land. Simon took the bodies of Jonathan and his sons and buried them with their ancestors in the city of Modin, making great mourning over him. He built seven high pyramids above their grave: for his father and mother and his four brothers.

The aforesaid Tryphon, while making a journey with the young King Antiochus, treacherously killed him and reigned in his place. Simon sent to King Demetrius to obtain remission for his region. Demetrius granted it and wrote back to him as high priest, saying among other things: “We have received the crown that you sent. We are prepared to make a great peace with you. We remit to you the offenses and errors down to the present day, as well as the golden crown; and if anything else in Jerusalem was subject to tribute, let it now no longer be tributary.”

Thus in the 170th year the yoke of the gentiles was removed from Israel, in the first year under Simon, high priest, leader, and prince of the Jews. He came to the city of Gaza and besieged it. When its people sought peace, he did not destroy it in battle but captured the city, cast out its inhabitants, and cleansed it of images. He then besieged the citadel of Jerusalem. When those within failed from hunger, they sought and received peace, surrendering the citadel. When Simon saw that his son John was a warlike and valiant man, he appointed him commander of the armies.

In the 172nd year, King Demetrius went into Media to obtain aid to defeat Tryphon. When Arsaces, king of Persia and Media, heard this, he sent one of his princes, who crushed Demetrius's army and brought him captive to Arsaces. The land of Judah was quiet throughout all the days of Simon, and peace and friendship between the Jews, Romans, and Spartans were renewed.

Simon therefore sent the envoy Numenius to Rome, bearing a golden shield weighing one thousand minas, in order to establish an alliance with them. The Romans accepted it and wrote friendly letters to the Jews in praise of Simon. King Demetrius also heard

that the Jews had been called friends, allies, and brethren by the Romans, that they had received Simon's envoys gloriously, and that the Jews and their priests had agreed that Simon should be high priest and leader forever, until a faithful prophet should arise. He therefore also made Simon his friend and, so that this might be apparent, honored him with purple and a golden clasp.

After this, Antiochus son of Demetrius wrote to Simon as high priest and leader of the Jews to gain his friendship. He declared that he granted every remission made by the kings before him, permitted Simon to strike his own coinage in his land, declared Jerusalem holy and free, and allowed him to retain the fortifications he had erected. He remitted every debt to the king and promised still greater things for the future.

In the 174th year, Antiochus son of Demetrius went into the land of his fathers, and the whole army assembled to him, so that few remained with Tryphon, who had usurped the kingdom of Syria for himself. Antiochus pursued Tryphon with one hundred and twenty thousand warriors and eight thousand horsemen and besieged the city of Dora, also bringing ships against it by sea, for Tryphon had fled into that city.

Simon sent Antiochus two thousand chosen auxiliaries and great gifts. Antiochus nevertheless refused to receive them, broke everything he had covenanted, and estranged himself from Simon. Antiochus sent one of his friends, Athenobius, to Simon, demanding that he restore Joppa, Gazara, and the citadel of Jerusalem, which he had taken from Antiochus, together with their tribute--or in their place one thousand talents in all--otherwise he would come to battle against him.

When Athenobius arrived in Jerusalem and saw Simon's glory, he was astonished. In answer to the demand he presented from King Antiochus, Simon said that he possessed nothing belonging to the king, only what was his own. Indeed, he had obtained Joppa and Gazara by right of war because they had inflicted many evils upon the Jews. Athenobius returned to the king and reported these things, moving the king to anger.

Antiochus sent Cendebeus with forces to conquer Judea, while he himself pursued Tryphon, who fled by ship across the sea to Orthosaida.

John son of Simon reported this to his father. Simon, who was already old, encouraged his sons to fight against the adversaries of the people as he and his brothers had done, expecting aid from God. John therefore went out with his brother Judas to battle against Cendebeus. A river lay between the two armies, and when those with John feared to cross it, John crossed first and the others followed him. They met the enemy and routed Cendebeus and his men, killing two thousand of them, and John returned to Judea in peace.

A certain man named Ptolemy son of Abobus had been appointed commander in the plain of Jericho. He was the son-in-law of Simon the high priest and exceedingly rich. Desiring to make himself lord of that region, he plotted to kill Simon and his sons.

While Simon traveled through the cities of Judea with two of his sons, Judas and Mattathias, caring for his nation, he went down to Jericho. Ptolemy treacherously received them in a certain small fortress. After preparing a great banquet for them there, he caused Simon and his sons to be killed during it. He immediately sent word to the king to dispatch forces to him and promised to surrender the region and its cities. He also sent men to Gazara to kill John, Simon's son. But John had been forewarned of what had happened and killed the men who came to slay him. John himself then remained prince of the Jews and at the same time high priest, in the 176th year of the kingdom of the Greeks.

This, then, is the end of the book of Maccabees. From its deeds you may learn how great are the adversities that must be borne for the defense and observance of the evangelical law, since they suffered so many and such great things for the observance of the Mosaic law, which was a figure of it. From the frequent change of kings and princes, and from their deaths, it must also be observed that the life of every earthly power is brief and therefore to be despised.

§ XIX. John Hyrcanus

After the death of Simon, the last of the Maccabees, sacred Scripture contains nothing more concerning the matters that follow until Christ, of whom the Gospels speak. What follows is instead excerpted from the scholastic histories, whose author is said to be Peter Comestor.

John, called Hyrcanus after the Hyrcanians he defeated, succeeded in Judea to the leadership and pontificate. Josephus commends him for three things: diligence in the religion of the priesthood, energy in leadership, and the gift of prophecy.

After assuming rule, he pursued Ptolemy, who had treacherously killed his father and held his mother and two young brothers in chains. Ptolemy fled to a fortress beyond Jericho called Agon. John besieged the stronghold and pressed sharply to capture him. To make him cease the attack, however, Ptolemy caused John's mother and the children to be beaten upon the walls until they bled. Broken by filial devotion, John restrained himself, although his mother cried to John from the wall not to leave Ptolemy's crime unavenged on her account, for she judged her own death better than immortality.

The siege was consequently prolonged until the seventh year arrived, which was a holiday for the Jews. John withdrew from the siege of Ptolemy, who killed John's mother and brothers and fled to Zeno, tyrant of Philadelphia.

After this Antiochus, king of Syria, besieged Jerusalem. John Hyrcanus therefore opened two of the eight treasure chambers surrounding David's tomb and took from them more than three thousand talents. He gave Antiochus three hundred talents to withdraw from the siege. To quiet the people's murmuring over the opening of the tomb, he used the remaining money to establish a hospice in Jerusalem for the poor.

He captured Samaria and leveled it to the ground; afterward Herod rebuilt it and called it Sebaste. John died after administering affairs excellently for thirty-three years. He left five sons after him: Aristobulus the firstborn, Antigonus, and three younger sons. Because none of them was fit to govern the people, John placed his very eloquent wife over Judea and over his sons.

Fourth Title: On the Fifth Age of the World

Chapter Four (continued)

Aristobulus, unable to endure his mother's rule, bound his mother and his three younger brothers in prison. He established Antigonus, the brother born next after himself, whom he loved, as second to him. He placed the diadem upon himself, and the kingdom of Judea was restored.

For 475 years and three months had elapsed from Zedekiah, king of Judah, under whom the kingdom had been interrupted, or from the return from the Babylonian captivity. Hence it is frequently read that the kingdom was interrupted until Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, that is, until Aristobulus son of Hyrcanus.

Aristobulus nevertheless reigned for only one year, because he had killed his mother by hunger in chains. While Aristobulus lay sick in the tower afterward called Antonia, Antigonus returned from Galilee, where he had done many illustrious deeds, clothed in new and becoming armor. As he entered Jerusalem at the Feast of Tabernacles to honor his brother and to display the beauty of the armor to the people, he entered armed.

When his rivals saw this, and especially his brother's wife, who had cast her eyes upon him but to whom he did not give his consent, they accused him to Aristobulus, saying: “Your brother, hearing that you are ill, has entered with a strong and armed hand to kill you and reign. You can prove it in this way: command him to come to you. If he comes armed, be certain concerning the things we say.”

At his wife's suggestion, Aristobulus therefore stationed armed men in an underground passage called Strato's Tower, through which Antigonus would pass, so that they might kill him if he came armed. Summoning his brother, Aristobulus instructed the messenger to tell him not to come to him armed. But the queen corrupted the messenger with gifts so that he would tell him to come armed, because the king desired to see him in the splendor of his armor.

When Hyrcanus therefore passed armed through Strato's Tower, he was killed by the armed men. Hearing of his brother's death, the king became so weakened by illness that he vomited blood from his lacerated entrails. One of the servants appointed to this task carried it outside and accidentally spilled it, where Antigonus had been killed, upon the stains of blood that still remained.

Seeing this, the people cried out and declared that, by God's will and in vengeance for the murdered brother, the killer's blood had been poured out as a libation--that is, spilled. When the king asked the cause of the outcry, no one dared tell him. At last, when he threatened punishment for their silence, they told him the truth.

Groaning, he said: “It was not right that my crimes should be hidden from the light of God. How long will this wicked body detain a soul condemned to my mother and brother? Would that I might pour out my blood to them not little by little, but that they might receive the whole draught at once.” Having said these things, he expired.

After his death, because his wife had borne no offspring by him, she released her husband's brothers from chains and established the eldest, Alexander, as king. He was surnamed Jannaeus and also appeared to surpass the others in moderation. He killed the second brother because he appeared to aspire to the kingdom and compelled the third to live privately with him. He took as wife Salome, who was also called Alexandra.

This Jannaeus was so exceedingly wicked that within seven years he killed about fifty thousand elders because they detested his crimes. When he had offended the people, he fortified a palace for himself in the tower called Baris. Titus afterward marveled that the Jews had abandoned it, since it could be defended by two men against every living person.

He had so greatly offended the Jews that when he once asked them how he might pacify them, they answered, “If you were to die.” On this account he hanged eight hundred married men in the streets of Jerusalem and killed their wives and children.

§ XX. Alexander Jannaeus and Queen Alexandra

In the 493rd year of the Fifth Age, the 3,866th year of the world--or according to the other computation of the greater number, the 5,103rd year--the ninth Ptolemy, also called Alexander, reigned in Egypt. He reigned nine years.

At that time Alexander Jannaeus reigned among the Jews, and he reigned twenty-seven years. In Syria Antiochus Citenus reigned for thirty-eight years; after him Philip reigned two years. Finally Antiochus, fleeing even the Parthians, surrendered himself to Pompey. Afterward Philip was captured by Gabinius. Thus the kingdom of Syria came to an end in the eighth year of the aforesaid Ptolemy, and Syria, until then possessed by kings, came under the dominion of the Romans.

When the aforesaid Alexander Jannaeus had rested from battles and was afflicted by quartan fevers, he thought that his sickness had arisen from idleness and gave himself to the untimely labors of military service. He died in the thirty-eighth year of his reign, leaving two sons, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus.

Knowing that his sons would be hated by the Jews on account of their father, he left the kingdom to his wife. During her husband's life she had won the goodwill of the people for herself by frequently resisting his tyranny and presenting a feigned religion in another guise. While she reigned, she declared Hyrcanus high priest, judging that he would become king because he was modest. But she compelled the younger son, Aristobulus, to live as a private person because he appeared to possess a fervent spirit.

At that time the sect of the Pharisees arose in Judea; in earlier times the sect of the Essenes had already arisen. Alexandra used the counsel of these Pharisees in everything, so that at their advice she either condemned all the leading men of the Jews to exile or killed them. Finally, she killed Diogenes, who had been Alexander's closest friend.

She had assembled two armies of foreigners so that she might rage against the Jews more safely. Consequently many fled to Aristobulus so that they might be protected by his patronage. In the ninth year of her reign Queen Alexandra fell ill. Aristobulus assembled a large band of men and declared that he would reign after his mother. On this account his mother, moved by Hyrcanus's complaints, confined Aristobulus's wife and children in custody and took them as hostages, lest Aristobulus usurp the kingdom for himself.

After their mother died, Aristobulus assembled an army and took up arms against his brother Hyrcanus. When the brothers went out upon the plains of Jericho, Hyrcanus was defeated and fled to Jerusalem. At last they returned to concord under this condition: Aristobulus would reign, while Hyrcanus would exercise whatever honors he wished under him. They also exchanged houses.

§ XXI. Pompey and the Contest between the Brothers

Antipater the Idumean was with Hyrcanus. Fearing Antipater's prudence and energy, Aristobulus brought calumnies against him. Antipater persuaded Hyrcanus to complain that he had been circumvented by treachery and to flee to Aretas, king of the Arabs, with whose aid he might return to the kingdom.

Departing by night, they came to the Arab king at a fortress called Petra, where his royal seat was. Aretas therefore assembled an army, came into Judea, and besieged Jerusalem. He would even have captured it had not Scaurus, the Roman commander, dissolved the siege.

Syria had already ceased to be a kingdom and become tributary to the Romans. Pompey had been sent by the Romans against Tigranes, king of Armenia, and Pompey had sent Scaurus as governor of Syria. When Scaurus heard of the brothers' dissension in Judea, he judged it an opportunity to place Judea under tribute and entered its borders with a strong hand.

Envoys sent by each brother came to Scaurus and sought his aid on either side. Scaurus was corrupted by three hundred talents sent by Aristobulus--which Josephus testifies is characteristic of the Romans--and sent envoys to the Arabs, threatening them with the name of the Romans and of Pompey unless Aretas withdrew from the siege.

Aretas therefore withdrew and placed Hyrcanus and Antipater at Philadelphia. Frustrated in their hope in the Arabs, they placed their hope in their adversaries. When Pompey came to Damascus, many came to him with gifts so that he might judge the violence of Aristobulus worthy of hatred and restore Hyrcanus to the kingdom. Yet Aristobulus too did not fail himself, relying upon the corruption of Scaurus.

When Pompey did not show Aristobulus royal honor, Aristobulus indignantly departed without greeting him and withdrew into the fortress of Alexandrium because of its impregnable defenses. Pompey the Great pursued him with an assembled army of Romans and Syrians and ordered him to descend from the fortress to him.

Because Aristobulus was called to submit to the disgrace of being under Roman rule, he had determined rather to hazard himself than obey. Nevertheless, on the advice of his men he descended from the fortress. Leaving guards there, he commanded them to obey his orders only when given in letters written in his own hand. He then went to Jerusalem.

Pompey the Great immediately pursued him, having been made eager near Jericho by news of the death of Mithridates. There lies the very fertile region of Idumea, which nourishes many palms and balsam. By cutting its wood with sharp stones, they collect the dripping tear, that is, the gum, from the wounds.

As Pompey hastened toward Jerusalem, the frightened Aristobulus met him, promising the money that was in the fortress of Alexandrium and declaring that he would henceforth obey Roman rule. But none of these things was done. Gabinius was sent to receive the money, but the guards did not even admit him into the fortress. Moved by this, Pompey placed Aristobulus in custody.

When Pompey besieged Jerusalem, dissension arose in the city. The supporters of Aristobulus contended that the city should be defended, while the supporters of Hyrcanus contended that it should be surrendered to the Romans. The defeated party of Aristobulus fled into the temple, while Pompey was received into the city and assaulted the temple.

As they filled the northern valley with earthworks, the work would have remained unfinished had Pompey not ordered the embankment to be constructed during the observance of the seventh days--that is, the sabbaths--on which it is not lawful for the Jews to work. In the third month the sanctuary was broken into. Faustus Cornelius, son of Sulla, was the first who dared enter, and the Romans rushed in and profaned the temple. Elsewhere it is read that they stabled horses in the porticoes.

For this reason it is related that Pompey, who until then had been most fortunate in war, never afterward fought a battle without being defeated. On the next day Pompey entered the temple. He marveled at its situation, adornment, and religion but took nothing from it, ordering the keepers of the sanctuary to cleanse the temple from filth.

After imposing tribute upon the Jerusalemites and declaring Hyrcanus high priest, he took Aristobulus captive with him to Rome, together with two of his sons and the same number of daughters. He proceeded through Sicily and entrusted the administration of Syria and Judea to Scaurus, leaving two cohorts with him.

Alexander son of Aristobulus escaped during the journey. With a great armed band he laid waste Judea and threatened Hyrcanus. He held the very strongly fortified places Alexandrium, Archanum, and Macheronta.

Gabinius was sent to Syria to succeed Scaurus, and Marcus Antonius also served under him. When Gabinius had besieged Alexandrium with a very great host, Alexander surrendered himself and the fortress of Alexandrium to him on his mother's advice. At the counsel of the same woman, Gabinius utterly destroyed the fortress so that it would not become a refuge for another war. The woman was indeed flattering Gabinius with services, fearing for her husband and the other captives who had been led to Rome.

After this, Gabinius entrusted the care of the temple to Hyrcanus and divided the nation of the Jews into five councils, breaking the pride of Judea as though by a pentarchy. At that time Antipater became a very close friend of Gabinius and Marcus Antonius. He grew so distinguished that a wife named Cyprus, niece of the king of the Arabs, was given to him.

By her he fathered four sons and a daughter. The firstborn was Phasaelus; the second, Herod, who was afterward called the Ascalonite; the third, Josippus; and the fourth, Pheroras. The daughter was called Salomia.

After this Aristobulus escaped from Rome by chance. Having assembled a great band of Jews, he was rebuilding the wall around Alexandrium. Antonius was sent by Gabinius to defeat him. Aristobulus and his sons were captured again and taken to Rome. The Senate confined Aristobulus in custody but sent the sons back to Judea, because Gabinius wrote that he had promised this to Aristobulus's wife in return for the surrender of the fortresses.

Afterward, while Gabinius was detained in Egypt, Alexander son of Aristobulus again led the Jews into dissension. But Gabinius returned, made peace, and confirmed Hyrcanus in the pontificate.

After Gabinius's death, Crassus was sent from Rome as governor of Syria to repel the Parthians, who were now threatening the Romans. For the expenses of the Parthian campaign, he took from the temple almost all the gold from which Pompey had abstained, two thousand talents. On account of this he fell with molten gold poured into his mouth, and it was said to him: “You thirsted for gold; drink gold.” Cassius succeeded him as governor of Syria and used Antipater's counsel in all things.

At that time dissension arose among the Romans over Pompey and Julius Caesar. After Pompey's flight across the Ionian Sea, Caesar gained possession of all affairs and of Rome. He released Aristobulus and sent him into Syria with two cohorts, judging that through him he could easily subject Judea to himself.

But Caesar's hope was frustrated, for Aristobulus died by poison at the hands of the *studiosi*, that is, the friends of Pompey. His son Alexander was also killed at Antioch, struck with the axe according to Pompey's letters, after an accusation concerning the things he had committed against the Romans had first been heard before the tribunal.

Only Antigonus survived. With his sisters he fled to a certain Ptolemy son of Mennaeus, who dwelt beneath Lebanon. Ptolemy took Antigonus's younger sister Alexandra as wife. By her, as some relate, he fathered a son named Lysanias, who was afterward tetrarch of Abilene.

After this a battle was fought in Emathia between the Pompeian and Caesarian parties. Emathia is named from Emath; it is Reblatha, afterward called Antioch or Epiphania. Antipater, father of Herod the Ascalonite, was present in this battle with Jews on Pompey's side.

When Antipater returned to Judea, fearing Caesar's attack, he sent his children to their Arab kinsmen. After Pompey died, Antipater placed himself under Caesar's patronage. Caesar sent Mithridates of Pergamum to conquer Pelusium and sent with him Nicholas Ptolemy and Antipater with three thousand Jews.

There Antipater's courage shone especially. He was the first to climb over the wall. By his prudence he also inclined the Memphites to Caesar's service. When battle was joined with the Egyptians and many were killed, Antipater's entire body was pierced with wounds, but against expectation he survived the battle.

After victory was obtained, he had Mithridates as a witness before Caesar to his deeds, while Marcus Antonius also commended him in many respects. He became Caesar's friend. Caesar gave him Roman immunity and citizenship and, for his sake, confirmed Hyrcanus in the pontificate.

At that time Antigonus, brother of Aristobulus mentioned above, accused Antipater and Hyrcanus before Caesar, saying that by their counsel his brother and father had perished. In response Antipater cast off his garment, displayed the multitude of his wounds, and said there was no need for words, since his scars cried out, even if he remained silent, that he had been faithful to the Romans, while Antigonus had been their son. For no one could draw Antipater away from Pompey while he lived, nor would anyone now be able to tear him from Caesar.

Caesar then gave Antipater the choice of any dignity under the high priest in Judea. Setting aside the measure of a dignity, Antipater was declared procurator of Judea under Caesar. He also obtained permission to rebuild the overthrown walls of his country. Caesar granted the kingdom to Hyrcanus as well, yet so that he should not be called king, and appointed his own kinsman Sextus over Syria.

§ XXII. Antipater's Sons

After this Antipater appointed his elder son Phasaelus as procurator under him at Jerusalem and placed Herod over Galilee. Herod was energetic, for he killed the leader of robbers, Hezekiah, together with his followers. He rendered the land so quiet that Herod was publicly sung of as the father of Galilee.

Fourth Title: On the Fifth Age of the World

Chapter Four (continued)

Phasaelus likewise strove with honorable rivalry to surpass his brother's character. For this reason, and because their father conducted royal affairs through their services, he too was honored. Yet on this account they were no less faithful to Hyrcanus.

Nevertheless, it is impossible for anyone to escape envy in deeds well performed. There were men who told Hyrcanus that, after affairs had been entrusted to Antipater and his sons, Hyrcanus himself sat with the empty name of king. Gradually inflamed by these words, Hyrcanus ordered Herod summoned to state his case.

After first fortifying Galilee, Herod hastened to the king, carrying with him a letter from Sextus ordering Hyrcanus to absolve Herod from every charge and fault. Not long afterward Herod was made commander of Sextus's army. Herod would then have avenged upon Hyrcanus the insult of the aforesaid summons had his father and brother not mitigated his assault.

Meanwhile Caesar was treacherously killed by Brutus and Cassius, as will be related more fully below. After this Cassius came into Syria, of which he had formerly been governor. Assembling an army against the young Octavian Augustus and Marcus Antonius, he exacted seventy talents from the Jews. Herod was the first to bring one hundred talents from Galilee and thereby earned the favor of Cassius, who bore the delay of the others indignantly. Herod also went with Cassius to the battle; if he obtained victory, Cassius promised him the kingdom of Judea.

At that time one of Hyrcanus's friends, named Mallichus, was with him and aspired to the priesthood. When he resolved to attack Hyrcanus with poison, he determined first to attack Antipater, forgetful of his benefits. Antipater, Herod's father, therefore received poison through a servant and died.

Mallichus, when he was suspected of Antipater's death, excused himself to Herod in many ways. Herod complained to Cassius concerning his father's death and received a written reply from him authorizing him to avenge treachery by treachery. Cassius wrote to the chiliarchs that they should aid Herod in this matter.

Herod invited Hyrcanus and Mallichus to dinner. While they were on their way, the chiliarchs--that is, men who had a thousand soldiers under them--surrounded Mallichus and killed him. Hyrcanus collapsed, overcome with stupor. When his spirit had scarcely returned, he asked Herod who had killed Mallichus. When one of them replied, “At Cassius's command,” Hyrcanus said, “Cassius has kept both me and my country safe by killing the man who plotted against us both.”

Not long afterward, while Herod lay ill at Damascus, Phoenix, brother of Mallichus, took up arms against Phasaelus in vengeance for his brother, supported by the aid of Hyrcanus. When Herod recovered, he attempted to attack Hyrcanus, but through affinity they returned to concord.

Herod had a wife named Doside [read: Doris], but she was lowborn; by her he fathered Antipater. He married in addition Mariamne, granddaughter of Hyrcanus. For love of her he even had himself circumcised and became a proselyte. Herod indeed had nine wives, from seven of whom he received innumerable offspring.

It will suffice to enumerate a few of these: his firstborn Antipater by Doris; Alexander and Aristobulus by Mariamne; Archelaus by Matica the Samaritan [read: Malthace]; and Herod Antipas, who was afterward tetrarch, and Philip by Cleopatra of Jerusalem. Some, however, think that this Herod was Mariamne's son.

After Cassius was killed on the Philippian fields, Caesar departed for Italy and Antonius for Syria. The leading men of the Jews accused Phasaelus and Herod before Antonius, alleging that they possessed the chief power by force and that only the name remained to Hyrcanus.

Herod pacified Antonius with gifts, recalling to his memory his father's former friendship with him. When the Jewish men came again to Antioch to accuse him, with Hyrcanus also present, Antonius asked Hyrcanus who were most fit to administer affairs. When Hyrcanus preferred Herod and his brothers to the others, the delighted Antonius declared these same men procurators of Judea.

After Antonius went to Rome, Pacorus, king of the Parthians, crossed the Euphrates with a strong force. Lysanias came down to him--he was a son of Antigonus and a grandson of Ptolemy by Alexandra, as was said above--and promised him one thousand talents and five hundred women if he would place Antigonus in the kingdom.

Having consequently received many thousands of Parthians from Pacorus, Antigonus assaulted Jerusalem. Phasaelus guarded the walls, while Herod guarded the royal house. But when Antigonus entered the city on the day of Pentecost, fighting took place even in the marketplace.

When negotiations for peace began, Antigonus deceitfully requested the king of the Parthians as arbiter of the peace. Hyrcanus, Phasaelus, and Antigonus went out and hastened to the Parthian king. But Herod refused to go down with them, for his wife Mariamne advised him never to place trust in the good faith of the Parthians.

Hyrcanus and Phasaelus were seized by the Parthians on the journey. When Herod learned this, he fled by night to his Idumean kinsmen. He sent his wife, children, and all his household goods ahead and, following behind them, withstood the attacks of their pursuers. He found the Jews who pursued him more grievous than the Parthians and fought with them at the sixtieth stade from Jerusalem. There, because of his incredible victory, he afterward fortified a very strong fortress that he called Herodium.

Leaving his wives and children in the fortress of Masada under the protection of his brother Josippus, he proceeded to Petra, the city of the Arabs. The Parthians not only restored Antigonus to the kingdom but also delivered Phasaelus and Hyrcanus to him to be beaten.

Antigonus bit off Hyrcanus's ears, lest, if circumstances changed and he were released, he should receive the pontificate, for sacred rites ought to be celebrated by one who is whole. But he was forestalled by the courage of Phasaelus, who, since he had neither access to a weapon nor free hands, broke his head against a rock and expired. When he learned that Herod had escaped, he said that he wished to die with an even mind because he left an avenger alive.

There are some who say concerning Hyrcanus that a physician was sent to him by Antigonus, who poured poison into his ears as though it were medicine, and that he died. Josephus, however, relates that he was sent to the Parthians and long held in derision.

When Herod learned of his brother's death, he hastened to Rome, not deterred by the harshness of winter. After his ship was wrecked near Pamphylia and repaired at Rhodes, he proceeded to Rome and first explained the reason for his journey to Antonius. Antonius marveled at his misfortunes, took pity upon him, and persuaded the Senate to declare him king of Judea.

Herod was therefore crowned and led to the Capitol, with Augustus and Antonius standing on either side of him. The decree of the Senate concerning this act was deposited there. Herod was sent back to Judea with two leaders, Ventidius and Silo, to establish him in the kingdom.

When they came into Galilee, Antigonus corrupted Silo with a payment. For this reason they postponed meeting Antigonus in battle by inventing pretexts. When they finally besieged Jerusalem, the Romans, frightened both by the harshness of winter and by scarcity of provisions, withdrew from the siege and wintered in Idumea and Galilee.

Herod was nevertheless not idle then, for he pursued the multitude of robbers and even suffocated them in caves. At that time Antonius was staying near Athens and was already held by love for Cleopatra. Herod hastened to him to make a complaint concerning Silo's deceit.

Meanwhile Sosius--or, according to others, Josippus--despised Herod's command and fought against Antigonus so that he might perform some illustrious deed. He was defeated and beheaded by Papius [read: Pappus], commander of Antigonus's army, and Antigonus inhumanly attacked his severed head with his spurs.

When Antonius learned of Silo's deceit, he sent Sosius with Herod and a strong force. Coming into Judea, Herod defeated Papius [read: Pappus] as he met him and sent his head to his brother Pheroras as consolation for their murdered brother.

At last, after Jerusalem had been besieged for five months, the Romans rushed into it in the sixth month and spared no age, although Herod begged them to show mercy. Antigonus likewise came down and prostrated himself at the feet of Sosius. Sosius had no pity upon him but mocked him, called him Antigona, and cast him into chains.

When the entire multitude of soldiers was incited to see the sacred objects and despoil the sanctuary, Herod restrained them, saying that victory would be more bitter for him than if he had been defeated. He reproached Sosius with leaving him king of a solitude if the city were emptied of its wealth, and promised that he would give each soldier payment from his own resources.

When he had fulfilled his promise, Sosius returned to Antonius, bringing Antigonus bound with a golden chain. Antonius struck him with the axe. Herod was confirmed in the kingdom of Judea in the fourth year after he had received the diadem at Rome. Hence one sometimes reads more and sometimes fewer years for Herod's reign.

Dissension arose between Mariamne and Herod's sister Salonia [read: Salomia]. Salonia reproached [read: Salomia] Mariamne with harlotry, and Mariamne reproached Salonia [read: Salomia] with low birth. At his sister's advice Herod treacherously killed Hyrcanus.

This is according to those who say that Hyrcanus did not die after Antigonus cut off his ears, but returned to Jerusalem after Herod was established in the kingdom and was restored to his former status in the priesthood, though without administration. Herod killed Hyrcanus under the pretext that Hyrcanus said the kingdom was owed to him.

As consolation to Mariamne, Hyrcanus's granddaughter, Herod ordained her brother Jonathan as high priest when he was seventeen years old. At Mariamne's request, whom he loved beyond measure, he expelled Doris and her son Antipater from Jerusalem, permitting them to go up to Jerusalem to worship only on the three solemn feasts. Conversely, at Salonia's suggestion [read: Salomia's] Jonathan was killed because he appeared to aspire to the kingdom.

When Salonia accused [read: Salomia] Mariamne of adultery, she added that Mariamne had expressly sent her image to Antonius in order to incite him to love her. To learn whether this was so, Herod hastened to Antonius, placing Mariamne under the custody of Salonia's husband [read: Salomia's]. He gave the man certain instructions among the signs, by which he was to kill Mariamne if Herod's death were reported to him.

While Herod delayed, Salonia's husband told [read: Salomia's] Mariamne what had been commanded of him. When Herod returned, his wife slept upon his breast and tearfully told him that he had commanded her death. Leaping from the bed, Herod asked his sister, “Did your husband sleep with Mariamne?” She said, “He did.” Herod immediately caused Mariamne and his sister's husband to be killed.

He grieved so greatly over the death of his wife Mariamne, whom he had loved beyond measure, that like a lunatic he frequently turned to madness. When he recovered, he recalled Antipater with his mother. But he sent the sons he had received from Mariamne, Aristobulus and Alexander, to Rome to be educated in the liberal arts.

In this way, as the advent of Christ approached, the kingdom was transferred from Judah to foreigners. For Herod, as was said, was an Idumean on his father's side, since his father Antipater was from Idumea. On his mother's side he was from Arabia, for his grandfather Antipater took as wife a woman named Cyprus, niece of the king of the Arabs, from whom Herod and his brothers were born. Nevertheless, Herod had himself circumcised so that he might have the Jewish woman Mariamne as wife.

Thus you may know that Jacob's prophecy was fulfilled, in which he said in the penultimate chapter of Genesis: “The scepter shall not be taken away from Judah, nor a ruler from his thigh, until he who is to be sent shall come,” or, according to another reading, “the Messiah.”

The kingdom began in Saul or David and continued without interruption until Zedekiah, the last of David's line, and until the transmigration. Afterward it was not entirely taken away but interrupted. For in the time of the Maccabees, although there was no kingdom or royal dignity, the leadership and principality of the Jewish people nevertheless belonged to those Maccabees, who were at once priests and leaders.

Before the time of the Maccabees, the more eminent men among that people were commonly from the tribe of Judah or Levi. Zerubbabel and Nehemiah, who returned from the Babylonian captivity with permission from Darius and Artaxerxes to rebuild

Jerusalem and the temple, were of the tribe of Judah, while Ezra was of the tribe of Levi. Daniel and his companions were also of the tribe of Judah. During the captivity, under Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar, and Darius, they were the foremost men over the provinces through their administrations of the kingdom.

But when the leadership or principality belonged to the tribe of Levi, as in the time of the Maccabees, who were from the tribe of Levi, it can nevertheless be said in some manner that the leadership of the people had not ceased from the tribe of Judah. This was because those two tribes--the royal tribe of Judah and the priestly tribe of Levi--contracted marriages with one another, as is evident in the wife of Aaron and the wife of the high priest Jehoiada, who were from the tribe of Judah. Thus, at least through the female line, the leaders were from the tribe of Judah.

The first descendant of the Maccabees to place the diadem upon himself and assume royal dignity was Alexander Jannaeus, as was said above. From him descended Hyrcanus, the last king from the Jewish people. But Antigonus removed him and afterward usurped the kingdom for himself; Antigonus was subsequently beheaded by Antonius.

Fourth Title: On the Fifth Age of the World

Chapter Four (conclusion)

The kingdom of Judea passed to Herod, having been conferred upon him at Rome by the Senate at the insistence and prayers of Antonius and Octavian Augustus. This Herod was a foreigner, partly Idumean and, through his mother, from Arabia. During his reign Christ was born, and the prophecy of Jacob mentioned above was fulfilled. Hence Matthew 2 says: “When Jesus was born in the days of Herod, king of Judea,” and so forth.

Chapter Five

After the monarchy of the Greeks, which began in Alexander the Great and after his death was diminished and divided into four kingdoms--namely, Asia, Egypt, Macedonia, and Syria--there follows the fourth monarchy of the world, which is believed to be the last. This is the monarchy of the Romans, according to Daniel's visions of the statue whose legs were iron but whose feet were mixed with earth, and of the four beasts coming up from the sea, of which the last was a beast unlike the others, having iron teeth, crushing all things and trampling them beneath its feet.

According to the doctors this signifies the Roman Empire, which began under Julius Caesar, who lived before Christ's nativity, and has remained until the present day, 1458. Hence it has endured longer than the others.

For although Constantine transferred the seat of the empire from the city of Rome to Constantinople in Greece, and it was afterward transferred from the Greeks to the Franks by the supreme pontiffs Adrian and Leo--the first of the Franks being Charlemagne--and was then transferred from the Franks to the Teutons, of whom Otto I was the first, and remains with them down to the present day, nevertheless its ruler has always been and is still called Emperor of the Romans.

Beginning, therefore, from the earlier kingdoms so that the commencement of this empire and its varying mode of government may be understood: as Vincent says in book 7, chapter 1 of the *Historical Mirror*, the kingdom of the Latins took its rise under Latius, their first king, who lived in the time of Aioth, judge of Israel. It endured until the eighth year of Darius Hystaspes, which was the eightieth year after the transmigration to Babylon--and we say after the return from captivity to Judea. Such a kingdom ran for 889 years.

It had six Latin kings, of whom the first was Latius; fourteen Alban kings, of whom the first was Ascanius; and seven Roman kings, of whom the first was Romulus. Romulus first founded the city of Rome and reigned there, and the city was named after him. This was at the time when King Ahaz reigned in Judah, or, according to others, his son Hezekiah.

The last of these seven Roman kings was Tarquin the Proud. After Brutus expelled him because of the adultery committed against Lucretia, the Romans governed their dominion through consuls. These were temporary: a consul assumed office for a year and administered the care of the commonwealth. This mode of government was maintained for 462 years, after which Julius Caesar usurped the empire for himself alone.

Some notable events performed by the Romans in the time of these consuls are briefly explained. In the first year was Brutus, who removed the tyranny of the kings. Then in the fortieth year the decemvirs were established. Camillus was consul in the 136th year; Quintilius dictator in the 148th; Papirius consul in the 186th; Maulius and Marchus Regulus in the 243rd; Publius Cornelius Scipio in the 292nd; Fabius Maximus dictator in the 298th; Lutius Aemilius Paulus and Terentius Varro in the 299th; Jovinus and Marcellus in the 303rd; Claudius Marcus Limius Salimator [read: Livius; Salinator] in the 305th; Scipio Africanus in the 361st; and Scipio Africanus the Younger in the 364th.

Afterward came Scipio Nasica, then Postulemus and Marcellus, and Marius and Gnaeus. Sulla lived in the 422nd year; Marcus Tullius Cicero, Pompey, and Crassus in the 457th. In the time of the Scipios occurred the Punic wars, that is, those against the Carthaginians; in the time of Marius, the Jugurthine War; and in the time of Cicero, the Catilinarian War. This is related by Master Thomas the Englishman in the exposition he made upon the first ten books of *The City of God*.

In the *History of the Franks* it is read that in the time of Aioth, the second of the judges of Israel, Troy was built by a certain man called Troius. After standing for 185 years, it was captured and destroyed by the Greeks in the time of Jabdo, judge of Israel, because of the adultery and abduction of Helen, wife of the Greek Menelaus, by Paris, son of Priam, king of the Trojans.

Then Aeneas, who had nevertheless betrayed that very city although he was Priam's kinsman, departed from it and came with a great fleet into Italy. King Latinus gave him in marriage his only daughter, named Laninia. King Latinus had previously promised his daughter Laninia to Turnus, but he did not keep his promise because he gave her to Aeneas when he came from Troy into Italy.

The king of the Rutulians, together with Turnus, made war against Latinus. In the first encounter King Latinus was killed by Turnus, and so too was Pallas the giant, son of King Evander, who had come to aid Latinus and Aeneas. In the second battle Turnus was killed by Aeneas. In the third Aeneas was killed and translated into a god.

Aeneas founded a city that he called Lavinium, where he reigned three years. His son Ascanius reigned twenty-seven years. Afterward Ascanius built another city near Rome, which he called Alba, and left Lavinium to Lavinia, his mother--or, according to others, his stepmother. The kingdom of Lavinium was transferred to Alba, where Ascanius reigned. That kingdom of the Albans endured until the time of Tullus Hostilius, the third king of the Romans.

§ I. Romulus and Remus

Returning, therefore, to the first Roman king: this was Romulus, whose brother was Remus. Justin speaks as follows in book 44 concerning their birth and origin. Amulius was the last king of the Albans. He expelled from the kingdom his elder brother, named Numitor. To prevent offspring, he condemned Numitor's daughter, called Rhea--or, according to others, Ilia--to perpetual virginity, dedicating her to the goddess Vesta. He did this so that no avenger of her father might be born from her.

But although she remained enclosed in the grove of Mars, she gave birth to twins. It was uncertain whether they were conceived through rape or by Mars. Although Justin speaks in this manner, he expresses the opinion of that time. For it is believed that they were conceived through rape, or at least through an incubus demon.

Amulius ordered these children to be exposed so that they would die, from which injury their mother died. According to others, however, as punishment for incest she was buried alive.

Vesta was said to be the goddess of the earth, as though standing firm, because the earth stands forever. She herself was also said to be goddess of fire because fire is found in the earth. Because nothing is born from fire, she was therefore called a virgin, a Vestal goddess, because a virgin does not give birth; and those dedicated to her were bound to preserve virginity.

This divine power was not fashioned into an image--that is, a statue--as were the other idols, because fire cannot be represented. Instead, a perpetual fire was preserved in her temple, which one of those virgins nourished by placing wood upon it. Because it was once extinguished, the virgin who guarded it was burned.

A she-wolf nourished the exposed children Romulus and Remus. But Faustulus, a shepherd of the royal herd, found them beside the bank of the Tiber and carried them to his wife Acca Larentia, as Helinand says. Because of the beauty and rapacity of her lustful body she was called a she-wolf by her neighbors; hence even down to our own memory the cells of prostitutes are called *lupanaria*.

When Romulus and Remus had grown up, they drove robbers away from plundering the livestock. Remus was captured by the robbers and brought before Numitor as himself a robber. When Numitor saw him, Faustulus suddenly arrived with Romulus. They formed a conspiracy, killed Amulius, and restored Numitor to the kingdom.

Romulus and Remus are called sons of Mars because they were warlike, or because they were conceived in the temple of Mars; nevertheless, they were not conceived by him but through rape.

As is contained in the *Chronicles*, in the time of Ahaz, king of Judah, Rome was founded upon Mount Aventine by the twins Romulus and Remus. In the third year from the founding of the city, Remus was killed with a shepherd's mattock by Fabius, Romulus's commander--according to some, by Romulus's contrivance so that he alone might reign--and Romulus alone was raised to the kingdom.

Jerome says: “Rome could not have two kings at once and was dedicated with fratricide,” as is cited in Cause 7, Question 1, *Among Bees*.

At the same time, according to Augustine in *The City of God*, the Erythraean Sibyl is said to have flourished. The verses beginning, “As a sign of judgment, the earth will grow wet with sweat,” and so forth, which predicted many things about Christ, are said to be hers.

If this occurred in the time of Hezekiah, Rome was therefore founded in the 335th year of the Fourth Age and, according to Jerome's computation, in the 3,223rd year from the beginning of the world. But according to the Seventy and Bede, whose computation is more commonly held, it was the 4,457th year. If, according to others, it was founded in the year of Ahaz, it was a little earlier, because Ahaz was Hezekiah's father. According to Eusebius in the *Chronicles*, the aforesaid Romulus and Remus were born in the 405th year after the captivity or destruction of Troy.

After Romulus constructed the walls of the very large city, those who were with him were not sufficient to fill it. He built a temple called an asylum, promising impunity to everyone who fled to it. For this reason a very great multitude of robbers and fugitives gathered within the city, as Titus Livy writes in the first book *On the Origin of the City*.

Romulus saw that they had no wives and that the city could not long stand without them. He sent to the neighboring cities, asking that their daughters be given to his men as wives. But from its very beginning the city of Romulus was hateful. The neighbors feared this multitude of such men, namely robbers, while Romulus and his men were held in contempt because they were shepherds and poor.

The neighbors therefore answered Romulus and his companions that, just as they had opened an asylum for men wishing to flee to them, so they should open one for women as well, and in this way obtain wives, for the neighbors refused to give them their daughters.

Hearing this, Romulus concealed his mind as though the matter did not concern him. He decreed that circus games should be celebrated for the god Consus--that is, the god of counsels--and caused it to be proclaimed so that many of the neighbors would gather for the spectacle. While these games were underway, Romulus arranged that when women came from Sabina, a city near Rome, to watch the games, each man should seize as his wife whichever woman he wished. This was done.

Afterward Romulus and his men waged wars against the fathers of those girls, who wished to avenge the injury done to them and recover their daughters. Immediately after the abduction of their daughters, their parents went about the neighboring cities in soiled garments and with tears, inciting them by their complaints against the Romans because of the injury done to them. Although the greater part of the abducted women were Sabines, there were nevertheless others from other neighboring cities.

First, moved for this reason, the Ceninenses made a great attack upon Roman territory and laid it waste. But Romulus and his men defeated them while they were scattered through the fields, killed their leader, and captured their city. Afterward the Crustumini made war upon the Romans and were defeated.

Last of all, a more serious war was waged against the Romans by the Sabines, and in the first encounter they captured the citadel of the Capitol. When the daughter of Spurius Tarpeius, who commanded the Capitoline citadel, went out to draw water, Titus Tatius, prince of the Sabines, met her with his men and promised the girl gifts if she would admit them into the citadel. They entered while the Romans were unaware, killed the girl, and occupied the citadel.

On the following day they engaged the Romans. They routed Hostilius, commander of the Roman army, and the Roman army as far as the old gate of the palace. But Romulus and his men vowed to build a temple to Jove so that his army might cease fleeing and strengthen itself to resist. When the army of Romulus did so, it began through brave fighting to gain the upper hand against the Sabines.

Then the Sabine women who had been abducted, with disheveled hair and torn garments, threw themselves between the battle lines and the flying weapons. On one side they begged their parents and on the other their husbands not to stain themselves with the impious blood of fathers-in-law and sons-in-law. Thus they moved the minds of both sides. In the ensuing silence the leaders made treaties, formed one city from the two, conferred rule upon Rome, and wished the Sabines to be called Quirites on equal terms.

Titus Livy narrates the death of Romulus in this manner. While Romulus was reviewing his army at the marsh of Caprea, a great storm with thunder suddenly arose. Romulus, covered by the cloud itself, was taken from the sight of the assembly and was not seen afterward. For this reason the multitude said or believed that he had been translated into a god. Some, however, said that the senators then hated him and tore him to pieces.

A certain man named Julius Proculus confirmed the belief in his deification, declaring that Romulus had appeared to him on the road, already made a god, and given him many commands. Thus Romulus was regarded as a god by the Romans and called Quirinus from the spear he was accustomed to carry. For in the Sabine language *quiris* means the same as spear. They considered him the greatest god after Jove.

Behold what sort of gods the pagan Romans had: Jove, whom they called the highest god, was a most criminal man. He expelled his father Saturn from the kingdom so that he himself might reign in Crete; he was a violator of virgins, an adulterer, and a sodomite, as is said of Ganymede. Romulus was a fratricide, the prince of robbers, hostile to his neighbors, and the abductor of the Sabine women.

§ II. Numa Pompilius

After the death of Romulus, as Titus Livy says in book 1 *On the Origin of the City*, the senators, after the people conceded to them that they might choose Romulus's successor, chose Numa Pompilius for their king. Although he was not from the Romans but from the Sabines, they chose him because of his great reputation for justice and religion.

When Numa, having been chosen in this way, saw that a kingdom could not stand without laws, and that he could not devote himself to giving laws unless peace existed in the city, he immediately made peace all around at the beginning of his reign. He possessed this peace throughout his whole rule, namely forty-three years, although Eutropius says forty-one years.

After peace was made, he established a temple to the god Janus. Its closure signified peace, as though peace remained enclosed among the Romans, while its opening signified war, so that all soldiers who went out to war might return from battle and be found unharmed within it.

Having done this, he devoted himself entirely to establishing laws and instituting and ordering sacred rites. He established certain gods to be worshiped in the city, transmitted the manner of worshiping them, and occupied the greater part of his life with ceremonies and sacred matters.

After Numa died, Tullus Hostilius, who succeeded him in the kingdom, immediately caused the temple of Janus to be opened. He waged wars and devoted himself entirely to martial affairs.

From Numa's time until Octavian Augustus, under whom Christ was born, the temple of Janus was closed only once, namely after the First Punic War under the consul Manilius. In the time of Octavian, when the city rested from wars after Antonius had been defeated by him, it was closed again. Consequently, from the time of Numa until the time of Octavian the Romans had peace for only one year; nor had they peace before Numa, because Romulus continually waged wars.

Concerning Janus himself, for whom Numa made the temple, it should be known that he reigned on Mount Janiculum, which is now within the city in part and in the neighboring regions. This occurred when Saturn, expelled by his son Jove, came from Crete into those parts. Because Saturn taught people to cultivate vineyards and live civilly, Janus received him as a partner in the kingdom.

After Janus died and was deified according to their opinion, they attributed to him the power of closing and opening all things. Numa therefore established a temple for him that he wished to be closed and opened at different times, as has been said.

Isidore says concerning the laws instituted by him in Distinction 7, chapter *Moses*: “Numa Pompilius, who succeeded Romulus in the kingdom, first established laws for the Romans.” In Distinction 1 it is said: “The law of the Quirites is called the law of the Romans, because only the Quirites--that is, the Romans--use those laws.” There the Gloss says that “Romans” means all who are subject to Roman rule. Hence they are called imperial laws in another manner. How many kinds or names of those laws there are is declared throughout Distinction 2.

Fourth Title: On the Fifth Age of the World

Chapter Five (continued)

This same Numa added two months to the year, namely January and February, because previously the year had been divided into ten months.

Augustine speaks of Numa Pompilius in the penultimate chapter of book 7 of *The City of God*, citing Varro. When a certain plowman was working a field near the Janiculum, where Numa's tomb stood, he dug up and found a chest underground. In it were seven books containing the institutions of the sacred rites composed by the said Numa Pompilius. Those institutions had been devised by him at the devil's instigation. For Augustine says that Numa was driven to practice hydromancy, so that in water he might see images of the gods--or rather, deceptions of demons--from whom he might hear what he ought to establish and observe in sacred rites.

Varro says that this kind of divination was brought from Persia and records that Numa himself, and later the philosopher Pythagoras, used it. He also relates that by it, with human blood applied, even the dead are raised. When the said books were found and presented, the praetor Pompilius caused them to be burned publicly by authority of the Senate. Numa had wished to keep them hidden because he thought them harmful to people; the Senate caused them to be burned because their teaching appeared to draw people away from the religion and worship of the gods, as Valerius says.

§ III. Tullus Hostilius

The third king of the Romans was called Tullus Hostilius. He was devoted to military affairs, and so he caused the temple of Janus to be opened. Disdaining peace, he sought occasions for wars, beginning with Alba, which had been, as it were, the mother of Rome, because Romulus, the builder of Rome, was descended through his mother from those who reigned at Alba. These two cities, Alba and Rome, had been sufficiently friendly with one another down to this Tullus, the third king of the Romans.

He repeatedly provoked the Albans to war, the two cities now contending over which one ought to possess dominion, as Titus Livy relates in book 1. On one occasion, when the armies of both cities had been led out to fight, their commanders agreed upon the following course in order to avoid the slaughter of many: three brothers from the Roman army, strong in bodily power and vigorous in arms, called the Horatii, would fight three other brothers from the Alban army, called the Curiatii, who were no less valiant. Everyone else would remain at rest, and whichever side's champions won would possess dominion.

When the three Horatii fought the same number of Curiatii, two of the Horatii were killed, while the third survived. None of the Curiatii was killed, but all three were gravely wounded. The Horatius who remained unwounded, realizing that he could not resist the three together, even though they were wounded, feigned flight so that the three, attempting to pursue him, would become separated from one another. Once they were apart, he turned upon his pursuers. He first engaged and killed the one who had drawn nearest him, then the next who arrived, and finally the third. Having killed them, he returned to his own men amid the Romans' great rejoicing, and thus dominion was awarded to the Romans.

When this Horatius entered Rome in triumph with the spoils of the three Curiatii whom he had killed, his sister recognized the spoils of one of them, to whom she had already been betrothed but not yet given in marriage. Perceiving the death of her bridegroom, she wept out of affection for him. The said Horatius took this so badly that he killed her, exercising excessive cruelty in this act.

The Albans were displeased that Mettius, the commander of their army, had placed the victory in the conflict of three men, by which dominion had fallen to the Romans. In order to reconcile the Albans to himself and please them, Mettius, seeing that they were not sufficient to conquer the Romans openly, stirred up other neighboring peoples against Rome, namely the Fidenates and the Veientes, while reserving himself and his own men for treachery. For when Tullus, king of the Romans, took the Albans and Mettius their commander with him to fight those peoples, trusting that they would aid him, Mettius deserted Tullus at the clash of battle and went up with the Albans onto a nearby mountain. There he could watch the fortune of the combatants and join whichever side he saw prevailing.

When Tullus discovered this, he cried out to his army that they need not be at all alarmed by the Albans' withdrawal, because they had withdrawn at his command in order to attack the enemy from the rear. Tullus and the Romans defeated the peoples who had come against him. After the victory he captured Mettius, commander of the Albans, and caused his body to be pulled apart in two directions. He utterly destroyed the walls and houses of the Alban city and compelled its citizens to move from there to Rome, to dwell on the Caelian Hill adjoining the city. Thus he enlarged Rome with the Albans, for according to Titus Livy the city of Alba had stood for four hundred years.

Titus Livy also relates that when a plague grew severe at Rome, Tullus fell into a long illness. Thereafter, abandoning his former ferocity toward war, he turned his mind to the sacred rites of the gods. While he was performing certain secret, solemn sacrifices to Jove, and doing so incorrectly, he and his household were struck and consumed by lightning.

§ IV. Ancus Marcius, Tarquin the Elder, Servius Tullius, and Tarquin the Proud

The fourth king of the Romans, as Titus Livy relates, was called Ancus Marcius. I have not yet read what he did, except that he founded the city of Ostia on the sea at the sixteenth milestone from Rome, as is said in the *Martiniana Chronicle*, and first caused a bridge to be made across the Tiber between Mount Aventine and the Janiculum. He lived in the time of Josiah, king of Judah, and reigned thirty-five years. From Ostia takes his name the cardinal bishop of Ostia who consecrates the pope. Ostia, however, is now entirely destroyed together with its port.

It should also be noted that Tarquin the Elder, a foreigner who came to Rome, found such favor with Ancus Marcius, the fourth king of the Romans, that at Ancus's death he was made guardian of the king's sons. After King Ancus Marcius died, when the Roman citizens assembled to provide themselves with a future king, Tarquin, who was guardian of Ancus's sons, sent them hunting. In their absence he asked the Romans for the kingdom and obtained it.

Although Tarquin afterward performed many vigorous deeds in the kingdom, the sons of Ancus conspired against him because of the injury done to them when he obtained the kingdom and because he had appointed neither of them as his successor, but instead a certain slave, Tullius, to whom he had betrothed his daughter. They selected two shepherds accustomed to fighting with rustic iron tools to kill him. According to their agreement, the men quarreled with each other and appealed to the king. When they had been admitted and brought before him, and the king was listening intently to one of them making his complaint, the other raised an axe, struck the king on the head, and killed him. Thus Tarquin the Elder, fifth king of the Romans, ended his life.

He was succeeded by Servius Tullius, the sixth king of the Romans. Servius made ditches around the city's walls and was the first to institute the taking of a census from the people, a practice previously unknown. He gave his daughter in marriage to Tarquin, who became the seventh king after him and was called Tarquin the Proud.

As Titus Livy relates in book 1, this Tarquin, incited by the wickedness of his wife, the daughter of Servius Tullius, sought the kingdom. First he inveighed against King Tullius before the senators, and afterward did the same while addressing the people in the forum. Surrounded by a multitude of armed men, he installed himself in the royal palace and ordered a herald to summon the senators before King Tarquin. On hearing this, Tullius immediately hurried there and began rebuking Tarquin. Tarquin at once hurled him down the steps. Though gravely injured, Tullius tried to make his way home, but men sent by Tarquin killed him on the road. His own daughter Tullia, hastening to salute the new king, caused her carriage to be driven over her father's body. Thus Tarquin the Proud usurped the kingdom of the Romans. He afterward subdued the Volsci and Gabini, peoples neighboring Rome.

Later he built a temple to Jove on the city's hill. This hill was first called Saturn because Saturn had inhabited it, and was afterward called the Tarpeian Hill. While the temple's foundation was being dug, a human head with its face intact was found underground. From this the hill was thereafter called the Capitoline Hill and the temple the Capitol. The work was so costly that, according to Titus Livy, the magnificence of the Romans in the time of Augustus, when they ruled the whole world, could scarcely produce anything equal to it.

Aulus Gellius relates in book 1 that an unknown old woman approached King Tarquin the Proud carrying nine books, which she said were divine oracles, and declared that she wished to sell them. Since in the king's judgment she asked an excessive price, he laughed at her. She then made a fire in the king's presence and burned three of the books, asking whether he would buy the six remaining books for the same price. He answered that the old woman was mad. She immediately burned three others and questioned the king about the three books that remained just as she had about the six. Seeing the woman's constancy, he bought the three books for no less a price than she had asked for all of them. After the woman departed from the king, she was never found anywhere.

Those three books were placed in a shrine and called the Sibylline books. Fifteen men resorted to them as to an oracle whenever the immortal gods had to be consulted on behalf of the state. Thus says Aulus Gellius. Isidore speaks differently in the *Etymologies*: the Cumaean Sibyl, so called from Cumae, a city of Campania, brought nine books containing the decrees of the Romans not to Tarquin the Proud but to Tarquin the Elder, the fifth king of the Romans. If the event occurred as Aulus Gellius says, that woman appears to have been the devil in a woman's form.

Tarquin the Proud, the seventh king, was expelled from the kingdom because of the adultery his son committed against Lucretia. Titus Livy gives her story at length in book 1. Lucretia's husband, the most noble Roman Tarquin Collatinus, was at the siege of Ardea, a city of the Rutuli, and was dining with Sextus Tarquin, son of Tarquin the Proud, the last king, and with other royal youths. A conversation arose among them about their wives. Each began to praise his own and prefer her to the others.

Then Lucretia's husband said: “There is no need of words, for the truth can be learned from deeds.” They mounted their horses to visit their wives unexpectedly and learn what each was doing. At the beginning of the night, those whose wives were at Rome came there. Entering their homes suddenly with their companions, they found their wives occupied with luxury and banquets. Proceeding afterward to Collatia, a town near Rome from which Lucretia's husband was called Collatinus, they suddenly entered the house of Tarquin Collatinus and found Lucretia occupied with wool-working among her maidservants. The prize among the wives for honorable conduct therefore remained with Lucretia.

Sextus Tarquin, son of King Tarquin, was suddenly seized with love for her and considered how he might possess her. A few days later, without Collatinus's knowledge, this son of King Tarquin came with one companion to Lucretia's house. She received him honorably and after supper caused him to be conducted to bed. During the night, when everyone was asleep, he secretly came to Lucretia's bed. Holding a sword in his hand, he awakened her and demanded by entreaties that she consent to him. He threatened that if she did not consent, he would kill her and place one of the slain servants beside her, and then publish abroad that he had killed her because of the adultery she had committed with the servant. Fearing infamy more than death, she yielded to him.

After Tarquin's departure, Lucretia immediately sent for her husband Collatinus and for her father. When they came, she explained what had happened and killed herself with a sword she had hidden beneath her clothing, after exacting from her family a pledge to avenge the injury upon the said Tarquin. Augustine reproves Lucretia both for adultery and for homicide, as appears at length in book 1 of *The City of God* and in Cause 32, Question 5, *Is It So?*

Because of this crime of Tarquin, the royal title, or royal dignity, was taken away from the city. Thereupon Lucretia's kinsmen and friends carried her body to Rome so as to incite the people still more against the king. At the time King Tarquin was outside the city with his army at the siege of Ardea. When he returned and wished to enter the city, they closed the gates to him and refused to admit him, both because of what had been done to Lucretia and because of his own pride and tyranny.

Afterward he long troubled the Romans in the hope of recovering the kingdom, aided by the army of Prosemies, king of Clusium [read: Porsenna]. At last, despairing of accomplishing his purpose, he grew old at Tusculum and ended his life there. Then, as

Tullius relates in *On Friendship*, he is said first to have recognized which friends had been faithful and which unfaithful, when he could repay neither group.

Thus the seven kings reigned for 243 years, according to Augustine, Eutropius, and Titus Livy. Throughout the whole period of the kings, Rome did not possess territory beyond fifteen or twenty miles, according to Eutropius.

§ V. The First Consuls

The first two consuls were then created: Brutus and Tarquin Collatinus, Lucretia's husband. When Brutus discovered that his sons and other kinsmen were secretly discussing the restoration of the expelled King Tarquin to the city, he exposed the conspiracy and by sentence caused his sons and the other accomplices in the faction to be killed publicly.

Fourth Title: On the Fifth Age of the World

Chapter Five (continued)

Of this deed Virgil says: “Love of fatherland prevailed, and an immense desire for praise.”

As Titus Livy relates, these two sons of Brutus and two of his kinsmen--that is, his wife's brothers--together with several other young men, had been accustomed during the reign of Tarquin the Proud to lead a luxurious and dissolute life with the sons of King Tarquin. After his expulsion they therefore took it badly that much of their former freedom to do evil had been taken away. They said that the laws were deaf and inexorable things, more salutary and favorable to the needy than to the powerful, and that if one exceeded due measure they allowed no relaxation or pardon.

They discussed these things with the men whom Tarquin had arranged to send to the city to reclaim his property, and the plan for King Tarquin's return would have taken effect had they not been exposed by a servant who heard their discussions. Once the treason was revealed, Brutus caused his sons and kinsmen first to be beaten publicly with rods in his presence and by his sentence, and then to be beheaded, without showing any sign of grief. As Valerius says, he stripped himself of the father in order to display the consul.

This happened in the first year of his consulship, the 244th year from the founding of the city. Later, in the war that Tarquin stirred up against him, angered by this, Brutus fought bravely against Arruns, son of King Tarquin, and the two fell dead from wounds inflicted upon each other. Brutus was succeeded in the consulship by Spurius Lucretius, father of Lucretia, who had been violated by Tarquin's son, but he died of disease within the year.

The royal name was so hateful to the Romans that, although the consul Collatinus had labored faithfully for the fatherland and had freed the city from royal tyranny, they most ungratefully drove him from the consulship and the city because he bore the name Tarquin.

The newly instituted dignity of the consulship extended for one whole year and no longer. As Eutropius says, the consular dignity or office was annual lest those holding power become more insolent through its long continuance. Two consuls were created so that if one wished to become wicked, the other, possessing equal power, might impede and restrain him. Yet they did not possess absolute power: they could restrain Roman citizens and place them in chains, but could not kill them without the people's command; and an appeal could be made from them.

Later, when the dominion had increased, another dignity of greater power was instituted, called the dictatorship. It lasted for six months, could pass judgment of death, and allowed no appeal. It did not, however, continue regularly like the consulship, but was employed rarely and in great necessities. Thus says Titus Livy.

Brutus, Collatinus's colleague in the consulship, was the cause of his expulsion from the city. As Titus Livy relates, Brutus summoned the plebeians to an assembly and recalled how they had sworn that they would leave no one in the city and suffer no one to reign there from whom danger to liberty could arise. He added that he did not believe the Roman people had recovered its customary liberty while a royal family and a royal name--namely Tarquin Collatinus--remained not only in the city but also in command, that is, in the consulship. By this means he brought it about that Tarquin Collatinus not only resigned the consulship within the year, but also left the city after gathering and carrying away his patrimony.

Here it should be noted that Sallust greatly commends the Roman commonwealth in the time of the earlier consuls, saying in the *Catilinarian War* that right and goodness prevailed among them less by laws than by nature. Yet Augustine, in book 2, chapter 17 and the chapters following of *The City of God*, shows by many examples that this is not true, because they observed neither natural right nor equity in the time of either the kings or the consuls, but committed many unjust deeds: against the Sabines in the

abduction of their daughters, against Tarquin Collatinus, and against Marcus Chamillus [i.e., Camillus] in his expulsion from the city.

Titus Livy tells the history of Chamillus [i.e., Camillus]. Veii, a most powerful city nearly twenty miles from Rome, had been besieged by the Romans for ten years, and during the siege the Romans had very often fought the Veientes with an evil outcome. At last Marcus Chamillus [i.e., Camillus] was made consul and sent against them. He made a subterranean passage as far as the city's citadel and sent soldiers through it. While the citizens were occupied with defending the walls then under assault and left the citadel empty, first the citadel itself and then the city were captured.

Afterward, because Chamillus [i.e., Camillus] had offended the plebeians in dividing the spoil, he was summoned to judgment before them. As Valerius relates in book 5, Luceus Apulcius [i.e., Lucius; Apuleius], tribune of the plebs, accused him as a *petulator* [read: *peculator*], that is, a thief of the commonwealth, for the Veientine booty, and by harsh sentences he was sent into exile. This happened when he had been deprived of an excellent young son and ought rather to have been soothed with great consolations than burdened with disgrace. The tribunes of the plebs complained that fifteen thousand pieces of bronze were missing from the treasury, and his penalty was fixed at the same sum. Titus Livy says that, certain of his condemnation, he voluntarily went into exile at Ardea and was condemned in his absence to ten thousand pieces of bronze. Thus they showed the greatest ingratitude toward him.

Nevertheless, in the third year afterward, when the Capitol was besieged by the Gauls, the Romans were compelled by necessity to recall him to the city and create him dictator. The dignity of dictator was greater than the consulship, for it stood even over the consuls, though it was not continuous but used at certain times. Chamillus [i.e., Camillus] immediately arrived with an army while the Romans were counting out to the Gauls the money with which they had purchased their freedom. He not only raised the siege but defeated the Gauls and afterward almost completely destroyed them.

These things occurred in the 365th year from the founding of the city and the 122nd after the expulsion of the kings. In the same year Chamillus [i.e., Camillus] captured the city of the Volsci, who had waged war for seventy years, as well as the cities of the Aequi and the Sutrini. About the same time Quintus Cincinnatus accepted the surrender of the city of Penestre [i.e., Praeneste] together with eight cities in fewer than twenty days.

§ VI. Porsenna and Mucius Scaevola

When Tarquin the Proud was expelled from the city's kingdom, as Titus Livy testifies in book 2, he went to Porsenna, king of the city of Clusium, a most famous and powerful man, and asked his aid. Porsenna came to Rome with his powerful army and with the Etruscans and afflicted the Romans with a long and exceedingly severe siege.

Then Mucius Scaevola asked the Senate's permission to enter Porsenna's camp. Having obtained it, he reached Porsenna's royal seat, where he killed a secretary sitting beside the king. Arrested and led before the king's tribunal, he confessed that he was a Roman citizen and had come to kill the king; that he regarded killing and being killed as equal; and that it belonged to a Roman to suffer and to do all things.

When the king ordered him to be tortured in the flames so that more of the affair might be extracted from him, Mucius voluntarily extended his hand into the fire and held it there motionless until the king, stricken with horror, ordered him to be removed from it, saying: “Go away, you who have dared deeds more hostile against yourself than against me.”

Then Mucius, as though wishing to repay the king for his kindness, said: “What you could not extort by threats, now receive freely from me. Know that three hundred of us, the leading young men of Rome, have conspired to attack you in this manner. My lot was first; each of the others in turn will attempt the same when opportunity arises.” When the king heard this and considered the greatness of the danger if three hundred men who valued their lives as nothing continually plotted against his, he sent ambassadors to offer the Romans terms of peace of his own accord. Once peace was established, he withdrew from the siege.

Augustine, however, in book 4, chapter 2 and book 5, chapter 28 of *The City of God*, says with Valerius Maximus that Mucius put his hand into the fire because he had struck someone other than the man he intended. He had meant to strike King Porsenna but struck someone else, and therefore, angered at his hand for its error, he put it into the fire. According to Orosius, this Porsenna was king of Etruria, that is, Tuscany; hence the Etruscans are called Tuscans. He besieged Rome for three years and received much help from its neighbors in his attempt to recover the kingdom for Tarquin, but did not prevail.

§ VII. The Secession of the Plebs and the Twelve Tables

In the fifteenth year after Tarquin the Proud, last king of the Romans, had been expelled from the kingdom--or in the following, sixteenth year according to Titus Livy, book 2--the plebeians began to be harassed by their superiors. At first, those chosen for war served at their own expense. Since there were many wars, or rather they scarcely ever ceased from wars and plagues, they were compelled to borrow money from the powerful, with the result that they could afterward satisfy neither the principal nor the interest demanded for the loan. They were therefore overcome, imprisoned, and treated very badly.

For these reasons sedition arose between the senators and the plebeians, the plebs complaining of such harsh oppression by their superiors. The plebs withdrew three miles from the city and occupied the Sacred Mount, which some call the Aventine Hill within the city. At length the plebs was reconciled on condition that they have certain magistrates of their own who would protect them against the oppression and injuries of their superiors. These magistrates were called tribunes of the plebs.

Forty years after this dissension, in the 300th year from the founding of the city, another dissension arose between the consuls and the tribunes of the plebs. The consuls denied that the power of making laws belonged to the tribunes and plebs, saying that it belonged only to themselves and consequently that the laws enacted by the tribunes together with the plebs had no force. Nevertheless, the consuls, tribunes, and everyone else agreed that men should be sent into Greece to obtain laws, as Titus Livy says in book 3.

After the envoys had been sent to Athens for laws, two evils arose together at Rome: plague and famine among both human beings and beasts of burden. The city was consequently exhausted by funerals, and many distinguished men died that year: four tribunes of the plebs, the priest of Romulus, the priest who presided over the auguries, and several other great men.

Ten men were created, as Titus Livy and Orosius relate. These decemvirs were given for one year the power customarily given to the consuls. Although in the first year they conducted themselves well and modestly, in the following year one of them, Appius Claudius, forcibly continued in office when his colleagues resigned their magistracy, that is, that office. When his colleagues saw this, they resumed the magistracy they had resigned, greatly against the people's will.

Appius Claudius added another evil deed. He burned with lust for the daughter of a certain plebeian soldier who was absent from the city with the army. So that he might possess her more easily, Appius persuaded one of his clients to claim her in a legal action as a slave, intending to prove that she was his maidservant, so that once awarded to the client she would come into Appius's power. Appius himself was judge in the case and, in the father's absence, adjudged the girl to his client as his slave.

Before the sentence could be executed, the girl's father was summoned by his friend. Seeing that he could not resist the wickedness, he killed his daughter. At once a tumult arose in the city, the entire populace detesting Appius's wickedness. The father went out to the army, which was not far away, and complained of the decemvir Appius. Because the army had always consisted for the most part of plebeians, it seceded from the senators and settled on the Aventine Hill, abandoning Algidus, the place where it had been fighting the Aequi, a people so called.

This dissension was settled and the army reconciled to the senators when the tribunician power that the decemvirs had obstructed was restored to the plebs, the decemvirs themselves were expelled from office, and every fault was remitted to the army and its soldiers.

In the year preceding the creation of the decemvirs, Roman envoys had been sent to the Athenians to bring back Solon's laws. This Solon was one of the Seven Sages of the world. According to Valerius, Solon gave the Athenians such excellent laws that if they had been willing to use them perpetually, they would have possessed everlasting dominion. At last he was expelled from his homeland and spent his old age on Cyprus.

When the envoys brought back the ten tablets of Athenian laws mentioned above, ten men were created according to the number of the tablets. They were given consular power, and no appeal from them was permitted. They received the power to enact and amend laws. From the ten tablets of Athenian laws translated into Latin, they extracted some provisions and corrected others, filling ten tablets. They nevertheless added two new tablets in which they wrote new laws, for the Roman envoys had looked beyond the laws themselves into the customs of the Athenians and other Greeks and reported them. Thus there were twelve tablets of laws in all, called the Laws of the Twelve Tables, as appears at the beginning of the Digest. Isidore also discusses this in the *Etymologies*, and from him the Decretum, Distinction 7, *Moses*.

§ VIII. Famine and the Poisoning of the Matrons

In the 308th year from the founding of the city, a most severe famine afflicted the Romans. Many, having lost hope of food and wishing not to be tortured long by hunger, drowned themselves in the Tiber. For this reason Lutius Mimutius [i.e., Lucius; Minutius] was created prefect of the grain supply, that is, the man who was to have chief care of provisions for the city. He afterward compelled those who had hidden grain to sell it, so that the city might at least have enough for one month.

At the same time there was a certain Lutius Emilius [i.e., Lucius; Aemilius], a very wealthy man of equestrian rank. He purchased grain elsewhere with his own money, brought it into the city, and distributed it to the plebs. Enticed by so great a benefit, the plebs promised him the consulship. He said this was far too little for so great a benefit and that it would be insufficient unless they made him king.

These things reached the Senate, which immediately appointed the now eighty-year-old Lutius Quintus Cincinatus [i.e., Lucius; Cincinnatus] dictator. At that time a dictator's power was like that later possessed by dictatorial emperors, except that it lasted for only half a year. Servilius Ahala was appointed his master of the horse. Lutius Emilius [i.e., Lucius; Aemilius] and the plebs were amazed at the sight.

Meanwhile the dictator sent the master of the horse to summon Lutius Emilius [i.e., Lucius; Aemilius] to trial. Aemilius withdrew into the crowd of his supporters. When an officer seized him, he was rescued and fled, crying out that the senators were oppressing him because he had come to the plebs' aid in such necessity. But the master of the horse pursued him as he shouted and killed him. When a great tumult over this arose among the plebs, the dictator ordered them to come before him and pronounced in their presence that Aemilius had been killed justly, because when summoned to judgment he had scorned to come, even if he had been innocent.

In the 323rd year from the founding of the city, as Titus Livy and Orosius relate, while Claudius and Valerius were consuls and all the leading men of the city were dying from a similar disease, a certain maidservant disclosed the cause to Fabius Maximus after first being promised immunity. She said that the matrons were brewing poisons, and that if the consuls would follow her, they would apprehend them by manifest evidence.

They followed and found the matrons cooking wholesome medicines but keeping other substances concealed. These were carried into the forum, and twenty-two matrons were summoned. Two of them, one Cornelia and the other Sergia, asserted that the medicines were healthful. When they drank them at the judge's command, they died immediately.

Their companions were arrested--a very large number of matrons who admitted that they did the same--and 220 of them were condemned. It was believed that they had acted more from derangement of mind than from wickedness. Orosius, however, says that 380 were condemned together. Valerius, who also reports this, says that an inquiry into poisoning had been unknown both to Roman laws and customs until that time.

§ IX

In the 365th year, the Veientes were defeated by the Romans.

Fourth Title: On the Fifth Age of the World

Chapter Five (continued)

About the same time the Senonian Gauls captured and burned the city, as Augustine touches upon in book 2, chapter 22 of *The City of God*, and as Titus Livy in book 5 and Eutropius also relate at length. The Senonian Gauls, led by Brennio [i.e., Brennus] and possessing a very numerous and exceedingly strong army, advanced upon Rome with all their forces. The consul Fabius met them but could not resist. After the Romans were defeated and killed beside the river called the Allia, eleven miles from the city, the Gauls entered the undefended city. They slaughtered the senators, who sat rigid in their seats like statues, burned them in the conflagration of their houses, and buried them beneath the collapse of the roofs. They shut up under siege in the citadel of the Capitol all the remaining youth, who are known to have numbered one thousand men.

There they subjected and sold the unhappy remnant through hunger, plague, and despair. For the Romans bargained for the Gauls' withdrawal at a price of one thousand pounds of gold--that is, the Gauls promised that they would depart from the siege--not because Rome was held in slight esteem among them, but because they had already so destroyed it that it could then be of no further strength, as Orosius says.

While they were besieging the Capitol, on a certain night the Gauls discovered a path by which the Capitol could be climbed, though with great difficulty, and began silently to ascend one after another. This escaped the watchmen, but Mallius Torquatus [i.e., Manlius], awakened by the cry of a goose, ran to meet those climbing, threw them down, and killed many of them. Thus he saved the Capitol.

At last the siege was broken through Chamilus [i.e., Camillus], whom, as said above, the Romans had unjustly delivered into exile and now recalled to Rome and created dictator; the army of the Gauls was reduced to nothing. Wishing to repay the goose because the Capitol had been saved by its cry, the Romans worshiped a goose as a god. As Pliny says in book 29, just as the geese earned honor by defending the Capitol while the dogs were silent, so every year the dogs undergo yearly punishments: fixed upon a fork with their shoulders, they hang--that is, pay the penalty.

After these things, when the Gauls came against the city on another occasion, one of their strongest men challenged a certain noble Roman to single combat. The Roman entered the duel, killed the Gaul, removed a golden collar from the dead man's neck, and put it upon his own. Because of this his house and all his descendants from him were called Torquati.

About those times the Romans are said to have founded the cities of Ariminum in Romandiola and Beneventum in Samnium.

The city was also afflicted by a great plague, and in its midst the earth opened in a great chasm. From its abyss an excessive stench exhaled and infected many. When the Romans sought from their gods--that is, demons speaking through images or possessed

people--a remedy for closing it, their soothsayers replied that if they wished Rome's commonwealth to be everlasting, they must devote to the chasm that in which they were most powerful and most excellent, and by that very thing fill it. Curtius therefore interpreted this to mean that the Romans surpassed others in strength and arms. Fully armed and seated upon his horse, he threw himself headlong into the cavern. In his honor all the citizens cast grain upon him, as Valerius in book 5 and Titus Livy write. This happened in the 390th year from the founding of the city.

§ X. The Two Detii [i.e., Decii]

In the 426th year, as Valerius in book 5, chapter 4 and Titus Livy in book 8 relate, there were two Detii [i.e., Decii], father and son, who were consuls of the Romans. Concerning the first, the father: while he was consul with Mallius Torquatus [i.e., Manlius] in the war against the Latins, a certain majestic figure appeared to Detius [i.e., Decius] in a vision by night. It said that in that war the commander would fall on one side and the army on the other; and that the army whose commander devoted himself and the opposing army to death and the infernal gods would conquer.

When, therefore, in the battle that was afterward joined, the left wing over which Detius [i.e., Decius] presided yielded to the enemy, Detius [i.e., Decius] devoted himself and the enemy army to death and the infernal gods in these words: “Jupiter, Father Mars, Quirinus--that is, Romulus--and so forth: I pray and venerate you, and I seek and bear a favor--that is, I desire that you prosper strength and victory for the Roman people and afflict the enemies of the Quirites with terror, dread, and death. And just as I have declared in words and spoken, as it were, in the presence of witnesses, so for the commonwealth of the Quirites, for their laws and their army, I devote myself to the divine shades and to Earth.”

Having spoken these words, Detius [i.e., Decius] mounted his horse and cast himself into the midst of the enemy. At that time he appeared to each army somewhat more majestic--that is, more excellent--than anyone is ordinarily seen by human beings. Immediately the terror that had invaded the Romans invaded the Latins. When Detius [i.e., Decius] was killed, the army of the Latins fell. Thus says Valerius. It must be believed that this vision proceeded through the work of the demons, to whom he descended when he died.

Concerning the other Detius [i.e., Decius], Titus Livy relates in book 4 that when he waged war against the Tuscans, to whose aid the Gauls had come, and when he, now consul for the fourth time, saw the army he commanded yielding to the enemy, he recalled his father's deed and similarly devoted himself to the infernal powers. When he was killed, the Roman army conquered. Yet, since he was a consul and commander of the army, he could, had he wished, have devoted another man from the Roman legion for the safety of his army; but he preferred to expose himself to death.

§ XI. The War with the Samnites

Concerning the Romans' war with the Samnites, about the 412th year from the founding of the city, Eutropius says in book 2 that the Samnites dwell between Picenum, Campania, and Apulia, 130 miles from the city.

When war existed between the Romans and the Samnites and Marcus Curius was consul of the Romans, Samnite envoys came to him because he was extremely poor. Finding him sitting upon a bench beside the hearth and dining from a wooden bowl, they offered him a great weight of gold publicly sent to him and invited him with kindly words to accept it. Relaxing his face slightly in a smile, he said: “Tell the Samnites that Marcus Curius prefers to command rich men rather than himself become rich, and remember that I can neither be defeated in battle nor corrupted by money.” Likewise, when he had driven King Pirus [i.e., Pyrrhus] from Italy, he touched nothing at all of the royal booty with which he had enriched the army and the city. And although the Senate had assigned seven iugera of land to the people but fifty to himself, he did not exceed the measure of the popular allotment, judging a citizen who was not content with what was given to everyone else to be of little fitness for the commonwealth. Thus says Valerius.

Titus Livy relates in book 9 that when war existed between the Samnites and Romans, Pontius, leader of the Samnites, held his army near the Caudine Forks, that is, at a certain place so called. Pontius sent ten soldiers dressed as shepherds to feed livestock in different places beside the road along which the Roman army was to pass. He commanded them, when the Romans came and asked where the Samnite army was, to answer with one accord that it had gone to besiege Luceria, a city allied with the Romans.

When the Romans arrived and heard this, they decided to go to Luceria to free it from siege. There were two roads: one beside the sea, but longer; the other beside the Caudine Forks, and shorter. They chose the latter so that they might aid their allies more quickly. That road is enclosed on both sides by mountains, possessing only one entrance and one exit through two passes, between which lies a certain plain. When they had passed through one defile and reached the plain, and wished to enter the other, they found the road made perilous by trees thrown crosswise upon it. They also saw armed guards on the mountain beside them. Thus they were enclosed so that they could neither retreat nor advance farther.

At last, driven by necessity, they sent envoys to the Samnites, saying there must be either a reasonable peace or war. The Samnites answered that the war was already finished, but peace was promised on these conditions: the Romans were to surrender all their arms and every other piece of equipment, each retaining only his clothing; then all were to pass under the yoke, first the consuls,

afterward the other magistrates, and finally the rest of the multitude. The Romans accepted this peace under the greatest abasement, compelled by necessity, and so returned to the city in disgrace.

As Titus Livy says, when anyone was to be sent under the yoke, two spears or pieces of wood were raised and another was placed across them, as forks are made on which thieves are hanged. Those sent under the yoke passed through the middle of them as a sign of subjection. The Samnites also retained six hundred Roman soldiers as hostages.

Beyond the foregoing, Pontius, leader of the Samnites, answered the envoys whom the Roman consuls sent concerning peace that the territory of the Samnites already partly occupied by the Romans should be restored to them, the colonists whom the Romans had sent there should be withdrawn, and each people thereafter--the Roman and the Samnite--should be permitted to live by its own laws. Pontius said that he would enter a treaty of peace on these conditions.

The consuls answered that they could not enter this treaty without the people's command, without the priests who presided over the agreements of a treaty, and without the fixed solemn ceremonial observed in making one. Nevertheless, the legates, quaestors, and tribunes of the soldiers pledged that peace would be made on those conditions.

When the consuls and army had returned to Rome, what had been promised displeased the people. After taking counsel among themselves, they deliberated how they might be released from the said agreement. At last one of the consuls, Spurius Postumius, advised that the consuls and all who had pledged themselves should be handed over to the Samnites by the fetials--that is, the priests who presided over the treaty of peace. When everyone approved his counsel, all the guarantors were sent back, bound by the fetials, and offered to Pontius in surrender.

Pontius vehemently denounced the Romans' faithlessness. He said that Spurius Postumius had done what he ought with respect to himself, but the Roman people was not thereby released from its pledge, because it ought to return not only the guarantor but also the whole Roman army that he had dismissed. Let the army therefore be restored to the place where the pledge was made; he was ready to restore its weapons, and when that had been done they might repudiate the conditions of peace there if they wished. Otherwise, he said that he was unwilling to accept the guarantors in surrender. Although Pontius appeared to be asking reasonably, the Romans would not agree to do these things.

They immediately sent a stronger, picked army against the Samnites. This Roman army defeated and so crushed the Samnites that, as is said in the *Martiniana*, twenty-four thousand of them and their king together with the remaining multitude were killed; their city was captured and utterly overturned. Snow already covered everything and one could not live outside shelter. The consul therefore led his army out of Samnium. As he came to Rome a triumph was granted him by universal consent. He triumphed in the insignia of his magistracy, as was the custom in those times, with a magnificent triumph. Foot soldiers and horsemen distinguished by military gifts passed and were borne along. Many civic, vallary, and mural crowns were seen; the Samnite spoils, remarkable for their beauty and splendor, were viewed and compared with the earlier spoils by which the conspicuous public places were adorned.

Several noble captives, renowned for their own and their fathers' deeds, were led along. Heavy bronze was carried through, amounting to two million, and thirty-three thousand of gold. It was said that this gold had been raised from the captives, while that which had been captured from the cities amounted to 330,000; all the bronze and silver was placed in the treasury.

That city was very wealthy and possessed arms of gold and silver. It lay between Campania and Apulia, as was said. Capua, a most noble and great city, is said to have been the chief city of its country, so that it seemed almost another Rome or Carthage.

Eutropius says in book 2 that if the Romans had kept toward the Samnites the good faith of the treaty that they wished their subjects to keep toward themselves, either the Romans would not have existed at all or they would have served beneath Samnite dominion. According to Eutropius, the Romans' war against the Samnites endured forty-seven years, and the Romans had no enemy more cruel than the Samnites, who were finally destroyed as has been said.

Papirius, consul of the Romans, first fought these Samnites in the sixth year of King Ptolemy, who first reigned in Egypt after the death of Alexander the Great, and reduced them to servitude for fourteen years.

As Macrobius relates in the *Saturnalia*, when this Papirius was a boy, his father took him to the Senate for a council. After he returned home, his mother asked what had been discussed there. When the boy said that it was secret and could not be told, his mother threatened him with blows unless he spoke. To escape, he told an amusing lie: he said that the council had discussed whether it was more expedient for one man to have two wives or one wife two husbands. When she reported this to other women, a very great multitude assembled and went to the Senate, asking that it be established instead that one woman should have two husbands. The senators wondered at this, investigated where it had originated, and found that it had proceeded from a boy's invention. They therefore decreed that boys should no longer be admitted to that council with their fathers, Papirius alone excepted.

When Papirius later went to war, the augurs told him that he would fare badly in battle. He despised them, engaged the enemy, and won the victory.

In the 463rd year from the founding of the city, as Orosius relates in book 3, while Dolobella and Domitius were consuls, the Lucanians, Bruttii, and Samnites made an alliance with the Etruscans and Senonian Gauls and prepared wars against the Romans. The Romans sent envoys to entreat the Gauls, but the Gauls killed them. For this reason the praetor Caecilius was sent against them with an army. On arriving among the Etruscans he was killed; seven tribunes of the plebs were killed in that war, many nobles were slaughtered, and twenty-eight thousand Romans were laid low, although in the end they were victorious.

§ XII. The Tarentine War and Pirus [i.e., Pyrrhus]

In the 464th year from the founding of the city, as Orosius relates in book 4, the Tarentines saw a Roman fleet passing over the sea and attacked it as an enemy. Only five ships escaped by flight; they captured the other ships and dragged them into their port, killing all those who could be useful in war and selling the others.

The Romans sent envoys to Tarentum to complain of the injury, but they were repulsed and also received insults from the Tarentines. As Valerius says, one of them was sprinkled with urine. For these reasons an immense war arose.

The Romans considered the identity and strength of the enemies making noise all around them and at last, compelled by necessity, forced the proletarii to take up arms. To explain this word *proletarii*, it should be known that because the Romans were continually occupied with military affairs and consequently could attend neither to domestic matters nor to the procreation of offspring, they ordained that those who through poverty could not suffice for military service should remain in the city, devoting themselves to procreation. They perceived that a city could not long endure without the procreation of offspring.

Those who were the most insignificant and poorest among the Roman plebs and paid in the census no more than 1,500 pieces of bronze were called proletarii, says Aulus Gellius. In harsh times for the commonwealth, when there was a shortage of young men, these proletarii were enrolled for emergency military service, and arms were supplied to them at public expense. They were therefore called proletarii from the office of procreating offspring.

After a great Roman army was assembled, the consul Aemilius attacked the territory of the Tarentines with his forces, devastating everything by fire and sword. He also occupied many towns and cruelly avenged the injury received. Many of the Tarentines' people aided them, but Pirus [i.e., Pyrrhus], king of the Epirotes, increased their power above all. Epirus is part of Greece, and the Tarentines were kinsmen of the Greeks, for the Lacedaemonians founded Tarentum.

Pirus [i.e., Pyrrhus] therefore possessed the entire forces of Epirus, Thessaly, and Macedonia. He brought with him into Italy twenty elephants, which were unknown to the Romans. The first battle between the Romans and Pirus [i.e., Pyrrhus]--to whom the whole war is ascribed although he was acting for the Tarentines--was fought at Eleacra, a city of Campania, against Laevinus, consul of the Romans.

Fourth Title: On the Fifth Age of the World

Chapter Five (continued)

There the entire day was consumed in fighting, with neither side fleeing, until the elephants were brought in. These were terrifying to the Romans, who had never seen that kind of animal before, and especially to their horses, which trembled at the sight of them. By their flight the Romans showed that they had been defeated.

Nevertheless, Pirus [i.e., Pyrrhus] publicly acknowledged the savagery of the disaster he had received and his loss by fastening an inscription in the temple of Jove at Tarentum, on which he wrote: “These men--the Romans--who before this had been unconquered, O best Father of Olympus, I conquered in battle, and by the same men I was conquered.” When his men reproached him for saying that he was defeated when he had conquered, he answered: “If I win once more in the same manner, I shall return to Epirus without a single soldier.”

Nevertheless, 13,880 Roman foot soldiers fell in that battle and 310 were captured; 248 horsemen were killed and 800 captured.

After these things a second battle between the Romans and Pirus [i.e., Pyrrhus] occurred on the borders of Apulia. Although the slaughter was great on each side, the Romans nevertheless conquered. For Pirus [i.e., Pyrrhus], pierced through the arm, was the first to withdraw from battle, while Fabricius, legate of the Romans, was wounded. Fire was applied beneath the elephants, between their hindquarters and soft parts. In their fury they carried about the engines placed upon them and became the destruction of their own men. Five thousand Romans were killed in this battle and twenty thousand from Pirus [i.e., Pyrrhus]'s army.

In the third battle, as Eutropius relates in book 2, Pirus [i.e., Pyrrhus] was put to flight. He returned to Greece and was killed at the city of Argos.

In the first war Pirus [i.e., Pyrrhus] consulted Appolinem [i.e., Apollo] about the outcome of the war. The answer given him was: “I say to you, Pirus [i.e., Pyrrhus], that the Romans can conquer.” He understood this to mean that he could conquer the Romans, but it could also be understood that the Romans could conquer him, as happened. Augustine adduces this in book 3, chapter 17 of *The City of God*, showing the deceitfulness of the demon in his answers, which are doubtful or equivocal so that he may deceive, as occurred here.

§ XIII. Plagues and Pagan Rites

In the 455th year from the founding of the city, an exceedingly great plague invaded Rome and continued for three years, as Titus Livy relates in book 10. When the Sibylline books were consulted for a remedy, it was discovered that Aesculapius had to be brought from Epidaurus to Rome.

Aesculapius is called the god of medicine. He was a certain man who first invented the art of medicine and was therefore considered a god. Epidaurus is the city now called Duratium, where Aesculapius--that is, his statue--was worshiped.

Roman envoys were sent to obtain him. When they entered his temple, which stood five miles from Epidaurus, behold, a serpent that had sometimes, though rarely, been seen by the Epidaurians--but was never seen without some good coming to them, on account of which they worshiped that serpent in the likeness of Aesculapius--began to crawl with gentle motion through the most frequented parts of the city. It was seen for three days, bearing the eagerness of one seeking a more illustrious abode. Then it proceeded to the Roman ship and climbed aboard, where it entered the cabin of one of the envoys and rested there.

When in the course of sailing they reached Anicium, the serpent, which had remained everywhere aboard the ship, slipped onto land, entered a temple of Aesculapius that was nearby, and remained there for three days while food was given to it. It afterward returned to the ship and allowed itself to be carried to Rome. There it came out upon the bank of the Tiber and swam across to the island where its temple was dedicated to Aesculapius; and the plague ceased among the Romans.

This was a deception of the devil, so that they would worship him in that creature, as Augustine shows in book 3, chapters 12 and 17 of *The City of God*. There he shows that in the 481st year from the founding of the city Aesculapius himself was later unable to heal or deliver Rome when another plague came upon it. As Orosius relates, that plague extended beyond two years and depopulated the city. When the Sibylline books were consulted, the answer--namely, from demons speaking conjecturally through augurs--was that the plague had been imposed by heavenly wrath because many temples of the gods were occupied by private persons rather than by the gods or their ministers. All of this was the devil's deception. That plague affected human beings and beasts of burden, and especially pregnant women with respect to the offspring existing and dying in their wombs.

Valerius also relates another marvelous work, though it is believed to have been the work of demons. As he says in book 2, chapter 1, when a raging plague was ravaging the city and the fields--that is, their fruits--a certain Valesius, a countryman but a rich one, had two sons and a daughter laboring with an illness beyond the physicians' hope. He prayed to the gods familiar to him that they would turn the children's danger upon his own head.

The answer came that the children would be saved if he immediately carried them down the river Tiber to Tarentum and there refreshed them with the hot water they desired, drawn from an altar of Father Dis--that is, Pluto, who is called the god of the infernal region--and Proserpina, whom the poets call goddess of that region. Understanding this to mean Tarentum, the great and famous city very far from Rome, he greatly feared to undertake so long a voyage. Nevertheless, in hope of his children's health, he began the journey.

As he made for Ostia along the Tiber, the children became thirsty and he wished to relieve them with hot water, but he saw that no fire was at hand by which the water could be heated. From afar he perceived smoke appearing at a certain place, which, as he learned from the ship's pilot, was called Tarentum. Leaving the ship and drawing water from the river, he hurried there, made a fire, heated the water, and gave it to the children to drink. After drinking it, they immediately fell asleep and were cured.

When they awoke, they said they had seen in their sleep a certain god wiping their bodies and commanding that, after an altar had been sought from Dis and Proserpina, from whom the water had been brought, black victims should be sacrificed there and couches for the gods and nocturnal games should be held. The children's father, seeing no altar there, went to the city to buy a new one, instructing his people in the meantime to dig foundations for placing it. As they dug, twenty feet deep underground they found an altar inscribed to Proserpina and Father Dis. When Valesius received word of this from a messenger, he sacrificed victims and held games there, and caused games and divine banquets to be celebrated on three successive nights, because that was the number of his children who had been healed. Thus says Valerius.

Although these games had first been instituted in the first year after the expulsion of the kings and later abolished, they were renewed in the time of the First Punic War, in which an innumerable multitude was killed on each side.

It should also be noted that during the Roman war against the Latins, when Manilius Torquatus [i.e., Manlius] was consul with Decius Mus, Torquatus issued an edict that no one should fight outside the regular order. Torquatus's son approached the enemy camp of the Latins with his fellow cavalrymen. Geminus Metius commanded the Tusculan horsemen, who were Latins. Seeing

Torquatus's son and knowing him to be a vigorous man, Metius began with insulting words to entice him into single combat. Moved partly by anger and partly by shame lest he appear to refuse the contest, Torquatus's son engaged him, immediately killed him after throwing him from his horse, and returned to his father with the slain enemy's spoils, relating what he had done.

The father at once assembled the multitude of the army and said to his son: “Since you have feared neither consular command nor your father's majesty, but contrary to our edict have fought outside the regular order, and so far as lay in you have dissolved the military discipline through which the Roman state has stood until this day, you have driven me to this necessity: I must forget either the commonwealth or myself and my own. Let us suffer the penalty for our offense rather than make the commonwealth pay so great a loss for our transgressions. We shall be a sorrowful example, but a salutary one for the young.” He immediately caused his bound son to be killed at a stake and returned to Rome with the victory. Thus say Titus Livy, Valerius, and Augustine in book 1 of *The City of God*.

§ XIV. The First Punic War

Just as the origin of the war between the Romans and King Pirus [i.e., Pyrrhus] was the city of Tarentum, which he had first wished to aid, so the city of Tarentum was also the origin of the First Punic War. When the Tarentines heard of Pirus [i.e., Pyrrhus]'s death, they sought and obtained aid from the Carthaginians. Fighting against the Romans, they were defeated, although the Carthaginians had not yet been judged enemies by the Romans. Hence this does not belong to the First Punic War, but preceded it by nine years and was its occasion.

There were three Punic wars at different times between the Romans and Carthaginians. Carthage was a most powerful city in Africa, ruling all Africa and part of Spain, just as Rome was most powerful in Italy. Hence all Africans were called Carthaginians, and they were also called Poeni, Puni, Punici, and Africans. According to Eutropius, the First Punic War lasted twenty-two years, the second twenty-nine, and the third four.

In the First Punic War, which began in the twentieth year of Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, Hannibal the Elder was ravaging the coast of Italy with a fleet equipped with seventy ships. Under the consuls Gnaeus Cornelius and Gaius Diullius [i.e., Duilius], the Romans likewise caused a fleet to be built and equipped. The consul Diullius [i.e., Duilius] accomplished this quickly: within sixty days after the trees had been felled, a fleet of 130 ships stood launched at anchor.

The other consul, Cornelius, went to the island of Lipari with sixteen ships. Summoned by Hannibal, as though to a conference for peace, he was captured by Punic treachery and summoned in chains [read: cast into chains]. When the consul Diullius [i.e., Duilius] heard this, he set out against Hannibal with thirty ships. A naval battle was joined. Hannibal lost the ship in which he was sailing but was taken off in a skiff and escaped. Thirty-one of his ships were captured and thirteen sunk; three thousand men are reported to have been killed and three thousand captured. Thus says Orosius.

In the ninth year of this First Punic War, Manilius Vulscho [i.e., Manlius; Vulso] and Marcus Regulus were created consuls at Rome. According to Orosius, book 4, they were ordered to wage war in Africa with 430 ships and set out for Sicily, which was then under Carthaginian control.

Fourth Title: On the Fifth Age of the World

Chapter Five (continued)

After obtaining victory there, the consuls crossed farther into Africa. Three hundred fortresses and towns were captured there. The consul Manilius [i.e., Manlius] returned to Rome, bringing with him 27,000 captives and immense spoils.

Marcus Regulus received the Carthaginian war as his lot. After killing an enormous serpent that had injured many in his army--whose skin, carried to Rome, is said to have measured 120 feet--he fought fiercely against three Carthaginian commanders, namely two men named Hasdrubal and Auulcar [i.e., Hamilcar]. In that battle 17,000 Carthaginians were killed, 5,000 captured, and eight hundred elephants brought to Rome.

Broken and exhausted by various wars and disasters, the Carthaginians sought peace from Regulus. But when they heard the intolerable conditions of peace that he had dictated, they preferred to die armed rather than assent to such terms. They therefore obtained soldiers from different regions, formed a great army, summoned Zamcippus [i.e., Zancippus], king of the Lacedaemonians, together with his auxiliaries, and appointed him commander in the war. An immense disaster for the Romans followed: thirty thousand Romans were killed, and Marcus Regulus was captured and cast into chains.

As Eutropius relates in book 2, when the Romans heard of the slaughter of their army and Regulus's capture, they created Paulus Aemilius and Servus Fulvius [i.e., Servius] consuls. Having prepared a great fleet of three hundred ships, these went against the Africans. First they defeated the Africans in a naval battle, and the consul Aemilius sank 104 enemy ships and captured thirty.

The Africans were again defeated by the consul Metellus, who killed twenty thousand of the enemy and captured their elephants, so that Metellus brought the elephants to Rome with a great many captives. But when the Roman fleet was returning to Italy with very great booty, it was overturned in a shipwreck: 120 ships sank, and seventy barely escaped after jettisoning their cargoes.

Auulcar [i.e., Hamilcar], commander of the Poeni, was sent with an army into Numidia and Mauretania. After he had treated everyone there cruelly and as enemies because they were said to have received Regulus, he condemned the survivors to pay one thousand talents of silver and twenty thousand oxen.

Hasdrubal, commander of the Poeni and ninth commander of the Carthaginians, had fought against Metellus and been defeated at Panormus. Twenty thousand Carthaginians were killed and twenty-six elephants, together with many others, were captured and brought to Rome. Hasdrubal himself fled with a few men to Lilybaeum and was condemned in his absence by the Poeni.

After these disasters, the Carthaginians sent Regulus, who had now been their captive for five years, to Rome so that he might obtain an exchange of prisoners. He came before the Senate and set forth the Africans' request, namely an exchange or release of the captives of each side. The Senate was inclined from affection to make the proposed exchange, especially for the liberation of Regulus himself. But Regulus urged the Senate that neither peace with the Africans nor such an exchange should be made in any way, saying that their strength was now broken and they had no hope of escape, while he himself was not of such value that so many thousands of strong African captives should be released for him, an old man, and for a few Romans.

When the Romans heard Regulus's argument in the Senate, they accepted his counsel. Although they offered to keep him at Rome, he would not agree, wishing to preserve the oath by which he had promised the Carthaginians that he would return to them if he did not obtain the proposed exchange. When he returned to Carthage and they heard what he had done, they killed him by a cruel death.

In the 507th year from the founding of the city, as Orosius relates, a sudden ruin of Rome itself came before the Romans' triumph. While Quintus Lactantius and Aulus Maulius were consuls, the river Tiber, swollen by unaccustomed rains and overflowing beyond expectation both in duration and magnitude, cast down all the buildings of Rome situated on level ground. The varying inequalities of the places combined toward a single destruction: whatever the slower flood covered, it dissolved by soaking; whatever the course of the torrent encountered, it overthrew by its impact.

A destruction by fire more grievous still followed the very severe disaster of the waters. It is uncertain whence the fire arose. It wandered through many parts of the city, made a pitiable slaughter of both people and houses, and in a single conflagration consumed so great a work as many foreign victories could not have supplied. While everything around the forum was being devastated, the temple of Vesta was seized by the fire. The gods did not even aid themselves: a temporary fire overwhelmed that fire which was thought eternal. Hence the pontiff Metellus, while rescuing the gods that were about to burn, scarcely escaped with his arm half consumed; and the temple of the goddess Vesta was burned.

§ XV. The Second Punic War

In the twenty-third year of the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes, king of Egypt, and the 530th year from the founding of the city, the Second Punic War--that is, between the Romans and Carthaginians--began, according to Orosius. It was most grievous to both sides and caused very great destruction.

According to Orosius and Valerius Maximus, many prodigies in different regions preceded this war. Valerius says that at the beginnings and disturbances of the wars, an ox at Rome changed its lowing into human speech. Pieces of flesh also fell scattered like snow. Birds of prey carried off the greater number, while the remainder lay on the ground for several days, altered neither by a foul odor nor by an ugly appearance.

It is also reported that stones rained in Picenum; in Gaul a wolf took a sword from the sheath of a watchman; in Sicily two shields sweated blood, and reapers found bloody ears of grain; and at Caere waters flowed mixed with blood. Valerius adds that in the Second Punic War it was established that an ox belonging to Gnaeus Domitius said, “Beware, Rome.” Augustine supports this final prodigy concerning the speaking ox in book 3 of *The City of God*. Adding certain other things, he says: “I omit oxen that spoke; children not yet born crying certain words from their mothers' wombs; flying serpents; and women and hens changed into men and the male sex.”

Hannibal, commander of the Carthaginians, unjustly began this Second Punic War by failing to preserve the agreements of peace made between the Romans and Carthaginians. This Hannibal was the Romans' greatest enemy. As Titus Livy, Orosius, and Eutropius relate, when he was nine years old he swore to his father Auulcar [i.e., Hamilcar] at the altars that he would fight against the Romans as soon as he could.

As Valerius relates, wishing also to signify how greatly Rome and Carthage differed in mutual hatred, Hannibal planted his foot in the ground and raised some dust. He said that the war between them would end only when one had been reduced to dust. It should also be known that this Hannibal is different from the Hannibal who was defeated in the First Punic War while commander of the Carthaginians.

Titus Livy calls this Second Punic War the most memorable of all wars ever waged. Fortune varied so greatly in it that those who conquered came closer to danger. The two sides contended with hatreds greater even than their strength. The Romans were indignant that the Africans, although defeated in the First Punic War, should voluntarily carry arms against the Romans, who had been victorious. The Poeni were also indignant because it seemed to them that the Romans commanded them too proudly and greedily.

This war began under Publius Cornelius Scipio and was ended by his son, likewise called Scipio, who was named Africanus from the Africa he subdued. It lasted eighteen years according to Augustine in book 5 of *The City of God*, but sixteen according to Orosius and Titus Livy.

Since part of Spain was subject to the Carthaginians and no sea intervenes between Spain and Rome, Hannibal, in order to avoid the dangers of the sea, made his way from Africa toward Italy where the sea dividing Africa and Europe is narrowest; and on each of its shores he possessed ports subject to Carthage. Another reason was that he might obtain an occasion for attacking the Romans.

Coming into Spain, Hannibal attacked Saguntum. This was a very powerful city of Spain, situated on the frontier of the African dominion. It was not subject to that dominion but was an ally and friend of the Romans. Hannibal knew that he could thereby obtain an occasion for fighting the Romans, because if Saguntum were besieged or attacked, the Romans would come to aid or defend it. Therefore he moved war against Saguntum before moving it against the Romans, lest he appear openly to violate the peace faithfully made between Rome and Carthage after the First Punic War.

As Titus Livy also relates, Hannibal first fought against cities neighboring Saguntum that did not belong to the Romans' alliance and confederation, seeking an occasion to attack Saguntum. When he had defeated the Saguntines and besieged them after they fled into their city, Roman envoys came to him so that he would withdraw from the siege. He mocked them, saying that because he was occupied with military affairs against his enemies, he could not hear them. The envoys therefore went on to Carthage and complained in vain that the treaty of peace had now been broken, then returned to Rome.

While they thus drew out the time, Saguntum was captured and destroyed, to the great shame of the Romans, who in such necessity did not aid their friends and allies as they should have done. Before the city was captured, the Saguntines were tormented by such hunger that they fed upon the corpses of their own people.

A certain soldier of Hannibal who was a friend of the Saguntines, wishing at least to save the citizens' lives, promised them life and another place where they could build a city, provided that they surrender Saguntum with its gold and silver to Hannibal. They obtained time for deliberation, kindled an enormous pyre in the middle of the city, first cast the gold into it together with all their household goods, then slew their wives and children and unanimously threw themselves into the fire.

After the city had thus been taken by assault, Hannibal crossed the Pyrenees, which divide Spain from Gaul. Passing through the Gauls, he reached the Alps on the nineteenth day from the Pyrenees. Wherever he encountered resistance he opened a way for himself with sword and iron. In the Alps he overcame in battle the Gauls who resisted him and broke apart impassable rocks with fire and iron. After consuming four days in these things, on the fifth day he reached the plains of Italy, namely the Piedmontese regions. At that time his army contained one hundred thousand foot soldiers and twenty thousand horsemen.

Scipio, consul of the Romans, was the first to meet him with an army. When battle was joined near the Ticinus, which flows into the Po, Scipio was gravely wounded but escaped death when his son Scipio, still very young, rescued him. Nearly all the Roman army that the consul Scipio commanded was killed there.

Afterward the same consul fought Hannibal again at the river Trebia, which is near Piacenza, with a similar fortune. Sempronius, the other Roman consul, learned of his colleague's misfortune and returned from Sicily. He engaged Hannibal at the same river, lost his army, and escaped almost alone. Hannibal was also wounded in this battle.

When Hannibal afterward crossed into Tuscany at the beginning of spring, he was caught on the summit of the Apennine mountain. Shut in and burdened by snow for two days, he was frozen there with his army. A great number of people, very many of his beasts of burden, and almost all the elephants died from the cold.

Advancing from there by a marshy road near the Sarnos [i.e., Arno], he lost the greater part of his allies and beasts of burden. Through the violence of the cold, his vigils, and his labors, he also lost the eye that had long been diseased. Nevertheless, escaping the marshes with difficulty, he approached the camp of the consul Flaminius and provoked him to battle at Transimenus, now called Lake Perusinus [i.e., Trasimenus; Perugia]. There Hannibal's craft surrounded and slaughtered the entire Roman army. The Roman consul himself was killed; fifteen thousand men are reported killed and six thousand captured. The ardor of the combatants in this battle was so great that the soldiers did not perceive a most severe earthquake, though it was so violent that it destroyed cities, moved mountains, cast down rocks, and drove rivers backward.

After these things followed the battle of Cannae, that is, near Cannae, a village of Apulia, where Hannibal fought the two consuls Aemilius Paulus and Terentius Varro. Forty-four thousand from the Roman army were killed, and a great part of Hannibal's army was slain. Aemilius Paulus died in that battle. Nine former consuls and twenty praetors were killed; thirty senators were killed or

captured; and three hundred noble men, forty thousand infantry soldiers, and 3,500 horsemen were lost. Varro, the other consul, fled to Venusia with fifty soldiers.

There is no doubt that this would have been the last day of the Roman state if Hannibal had advanced to attack the city immediately after his victory. In that battle the Romans were so afflicted that the Italian cities previously subject to them thereafter deserted the Romans and adhered to Hannibal, chief among them Capua. It should also be known that in addition to these engagements there were many other battles between Hannibal and the Romans. In some the Romans were superior, but in others the Carthaginians.

Fourth Title: On the Fifth Age of the World

Chapter Five (continued)

Likewise, while Hannibal fought in Italy, Hasdrubal fought in Spain against the Romans. He killed the two Scipios, brothers and commanders of the Romans sent against him into Spain, and inflicted many slaughters upon the Romans.

Concerning Hannibal's victory over the Romans at Cannae, Orosius and Augustine in book 3 of *The City of God* say that Hannibal sent to Carthage three modii of gold rings taken from the Romans he had killed. From this the number of the other dead could be better understood, since not everyone but only the greater and more noble men used gold rings.

As Orosius says, after the aforesaid disaster the Romans despaired so greatly that the senators deliberated and thought they should enter into a plan for abandoning Italy and seeking other places to inhabit. This would then have been confirmed had not Cornelius Scipio, a tribune of the soldiers who was afterward called Scipio Africanus, terrified them with drawn sword and compelled them instead to swear by his words to defend the fatherland.

After this was done, the Romans dared breathe again in hope of life and created Decius Junius dictator. He held a levy of soldiers from the age of seventeen and formed an unseasoned and disorderly force consisting of four legions collected from everywhere. He then also compelled slaves of proven strength and willingness--either offered by their masters or, if necessary, purchased at public expense--to take the military oath under the title of liberty. Valerius says that there were twenty thousand slaves. The dictator Junius also enrolled in military service men liable for crimes or debts, promising them immunity; their number rose to six thousand.

When the treasury lacked money to provide for the army, on the counsel of the consul Valerius all the citizens--and first the senators--retained only a small portion for themselves and gave their property or money to support the treasury. A large sum was thereby collected.

After that Roman slaughter at Cannae, as has been said, in the tenth year of this Second Punic War, while Gracchus Fulvius and Sulpicius were consuls, Hannibal moved his army from Campania. Proceeding by the Latin Way, he encamped beside the river Amanis [i.e., Anio], three miles from the city, to the incredible terror of the whole community. While the matrons, crazed with fear, ran along the battlements and, leaning out over the walls, eagerly wished to fight, Hannibal approached the Colline Gate with lightly equipped cavalry. He then drew up his entire army in battle line.

The consuls did not refuse battle. When the battle lines of both sides stood exposed, such a torrent of rain mixed with hail suddenly poured from the clouds that the disordered ranks could scarcely retain their weapons and withdraw into their camps. When calm weather returned and the armies came back onto the field and into battle line, a still more violent storm poured down. It terrified them more greatly and forced them in fear to return to the interior of their camps.

Hannibal is then said to have declared: “When I could, I did not have the will”--namely, immediately after the victory at Cannae--“and when I wished, I did not have the power to capture Rome,” because the rain prevented him.

§ XVI. Scipio Africanus and the End of the Second Punic War

While Hannibal was roaming through Italy, Scipio Africanus the Elder transported an army into Africa. There he killed a very great multitude of Africans in different places and so terrified and oppressed the Carthaginians that necessity compelled them to recall Hannibal with his army from Italy for their defense. He left Italy weeping. Coming into Africa, he requested a conference with Scipio.

At their first meeting, the two most illustrious commanders received one another after standing a long time in mutual astonishment and admiration, and held negotiations for peace. But when the peace negotiations failed, battle was joined. Hannibal was defeated, and more than twenty thousand Carthaginians were killed. He then fled to Carthage and persuaded its Senate to seek

peace, since no other hope now remained. Peace was granted through Scipio with the will of the Roman Senate and people. Nevertheless, more than five hundred ships were taken out onto the open sea and burned.

For a fuller explanation concerning this Scipio, it should be known that there were many very famous Scipios. Two of them were brothers: Publius Cornelius Scipio, consul of the Romans in the first year of the Second Punic War, and the other, Gnaeus Scipio, commander of the Romans in Spain against Mago, commander of the Poeni, whom he defeated and captured. These two brother Scipios were both afterward killed in Spain by Hasdrubal, Hannibal's brother.

There were also two other Scipios, sons of the aforesaid Publius Cornelius. One was called Publius Scipio Africanus because he finally defeated Hannibal and conquered Africa. The other was called Lutius Scipio [i.e., Lucius] Asiaticus because he conquered Asia Minor and triumphed over it. The first of these two was called Africanus the Elder.

There was another Scipio, a grandson, who was called Africanus the Younger because in the Third Punic War he conquered in Africa and destroyed the Carthaginians. Besides these five there was Scipio Nasica, who according to Titus Livy was the son of the aforesaid Gnaeus Scipio. After the Romans' victory in the Third Punic War, he advised that Carthage not be destroyed, for this reason: lest Roman vigor, always exercised by wars, be dissolved into idleness through security and leisure, as Augustine relates in book 1 of *The City of God*.

Catho [i.e., Cato] the Censor gave the Senate the contrary counsel, namely that Carthage should be destroyed because of the suspicion of rebellion. This was done, though not immediately after his counsel. As Titus Livy says in book 44, the Senate held a middle course between the opinions of Catho [i.e., Cato] and Scipio. It decreed that Carthage should stand, but only in such a condition that it would not be feared by the Romans. It therefore wished the Carthaginians to build for themselves another city ten miles from the sea. Because they refused to observe this, Carthage was attacked and entirely destroyed. Orosius, however, says that he never saw a just cause for that Third Punic War on the Romans' side.

Returning to Scipio Africanus the Elder, the historians relate many praiseworthy things about him. Titus Livy says that from the time this Scipio passed out of boyhood, he conducted no public or private business on any day before going to the Capitol, that is, to the temple of Jove. He would enter the temple, sit there, and sometimes spend time in secret. He maintained this custom throughout his life, whether deliberately or by fearing [read: deliberately or rashly], created belief about himself. The widespread opinion was that he was of divine stock.

Aulus Gellius relates that the mother of Africanus had previously been barren, so that his father despaired of having children by her. Later, while she slept alone in her chamber and bed during her husband's absence, an enormous serpent suddenly appeared lying beside her. When those who saw it became frightened and cried out, it slipped away and could not be found. Her husband Publius Scipio reported this very thing to the haruspices. After making sacrifice, they answered that children would be born from her. Soon afterward the woman conceived Scipio himself.

Before dawn Scipio was accustomed to come to the Capitol, order Jove's sanctuary opened, and remain there alone for a long time, as though consulting with Jove about the commonwealth. The *aeditui*, that is, the temple keepers, also often swore that only when Scipio entered the Capitol did the dogs, which raged against others, neither bark at him nor ever rush upon him.

After he gained victory in the Second Punic War, certain men accused him out of envy concerning a sum of money removed from the treasury. According to Valerius, when Scipio saw the malice of his accusers and was once charged concerning it, he answered: “I do not think wickedness has come to such a point that my innocence must be investigated. For although I subjected all Africa to your power, I brought back nothing from it that is called mine except my surname. The treasures of Asia made my brother greedy; but each of us is richer in envy than in money.”

Seeing the citizens' ingratitude, he departed from the city in indignation. As Eutropius says in book 4, after living long in exile at Amiturninum, he died of disease. In the same year Hannibal, seeing that Prusias, king of Bithynia, to whom he had fled, was going to hand him over to the Romans, drank poison and died so that he would not be delivered to them alive. According to Valerius, Scipio caused this to be inscribed upon his tomb: “Ungrateful fatherland, you do not even possess my bones.” Although this Scipio is greatly commended by the gentiles in many respects, nevertheless, because he was an idolater, he did not escape the hell of the damned.

§ XVII. The Third Punic War

The third and last Punic War, as Orosius relates in book 4, was ended in the 602nd year from the founding of the city, while Lucius Censorius [i.e., Censorinus] and Marcus Maulius [i.e., Manlius] were consuls. When the Senate decreed that Carthage must be destroyed, the consuls and Scipio, then a tribune of the soldiers, went into Africa and held camp near Utica. They summoned the Carthaginians and ordered them to surrender their arms. So great a mass of arms was immediately delivered that all Africa could easily have been armed with them.

After surrendering their arms, they were ordered to abandon the city and withdraw ten miles from the sea. At this they felt such sorrow and were turned to such despair that they chose either to defend the city or be buried with it. They therefore created two Hasdrubals as their commanders and set about making weapons, supplying the lack of bronze and iron with gold and silver.

The consuls determined to attack Carthage, whose walls extended for thirty miles. Although they destroyed some part of the wall, they were nevertheless defeated and repulsed by the Carthaginians. Scipio defended them as they fled, driving back within the walls the Carthaginians whom the consuls were pursuing. Nevertheless, the city was defended against the Romans for four years.

At the beginning, when he had undertaken the war, Mantinus [i.e., Mancinus], consul of the Romans, received an army from Pompilius at Numantia, a city of Spain belonging to the Carthaginian dominion. As Orosius says in book 5, Mantinus [i.e., Mancinus] fought the Numantines so unsuccessfully that, compelled by utter despair, he made a most shameful treaty with them, although Pompilius had made another equally disgraceful treaty with the same people.

The Senate dissolved the treaty and handed Mantinus [i.e., Mancinus] over to the Numantines. It ordered him to be exposed before their gate with his body naked and his hands bound behind his back. Remaining there in this condition until night, abandoned by his own people, he was not received by the enemy. Orosius says that this city alone, for fourteen years and with only four thousand allies, not only withstood forty thousand Romans but defeated them and afflicted them with shameful treaties.

Certain prodigies also befell the consul Mantinus [i.e., Mancinus] when he was about to go to Spain, as Valerius says. When he boarded a ship from the Port of Hercules, a voice with no speaker was heard saying, “Mantinus [i.e., Mancinus], remain.” When he had entered the skiff, a serpent of extraordinary size was seen and suddenly disappeared. All these were works of demons.

Afterward, in the fourth year of this Carthaginian war, Publius Scipio undertook to destroy Carthage. By fighting continuously for six days and nights, he drove the Carthaginians in their final desperation to surrender, asking that they at least be permitted to live as slaves. As the Romans entered the city, some citizens voluntarily cast themselves into the fire and others threw themselves down from a height. The city was captured and burned. It burned continuously for seventeen days. Carthage was demolished, every movable stone being crushed into dust, seven hundred years after it had been founded.

§ XVIII. Other Wars and Dissensions

Between the Second and Third Punic Wars the Macedonian War arose. The first was against Philip, king of Macedonia--not Philip, father of Alexander the Great, who had died long before, but another Philip, who in the Second Punic War had promised aid to Hannibal against the Romans. When Philip was defeated and the First Macedonian War ended, there followed the Syrian War against Antiochus, king of Syria. After he was defeated, there followed the Mithridatic War, and then the Second Macedonian War against Perseus, son of the aforesaid King Philip of the Macedonians, after his father's death.

When Perseus was defeated and captured, there followed the exceedingly terrible war against the Celtiberians in Spain. Fear of them so invaded the Romans that no soldier or legate dared go into Spain except Publius Scipio, called Africanus the Younger, who offered to go voluntarily. Coming into Spain, he inflicted a very great slaughter upon its peoples.

Besides the aforesaid five famous wars, before the Third Punic War the Romans also had other wars with different nations: the Equolian, Istrian, Gallo-Greek [i.e., Aetolian; Galatian], Illyrian, and Third Macedonian wars; but they all occurred far from the city.

In those times they also had several dissensions among themselves within the city, as in the expulsion or exile of Scipio Africanus and of Scipio Asiaticus.

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Chapter Five (continued)

For, as Valerius relates in book 5 concerning Scipio Asiaticus, after Asia had been conquered, he was cast down by the Roman people and ordered to be taken to prison as though guilty of taking public money, that is, embezzlement. Such treatment certainly could not have been inflicted upon such great men in the city without great and numerous dissensions, since they were held in the highest esteem, as Augustine also touches upon in book 3, chapter 21 of *The City of God*.

§ XIX. The Two Gracchi

Meanwhile, while Scipio was waging the Third Punic War against the Numantines in Spain, seditions were being stirred among the Romans, as Orosius says. There were two brothers called the Gracchi. Each was a tribune, and each was killed in a popular tumult. Although Sallust praises both as champions of the plebs' liberty, others reprove them as seditious men.

Concerning the first Gracchus, named Tiberius, Titus Livy in book 58 and Orosius in book 5 say that while he was tribune of the plebs, he determined to divide among the people the public land that, as it appeared to him, certain private persons, namely the nobles, possessed unjustly. He passed a law that no one should possess more than ten iugera of public land. He appointed himself, his brother Gaius Gracchus, and Appius Claudius as three men to divide the land. He also promulgated another law, namely that these three should judge which land was public and which private, so that he might open a way for himself to divide more widely.

When Otto, a tribune of the plebs, opposed him, Gracchus took away his tribunician authority. By these acts he incurred the Senate's anger and raised the people to insolence.

At that time Attalus, son of Cumenis [i.e., Eumenes], died and by his testament ordered the Roman people to succeed him as heir to the dominion of Asia, of which he had been king. Gracchus, seeking the people's favor, wished the money to be distributed to them.

When the day of the electoral assembly arrived, on which magistrates were customarily chosen, Gracchus intended to continue in office in the following year also, hoping to be elected tribune again. The inflamed nobility drove the people away with fragments of benches. First they knocked Gracchus to the ground with a fragment, then killed him with a club as he attempted to rise. Two hundred others were killed in that sedition, and their bodies were cast into the Tiber. Gracchus's own corpse, having been exhumed, wasted away [read: unburied and decayed].

Valerius also says of him that, when he held the oppressed commonwealth by popular favor, he openly declared, with the Senate held in contempt, that everything ought to be done through the plebs. Valerius likewise says that when the second Scipio Africanus, who had married Gracchus's sister, returned to Rome after defeating the Numantines, Gnaeus Carbo, tribune of the plebs and a most turbulent avenger of the recently suppressed sedition, asked Africanus after the aforesaid killing what he thought of the death of Tiberius Gracchus.

Carbo sought by the authority of this most weighty man to add great increase to the fire already begun, not doubting that because of so close a family connection Scipio would say something pitiable in memory of the dead man. But Scipio pronounced that Gracchus appeared to have been killed justly.

Before the second Gracchus, namely Gaius, became tribune, as Valerius relates in book 1, he was overcome by sleep and saw the image of his brother Tiberius Gracchus, who told him that by no means could he avoid dying by the same fate by which Tiberius himself had fallen. This proved true, for so it happened.

As Orosius says, once Gaius had been created tribune of the plebs through a tumult, he became a great destruction to the commonwealth. He repeatedly stirred the people into most bitter seditions by gifts and promises, especially through the agrarian law, that is, the distribution and division of lands. Numitius, who had succeeded his brother in the tribunate, had for the most part abolished the statutes and laws of Gracchus that had been the cause of his brother's death. Indignant at this, Gaius gathered many allies and ascended the Capitol, where an assembly was being held.

There he raised a very great tumult, and a certain herald was killed by the Gracchans. Afterward he met resistance in battle. His whole multitude, after the outcome of the war had long remained uncertain, was scattered by archers sent by the consul Opimius. Gracchus was [read: fled]. And while his friends fought on his behalf and, lest he be captured alive, offered his neck to his slave. The dead Gracchus's head was carried to the consul, while his body was taken to his mother Cornelia, who had been the daughter of Africanus the Elder. There was also another Tiberius Gracchus, a good citizen, who according to Valerius in book 1 was killed in a different manner.

For a fuller explanation of the foregoing, it should be known that when cities of the enemy were captured by the Romans and their citizens expelled or killed, or when they were deprived of their lands and possessions in another manner, Roman nobles often retained for themselves the lands of the captured cities. This appeared inequitable and unjust to the plebs, because such lands were acquired by the blood and labor of soldiers, who for the most part came from the plebs. The plebs therefore wished such lands to be divided and distributed among themselves, while the nobles did not. For this reason dissension very often arose between the senators and plebs, according to Titus Livy, book 2 *On the Origin of the World* [read: *On the Origin of the City*].

For this reason the aforesaid two Gracchi, while tribunes and champions of the plebs, took care to promulgate the agrarian law, that is, the law concerning the distribution of lands. Because of this they became hateful to the Senate and were killed.

Orosius relates in book 5 that, although Opimius was brave as consul in the war against the friends of the second Gracchus, he was cruel in the judicial inquiry. He killed more than three thousand men by punishments. Many of them, without their case even being stated--that is, without being heard in judgment--were killed although innocent. As Valerius relates, the consul Opimius also caused the head of Gaius Gracchus, purchased from one of Gracchus's associates for its weight in gold, to be fixed upon a spear and carried through the city.

§ XX. Saturninus, Glaucia, and Drusus

After the killing of both Gracchi, as Orosius relates, another sedition arose in the city in the 645th year from its founding. Lutius Saturninus [i.e., Lucius] was the bitterest enemy of Quintus Metellus, an entirely eminent man. When Metellus was created censor, Saturninus dragged him from his house and, as he fled to the Capitol, besieged him there with an armed band. But Saturninus was cast down from there by the indignation of the Roman knights, and a very great slaughter occurred before the Capitol.

Afterward Saturninus and G. Glanea [i.e., Gaius; Glaucia], by the treachery--that is, the counsel--of Gaius Mauri [i.e., Marius], then consul, killed Antonius, who was seeking the tribunate at the same time. In the following year Marius was created consul for the sixth time, G. Glanea [i.e., Gaius; Glaucia] praetor, and Saturninus tribune of the plebs. These three conspired against the aforesaid Metellus to send him into exile. A day was therefore appointed for him to defend himself before judges who belonged to the same conspiracy as his accusers. Through wickedness he was condemned to exile, to the sorrow of the whole city.

The same Saturninus, because the vigorous and upright Menius [i.e., Memmius] was to become consul, pursued and killed him as he fled when a sedition arose. When the Senate and people murmured over so many evils, the consul Marius settled the whole disturbance.

Saturninus then held an assembly in his house, where some called him king and others emperor. Indignant at this, Marius arranged for battle to be made against him. While Marius guarded the gates, Saturninus, driven back by Marius's men, fled to the Capitol. Thus an unheard-of battle for the Capitol occurred. Saturninus cried openly that Marius had been the author of all his designs. When Saturninus fled into the senate house, the doors were broken and he was killed there. G. Glanea [i.e., Gaius; Glaucia] was dragged out of Claudius's house and killed. Augustine touches upon this in book 3, chapter 26 of *The City of God*.

There was also Marcus Drusus, who initiated the Social War. As Valerius relates, he was a man of the greatest pride. Because Lucius Philippus, consul of the Romans, had interrupted him while he addressed the people, Drusus had one of his clients, not a public officer, seize the consul by the throat and drag him to prison with such violence that much blood flowed from his nostrils. On another occasion, when the Senate sent for him to come to the senate house, he asked why they did not come to him. They did so. This Marcus Drusus committed these acts fourteen years after the sedition of Saturninus.

§ XXI. The Servile Wars and the War against the Pirates

There was also a Roman war called the Servile War, and it was threefold. In the 779th year from the founding of the city, while Lucilius and Cassius were consuls, according to Valerius in book 5 and Orosius, sixty-four gladiators broke out of the school that Lentulus was holding at Capua. They immediately appointed three commanders over themselves: Spartacus of Thrace and two Gauls, Crisso [i.e., Crixus] and Divonianus. They occupied Mount Eusebius.

Breaking out from there, they attacked the camp of the praetor Clodius, who had besieged them on the mountain. They put him to flight and plundered everything. Divonianus, one of their commanders, was killed there in battle. The other two soon gathered immense forces: Crisso [i.e., Crixus] the Gaul had ten thousand men, while Spartaco Drace [i.e., Spartacus the Thracian] had thirty thousand.

They filled everything with slaughter, burning, plunder, and rape, so that some violated women killed themselves. The Roman consuls Zelius [i.e., Gellius] and Lentulus were sent against them with an army. Zelius [i.e., Gellius] crushed Crisso [i.e., Crixus] as he fought most fiercely, but Lentulus, defeated by Spartacus, fled. Afterward both consuls fought Spartacus together, suffered a grievous defeat, and fled. Spartacus later killed the proconsul Gaius Cassius in battle. Such terror invaded the city as had invaded it under Hannibal.

At last the Senate sent the consul Cassius with legions and a new reinforcement of soldiers against Spartacus. As soon as he joined battle with the fugitives, he killed six thousand and captured nine hundred. Before he afterward engaged Spartacus in battle, he defeated Spartacus's auxiliaries, the Gauls and Germans, killing their commanders together with thirty thousand men. Finally, drawing up his battle line against Spartacus, he killed sixty thousand of his men and captured six thousand; Spartacus himself was killed. The others who fled were diligently sought out and killed by various commanders.

According to Eutropius, this war endured for three years amid Italy's calamities and ended in Apulia. Orosius calls it the War of the Fugitives; Augustine, the Servile War.

There was another servile war that depopulated Macedonia. Orosius relates in book 5 that in the 774th year from the founding of the city, Appius Claudius received by lot the Macedonian war. The various peoples spread around the Rhodope Mountains--that is, those who lived about them--had fled to those places and were devastating Macedonia most cruelly. Appius went out from Macedonia to drive them away and exposed himself to immense masses of evils. Surrounded by enemies and also sick, he died.

Scribonius succeeded him. Avoiding the force of those peoples, he turned arms against them. They were afterward defeated by Lucullus. Those peoples were so cruel to their captives that when they needed cups, that is, drinking vessels, they seized human heads with bloody faces, still covered with hair and with the brain not yet properly extracted, and used them without horror as

though they were real cups. Augustine calls this war servile in book 3, chapter 26 of *The City of God*, because those peoples had formerly been subject to the Romans and, because they were most unworthy, were regarded as slaves. This war occurred five or six years before the aforesaid war of the gladiators.

Orosius also relates in book 5 another servile war that arose in Sicily. He says that after the Gracchus mentioned above had been killed, the contagion of a servile war arose. In Sicily the consul Quiso Calfurnius [i.e., Piso; Calpurnius] attacked Mamertum, where he killed nine thousand fugitives; those whom he could capture he fixed upon a gibbet. The consul Rutilius, succeeding him, captured the most strongly fortified refuges of the fugitives at Taroninium and Benna [i.e., Tauromenium; Enna], and there destroyed more than twenty thousand slaves. They ought to have been spared had they not insolently met the sword with the sword.

This contagion widely infected many provinces. At Mirturnis [i.e., Minturnae] 450 were crucified, and afterward as many as seven thousand slaves were crushed by Quintus Metellus, Gnaeus Servilius, and Scipio. In the Athenian mines, the same servile uprising was dispersed by the praetor Heraclitus. The same thing happened at Delos.

Eutropius relates in book 6 concerning the war against the pirates that, while the Mithridatic War was still continuing, pirates infested all the seas. Thus, although the Romans were conquerors of the whole world, navigation alone was not safe. A war against them was therefore decreed to Agneo Pompeio [i.e., Gnaeus; Pompey], and he ended it with remarkable good fortune and speed within a few months.

§ XXII. Philip and Perseus of Macedonia

It should also be known that after the Second Punic War the Romans waged war against Philip, king of Macedonia--not the father of Alexander the Great, but another Philip, whose son was called Perseus. Philip was defeated and subjected, and afterward conducted himself faithfully toward the Romans. When he died, his son Perseus began to rebel and stir up the Second Macedonian War against the Romans. He too was defeated.

The consul Paulus Aemilius was sent against him. When Paulus had assumed the consulship, he returned home and found his little daughter weeping. He asked the cause of her tears, and she answered that she wept because Persa had died, meaning a certain little puppy of hers. Comforted by this as though by an omen of the victory he would obtain over King Perseus, Paulus went with an army, defeated him, and led him to Rome.

Fourth Title: On the Fifth Age of the World

Chapter Five (continued)

About the same time, though a little earlier, the Romans waged war against Antiochus, king of Syria. They also defeated him and imposed laws upon him as they wished.

Shortly afterward Attalus, son of Eumenes and king of Asia, died and by testament left the Roman people heir to his kingdom, so that by testament the kingdom of Asia Minor was added to the Romans. Attalus had a brother named Eumenes, a friend of the Romans, who had by a concubine a son named Aristomicus. When Attalus died, Aristomicus claimed the kingdom of Asia and Achaea for himself. He therefore gathered a great army and made war against the Romans. Defeated, captured, and brought to Rome, he was strangled there by order of the Senate.

As Augustine relates in book 3, chapter 11 of *The City of God*, Cumaean Apollo--that is, Apollo worshiped at Cumae, a city of Campania--foresaw his death and grieved and wept. Apollo's weeping foretold Aristomicus's evil, because the Cumaeans were colonists of the Greeks--that is, they had once been Greeks and had come from Greece to inhabit that place. When they came from Greece, they brought with them the statue of Apollo that they had been accustomed to worship there.

Because the statue wept, less skillful haruspices believed it foretold evil for the Romans and therefore wished to cast it into the sea, had not the Cumaean elders resisted. More skilled haruspices interpreted the opposite, as happened.

Valerius in book 11 and Titus Livy in book 8 say that Philip, king of Macedonia, once defeated, gave the Roman city confidence for a freer--that is, more relaxed--way of life, and that the origin of foreign luxury, that is, of new and exquisite pleasures, was found in the Asiatic army and Asia Minor and introduced at Rome.

§ XXIII. The Social War

Concerning another war called the Social War, which the Romans waged against the Lacini [i.e., Latins], who were not Roman citizens but allies: although they were subject to the Romans, the Romans called those under their dominion their allies.

Orosius relates in book 5 that in the 659th year from the founding of the city, while Sextus Julius Caesar and Lutio Marco [i.e., Lucius; Marcius] were consuls, Drunus [i.e., Drusus], tribune of the plebs, enticed all the Lacini [i.e., Latins] with the hope of liberty. When he could not accomplish what he wished, he stirred them to arms. The Picentes, Nestini [i.e., Vestini], Marci [i.e., Marsi], Paeligni, Norsini [i.e., Nursini], Samites [i.e., Samnites], and Lucanians killed Gayum Servum [i.e., Gaius; Servilius], a praetor sent to them as legate by the Senate. They immediately closed the city and slaughtered all the Roman citizens.

A most grievous war followed, containing many battles against the Romans. Rutilus and Porcius were killed. Sometimes the Lacini [i.e., Latins] conquered and sometimes the Romans, with many soldiers killed on both sides. The civil and social wars occurred at almost the same time, because the civil wars began before the Social War was finished. Eutropius says that the civil and social wars, which were also called the Italian Wars, continued for nine years.

According to Orosius, this war consumed 150,000 Romans: twenty-three men of consular rank, seven men of praetorian rank, forty former aediles, and nearly two hundred senators. Orosius adds that so many were killed that they can scarcely be numbered, because the peoples of all Italy were everywhere destroyed without discrimination.

Augustine relates in book 3, chapter 23 of *The City of God* that before Latium stirred the aforesaid Social War against Rome, all animals subject to human use--dogs, horses, asses, oxen, and every other kind of livestock under human dominion--suddenly became wild. Forgetting their domestic gentleness, they left their shelters, wandered freely, and opposed the approach not only of other people but even of their masters, not without death or danger to anyone who pressed them closely. Such signs therefore preceded the evil that followed.

§ XXIV. Terence

About the time of the Third Punic War, according to Eusebius in the *Chronicle*, Terence, writer of comedies, flourished. He was captured with other Carthaginians by the Romans. The following are his moral maxims:

“Compliance wins friends; truth breeds hatred.”

“If what you wish cannot be done, wish for what can be.”

“When we are well, we all easily give sound advice to the sick.”

“He who goes on saying whatever he wishes also hears what he does not wish.”

“Why do you attend to the concerns of others that do not pertain to you? I am a human being, and therefore I consider nothing human foreign to me.”

“License makes us all worse.”

“Human nature is generally so constituted that it judges the affairs of others better than its own.”

“The highest law is often the highest wickedness.”

“No undertaking is so easy that it is not difficult if you do it unwillingly.”

“Is it not shameful for you to give counsel to others and be wise abroad, yet be unable to help yourself?”

“Nothing is more unjust than the rule of a person who thinks nothing right unless he himself has done it.”

“There is an old saying: all things are common even among enemies.”

“Old age brings everyone this single fault: we are more attentive to property than is sufficient.”

“To neglect money at the proper time is sometimes the greatest gain.”

“This is wisdom: not merely to see what is now before your feet, but also to foresee what is to come.”

“I command you to examine human lives as in a mirror and to take an example for yourself from others.”

“All whose affairs are less prosperous are somehow suspicious; they take everything as an insult and, chiefly because of their own weakness, always believe themselves neglected.”

“Nearly all women and children are fickle in judgment.”

“This, moreover, is wisdom: bend your mind wherever there is need, and do at once what perhaps must afterward be done.”

“While a person's affairs are most prosperous, he ought to consider how he may bear adversity and misery, so that nothing may be new to his mind and whatever happens beyond expectation may be counted as gain.”

“As many men, so many opinions; each has his own custom.”

“There is nothing that cannot be corrupted by telling it badly.”

§ XXV. Judas Maccabeus and the Roman Alliance

About those times Judas Maccabeus sent envoys to the Senate seeking peace and friendship with the Romans, as is contained in 1 Maccabees 8, where the virtues of the Romans are narrated. It is said there that they are mighty in strength and agree to everything asked of them, and whoever approached them, they established friendships with them.

And how they had heard of their battles and the brave deeds they performed in Galatia; that they conquered those peoples and brought them under tribute; how much they accomplished in the region of Spain; and that they brought under their power the mines of gold and silver located there. They possessed the whole region through their counsel and patience, although those places were very far from them. They crushed the kings who came against them from the ends of the earth and defeated them in war.

They captured alive Antiochus the Great, king of Asia, after crushing him, ordaining that he and his successors should pay a great tribute and provide hostages. They gave the region of the Midori, the Lydians, and the Medes to King Eumenes. They destroyed and brought under their power the remaining kingdoms that had at any time resisted them, as well as the islands.

They preserved friendship with their friends and with those who trusted in them. They gained kingdoms both near and far, for whoever heard their name feared them. Those whom they wished to aid so that they might reign did reign; those whom they wished, they removed from their kingdom. Thus they were greatly exalted.

In all these things no one wore a diadem or was clothed in purple to be magnified by it. They made a senate house and daily consulted 320 men, always taking counsel concerning the multitude so that they might do what was worthy. Each year they committed their magistracy to one man to govern their whole land. All obeyed one, and there was neither envy nor jealousy among them.

Judas therefore chose Eupolemus, son of John, and Jason, son of Eleazar, and sent them to Rome to establish friendship and alliance with the Romans, so that they might remove from the Jews the yoke of the Greeks. The Romans established friendship and alliance with the Jews.

This was the written response they sent from Rome to Jerusalem on bronze tablets: “May it be well forever with the Romans and the nation of the Jews, by sea and land. May sword and enemy be far from them. If war first threatens the Romans, the nation of the Jews shall bring them aid wholeheartedly, as the time dictates; and they shall not supply the enemy with grain, arms, ships, and things of this sort. The Romans shall act likewise in return.”

§ XXVI. Ptolemy Physcon and Jugurtha

In the 476th year of the Fifth Age, and the 4,986th year of the world according to the longer computation, Ptolemy Physcon, the eighth king of the Egyptians, reigned. In the third year of this Ptolemy's reign, King Jugurtha, fighting against the Romans, was captured according to Eusebius in the *Chronicle*.

As Orosius says, no battle was ever more tumultuous and terrible for a Roman soldier. The dust stirred up by the movement and noise of the horsemen running about and charging spread beneath the sky, took away the day, and brought on night. Such a storm of missiles fell that no part of the body was safe from a blow. Because of the darkness, everyone lacked sight to look ahead; because of the compression of the multitude, everyone lacked room to act for his own defense.

The Moorish and Numidian horseman did not labor to seek out a well-positioned enemy with a well-timed cast of his weapon. Rather, they cast their missiles at random, certain that their uncertain gifts would not be without effect. The Roman horsemen and foot soldiers, thus forced together, were massed into one body.

The enemy again surrounded them and tore not only the outer edges of the column but also reached its middle with weapons cast from afar. Thirst, the heat of the sun, the disorder of their own forces, and the uncertainty of death wore the disordered Romans down to the utmost despair. Suddenly the familiar aid of storms and rains that came to the Romans against the Africans was sent from heaven, bringing uncommanded deliverance.

A sudden rain supplied drink and refreshment to the thirsty and overheated Romans. For the Numidians, however, it made the shafts of the weapons they customarily hurled by hand without straps slippery and therefore useless. The shields they carried, made flexible and protective with stretched elephant hide, have this nature: they drink in falling rain like a sponge and thereby become unmanageable from the sudden weight. Because the shields could not be carried about, they could not provide defense.

Bocchus and Jugurtha, king of the Numidians, then fled. After these things 140,000 armed men were brought forward by those kings and are reported to have been cut down by the Romans to annihilation. Thereupon Bocchus abandoned hope of war and sought peace from the Romans. In order to obtain peace, he captured Jugurtha by treachery, loaded him with chains, and sent him

through his legate Sulla to Marius. Jugurtha was driven before Marius's chariot in his triumph with his two sons and was soon strangled in prison.

§ XXVII. The Mithridatic War

According to Orosius, the Mithridatic War against the Romans arose in the 662nd year from the founding of the city. Mithridates undertook this war after twenty-three years of his reign and, as Justin says, fought them with varying victory for forty-five years.

According to Justin, celestial portents predicted Mithridates's future greatness. In the year he was born and again in the year he first received the kingdom, a comet shone on each occasion for eighty days, so that the whole sky seemed to blaze. In magnitude it occupied a fourth part of the sky and in brightness surpassed the sun's splendor. It consumed the span of six hours in rising and setting.

As a boy Mithridates suffered the plots of his guardians. They placed him upon a wild horse and forced him to hurl missiles and ride, but their attempts failed because Mithridates controlled the horse beyond his age. They then assailed him with poison. Fearing this, he frequently drank antidotes and made himself so secure against plots by specially sought remedies that, even when he wished to do so, he could not die by poison as an old man.

Helinand says: “I remember reading in certain physical experiments that Mithridates, fearing lest his brother poison him, every day ate while fasting twenty leaves of rue with two walnuts, the same number of dried figs, and salt mixed with them.”

The aforesaid Justin adds that Mithridates, thereafter fearing that his enemies might accomplish by the sword what they could not by poison, feigned a passion for hunting. For seven years he used the shelter of neither city nor countryside but wandered through forests, spent nights in different mountainous regions, and allowed no one to know where he was. He became accustomed to driving wild beasts before him or pursuing them at a run, and even to contending with some by bodily strength. By these activities he both avoided plots and trained his body to endure every exertion.

When he came to the throne, he subdued the Scythians, Pontus, and Cappadocia. When he was silently deliberating about Asia with certain friends, he departed from his kingdom and, with no one aware, wandered through the whole region, learning the sites of all the cities and the country. He also crossed into Bithynia and, as though already lord of Asia, measured out every place advantageous for his victory.

After this he returned to his kingdom, when he was already believed to have died, and found a little child whom during his absence his sister and wife Laodice had borne. Believing him dead, she had cast herself into intercourse with his friends. As though she could cover the admitted crime with a greater wickedness, she prepared poison for him upon his arrival. Mithridates learned this from her maidservants and punished the crime upon its authors.

Finally Mithridates armed the whole East against the Romans. He sent envoys to seek aid from the Cimbri, Gallo-Greeks [i.e., Galatians], Sarmatians, and Bastarnae, and ordered an army to come from Scythia. Equipped with an Asiatic army, he defeated Aquilius and Marcus Malcius. After these men and Nicomedes had been driven out, the cities received him with immense favor. He found much gold and silver and a great apparatus for war there, and granted the cities a five-year exemption.

Orosius relates in book 6 that Mithridates, king of Pontus and Armenia, wished to deprive Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, a part of Asia and a friend of the Roman people, of his kingdom. The Roman Senate warned him not to do this and declared that if he did, he would experience war brought upon him by the Romans. Greatly angered by this, Mithridates ravaged Bithynia and expelled Nicomedes from the kingdom.

When he afterward came to Ephesus, he commanded by a cruel edict that every Roman citizen found throughout Asia should be slaughtered on a single day. This was done. Words can in no way explain or comprehend the multitude of Roman citizens killed at that time, the grief of so many provinces, or the groaning both of those being killed and of their killers, when every person was compelled either to betray innocent guests and friends or himself incur danger under the penalty imposed upon those guests.

Archelaus, commander of Mithridates, was sent ahead into Achaea with 120,000 foot soldiers and horsemen. He obtained Athens and all Greece, partly by force and partly by surrender.

Sulla, to whom the Mithridatic War had fallen after his consulship, long besieged Archelaus and the Athenian port of Piraeus, fortified with a sevenfold wall, and devastated the Athenians. While Sulla was in Asia waging the Mithridatic War, he received through Lutius Tytius [i.e., Lucius; Titius] a message from Jove that he would overcome Mithridates, which occurred.

Afterward, when Sulla planned to return to the city and avenge his own and his followers' injuries with civil blood, a certain soldier of the sixth legion brought him another message from the same Jove. The soldier said that Jove had earlier foretold Sulla's victory over Mithridates and now promised to give him the power by which he would recover the commonwealth from his enemies, though not without much blood.

When Sulla came to Tarentum and sacrificed there, he saw upon the head of a calf's liver the likeness of a golden crown. The haruspex Postumius then answered that a splendid victory was signified for him and commanded that he alone should eat those entrails.

A short time later, a slave of a certain Lucius Pontius cried out in prophecy: “I come as a messenger from Bellona. Victory is yours, Sulla.” He then added that the Capitol would burn.

Fourth Title: On the Fifth Age of the World

Chapter Five (continued)

After saying this, the slave immediately left the camp. On the following day he returned in a more agitated state and cried out that the Capitol had burned. It had in fact burned, and this seems to have occurred through a revelation from demons. Augustine also treats these matters in book 2, chapter 3 of *The City of God*.

Orosius also relates that Marius and Eumacus [i.e., Eumachus], commanders sent by Mithridates against Lucullus--who had conquered Armenia and Mesopotamia--quickly gathered a great army, engaged Publius Rutilius at Calcidonia [i.e., Chalcedon], and killed him together with a very large part of his army.

Lucullus, however, enclosed Mithridates with a trench while the latter was besieging the people of Cyzicus, and compelled him to suffer what he himself was inflicting. To encourage the Cyzicenes, Lucullus sent them as messenger one of his soldiers who was a skilled swimmer. Suspended upon two inflated skins, holding a little rod between them, and paddling beneath the water with his feet, he crossed seven miles.

Mithridates, suffering from want, ordered part of his armed forces to return home. Lucullus intercepted and utterly destroyed them. More than fifteen thousand men are said to have been killed then. At that time Fannius, who had joined Mithridates, and Metrophanes, the royal praetor, were defeated at amamento [i.e., Amentum] and fled to Messina with two thousand horsemen.

Meanwhile, Orosius says, after Pompey had settled affairs in Armenia, Colchis, Cappadocia, and Syria, he advanced from Pontus into Parthia and on the fiftieth day reached Ecbatana, the capital of the Parthian kingdom.

While Mithridates was celebrating the rites of Ceres in the Bosporus, an earthquake arose so suddenly that it is said to have caused great destruction in the cities and countryside. At the same time Castor, a prefect of Mithridates who commanded at Phanagoria, killed the king's friends, seized the citadel, and sent four of Mithridates's sons to the Roman garrisons.

Mithridates, inflamed with anger, blazed into crime. He slaughtered many of his friends at that time, as well as his son Exypodrus [i.e., Exipodrus] and another son, Machares, in parricidal murder. His son Phamaces [i.e., Pharnaces], terrified by his brothers' example, won over the army sent to pursue him and soon led it against his father.

For a long time Mithridates pleaded with his son in vain from the top of a very high wall. When he saw that his son was inexorable, he is said to have cried out as he was about to die: “Because Phamaces [i.e., Pharnaces] commands me to die, I pray you, gods of my ancestors, if you exist, that he too may one day hear this same command from his own children.”

He immediately descended to his wives, concubines, and daughters and gave poison to them all. He drank it last of all himself, but because of the remedies with which he had fortified his vital organs against harmful potions, the poison could not kill him. He paced about in vain, hoping that bodily movement might at last drive the infused pestilence through his veins. He then summoned a certain Gaul who was already running about after the wall had been breached and offered him his throat.

Such was the end of Mithridates, a man said to have been the most superstitious of all. He died in the seventy-second year of his age, always keeping with him philosophers and men most skilled in every art.

Helinand gives another account concerning Tigranes. When Pompey made war against Tigranes and overcame him, Tigranes surrendered. He came to Pompey's camp, sixteen miles from Ecbatana, and, after falling at Pompey's knees, placed his diadem in Pompey's hands. Pompey put it back upon him, judging it equally glorious to make kings and to conquer them. He treated Tigranes honorably, but punished him by taking away part of his kingdom and a very great sum of money. Phoenice and Sophene were taken from him, together with six thousand talents of silver that he was to give to the Roman people, because he had begun war against the Romans without cause.

§ XXVIII. The Roman Civil Wars

Augustine says in book 5, chapter 24 of *The City of God* that the beginning and cause of the Roman civil wars was the sedition raised in the city by the two tribunes called the Gracchi, of whom something was said above.

First came the civil war between Marius and Sulla, the leaders of the city's two factions. Eutropius and Orosius in book 5 say that there were three men named Marius: Gaius Marius the father, Gaius Marius his son, and Marcus Marius.

Augustine and the aforesaid historians say of the elder Marius that through him the first civil war was begun and waged. He had not inherited from his ancestors the support that enabled him to be raised to such great dignities, for although he was not noble, he was consul seven times. When he reached military age he became a paid soldier and afterward a military tribune. As he rose, he held one magistracy after another. He then served in Africa under the consul Metellus in the Romans' war against Jugurtha, king of the Numidians. At last he returned to Rome, became consul, and succeeded Metellus in the Jugurthine War.

Valerius also says of him in book 6 that he wrestled with fortune. Because he was judged inferior to the men of Arpinum in honors, he dared to seek the quaestorship at Rome; and from being so humble a Marius, an obscure Arpinate and a candidate at Rome, he emerged for Africa. He was made consul six times on account of his worth, and we do not read that he exercised great cruelty until he sought or obtained the seventh consulship. This became the occasion of the first civil war, in which he displayed excessive cruelty.

Thus, according to Orosius and Eutropius, in the 662nd year from the founding of the city, the aforesaid elder Gaius Marius, who had already been consul six times, sought a seventh consulship. At that time Sulla, who was consul, was to be sent against Mithridates, who had occupied Asia and Achaea. Marius wished both to become consul for the seventh time and to be sent against Mithridates himself. Provoked by this, Sulla came to the city with his army, fought Marius, and put him to flight. After Marius had fled, Sulla advanced into Greece against Mithridates.

Marius, fleeing and finding himself surrounded by the pressure of his pursuers, hid in the marshes of Miternenses [i.e., Minturnae]. He was wretchedly and ignominiously dragged out, handed over as a shameful spectacle to his executioners, and thrust into prison. There he so terrified the man sent to kill him merely by his face that the man did not dare to do it.

Valerius says that a stout slave who was a Cimbrian by nation was sent to kill Marius in a private chamber at the public baths. Although Marius, while waging the Romans' war against the Cimbri, had destroyed that nation; although Marius was old, unarmed, and covered in filth; and although the slave held a drawn sword in his hands, he did not dare attack him. Blinded by the famous man's splendor, he cast away the sword and fled from the place astonished and trembling.

Marius then escaped his bonds and fled to Africa. There he stirred up his son, Gaius Marius the Younger, who was being kept in custody near Utica; joined the consul Cinna in a partnership of crimes; and resolved to return to Rome with him.

They divided their army into four parts, so that three legions were given to the elder Marius. Gnaeus Carbo took another part of the army. Valerius says that he was the source of the civil evils and their most blazing torch. A part was given to Sertorius, while the remainder of the army followed the consul Cinna.

Marius therefore took the port of Ostia by force and practiced every kind of lust, avarice, and cruelty. The consul Cinna with his legions and Marius with the fugitives then entered the city. They killed all the noblest members of the Senate and many men of consular rank. They also proscribed many, destroyed Sulla's house, and forced his wife and children to flee.

Before Sulla returned, the elder Marius had the heads of murdered citizens brought to banquets, carried to the Capitol, and heaped upon the Rostra--that is, a certain place in the Forum so called--for public display. After he had forced his way into a seventh consulship while Cinna was consul for the third time, he was at last overtaken by a late death at the beginning of his consular authority. Cinna was then made consul for the fourth time and was afterward killed by his own army. Meanwhile, also before Sulla returned, Gaius Marius the Younger and Papirius Carbo were made consuls at Rome.

The elder Marius also caused the death of Octavius, who had been consul with Cinna. Cinna favored Marius's party, which Octavius detested. Therefore Octavius, after Gnaeus Pompeius had joined him, fought Sertorius, who was a Marian. The Senate had summoned this Gnaeus Pompeius with the whole army he commanded to defend the commonwealth.

Night came and ended this unhappy battle, in which many soldiers on both sides were killed. On the following day, while the mingled bodies were being separated for burial, a Pompeian soldier--that is, one who had served in Pompeius's army--recognized the body of the brother he had killed. Thus the victorious brother, more unhappy than his defeated brother, cursed his own fratricide and the civil wars. He immediately pierced his own breast, shedding tears and blood together, and threw himself upon his brother's body.

Valerius says that when this man recognized the body of the brother he had killed, he spent a long time assailing the gods with reproaches for the gift of an impious victory. Octavius himself was eventually defeated with his army and killed when Cinna and Marius were admitted into the city, and his head was placed upon the Rostra.

The Rostra was the name of a place in the city where the Forum was, namely in the Campus Martius. It was so called from the golden beaks of the ships the Romans had captured, with which it was adorned and which were affixed there as signs of victories. The Senate house was nearby, where the tribunes of the plebs held addresses and deliberations with the people. Octavius's head was therefore placed there, as in a very crowded location, so that it might be seen by many.

Valerius also says that the aforesaid Marius, with ignoble savagery, slaughtered the most noble body of Gaius Caesar, a man of consular and censorial rank, beside the tomb--that is, the burial place--of a certain most seditious and abject man. This was not, however, the great Caesar who later became emperor, but another man.

Another man named Fimbria, a notable supporter of Sulla, was also killed. Two men named Crassus, father and son, were killed by Fimbria, who belonged to Marius's party and caused their dead bodies to be mangled. Florus, in his epitome of Titus Livy, relates that the son Crassus was killed by Fimbria's cavalry. The father Crassus, lest he suffer anything unworthy of his courage, pierced himself with his sword.

Quintus Catulus, Valerius relates in book 9, had been given as fellow consul to Marius by the Senate when Marius defeated the Cimbri and Teutons. Later, because of the civil dissensions, Marius ordered him to die. Catulus immediately shut himself in a room in which lime had been heated by a great fire, and so killed himself.

At that time, Valerius reports, Lucius Cornelius Merula, a man of consular rank and flamen of Jove, cut his veins in Jove's sanctuary so that he might not become a mockery in the most insolent writings. He thereby escaped condemnation to a shameful death, and the most ancient altars were soaked with a priest's blood.

Florus says: “That seventh purple of Marius”--that is, his consulship--“produced all these deaths of senators between the Kalends and the Ides of January. What would have happened if he had completed the year of his consulship?” For according to Titus Livy he died on the Ides of January.

It should also be known that, as Orosius relates in books 5 and 6, a certain Fimbria belonged to Marius's party and was the boldest of all men, an accomplice in the Marians' crimes. At Nicomedia he killed the consul Flaccus, to whom he had been sent as legate. He then became angry with the Ilians--that is, the Trojans, who inhabited rebuilt Ilium, namely Troy, after its first destruction by the Greeks--because in their zeal for Sulla's party they had closed their gates against Fimbria and repelled him. He utterly destroyed Ilium, the parent of Rome, with fire and slaughter. Sulla nevertheless rebuilt it afterward. Finally, besieged by Sulla's army and driven by despair, Fimbria killed himself.

It should also be noted that this Marian Fimbria labored to have Mucius Scaevola killed at the funeral of the elder Marius. Valerius says in book 9 that no praise worthy of Scaevola could be returned for the holiness of his character. Fimbria inflicted a grave wound upon him, from which Scaevola nevertheless afterward recovered.

When Fimbria learned this, he said that he wished to prosecute Scaevola. Asked what accusation he meant to make against him, he answered that he wished to charge him with having received the weapon too sparingly into his body. This Scaevola was at last killed by the other man. For Florus relates in his epitome of Titus Livy that the praetor dasamadypsis [i.e., Damasippus], after convening the Senate at the will of the consul Gaius Marius, slaughtered all the nobility then in the city. Among them was Quintus Mucius Scaevola, the chief pontiff, who was killed while fleeing in the vestibule of the temple of Vesta, namely the goddess.

Orosius likewise relates in books 5 and 6 that the praetor dasamadypsis [i.e., Damasippus], with the consul Marius as instigator, summoned Quintus Scaevola, Domitius, Publius Autestius [i.e., Antistius], and Carbo into the Senate house as though for consultation, and cruelly killed them. Their bodies were dragged with hooks and cast into the Tiber. Augustine touches upon these events in book 3, chapter 28 of *The City of God*.

Here it should be known that there were two notable citizens called Carbo. One was a consul and one of the principal men of the Marian party. The other was a senator on Sulla's side, and his death is the one treated here. Yet the other too was afterward killed by the Sullans.

§ XXIX. Sulla, Marius's Adversary: His Character and Cruelty

Orosius in book 5 and Valerius in book 9 say: “No one can with sufficient truth either praise or condemn Lucius Sulla, because when he sought victories he resembled the Scipios, but when he exercised victory he represented Hannibal.” He ennobled the commonwealth he had defended with outstanding authority, but cruelly flooded the whole city and every part of Italy with streams of civil blood. Indeed, he ordered the severed heads of wretched men, all but retaining countenance and breath, to be brought into his sight, so that he might consume with his eyes what it was impious to consume with his mouth.

When the Senate asked him to return to the city to judge and save the fatherland from the tyranny of Marius described above, Sulla conducted himself worse than Marius and killed more citizens. Lucan marks this in book 2 when he says: “And while he cuts away limbs already too rotten, he exceeds the measure of medicine,” and so forth.

Although Sulla seemed to have a just cause for war against Marius, namely to free the city from his tyranny, he nevertheless behaved with excessive cruelty, pouring out too much blood and entangling the innocent with the guilty.

He returned from Asia, where he had fought bravely against Mithridates and defeated him. Eutropius says that in the first engagement Sulla so defeated Archelaus, Mithridates's commander in Asia, who had 120,000 men, that scarcely ten of so great a multitude survived with Archelaus; Sulla himself lost only eleven men. In a second engagement he fought the same commander,

who had seventy thousand chosen troops, and killed fifteen thousand of the enemy together with Archelaus's son. In a third engagement he annihilated all Archelaus's forces, while Archelaus himself hid naked in the marshes for three days. Mithridates afterward sought peace, which Sulla granted him on certain conditions.

When Sulla was preparing to return to the city and avenge the injuries inflicted upon him by the Marian party, a messenger from Jove was sent to him, namely a certain soldier of the sixth legion. The man said that he was Jove's messenger, and Sulla asked in what form Jove had appeared to him. When he described it, Sulla recognized that Jove had appeared in the same form to another messenger sent to him before.

Likewise, when Sulla was returning from Greece and passed through Tarentum toward Rome, a haruspex saw a crown in the entrails of animals that Sulla had sacrificed to discover the outcome of the war, and interpreted it as a sign of his future victory.

In ancient times various crowns were given according to the character of the victories. The triumphal crowns sent to commanders in honor of a triumph, however, were of gold. At first they were made from laurel; afterward they were made from gold. All these things, however, occurred through the mockery or deception of demons.

Frontinus says in book 1 that when Sulla had an army fully prepared to fight, victory was foretold to him by the gods, and so he offered incense. Finally, before descending into battle and in sight of the army, he prayed to a small image that he had taken from the temple of Apollo at Delphi. He asked it to hasten the victory it had promised him.

Fourth Title: On the Fifth Age of the World

Chapter Five (continued)

Sulla therefore returned to the city and fought against Marius the Younger, son of the Marius who had already died. Fifteen thousand men of Marius's party were killed, while Sulla lost four hundred of his own. Sulla then brought his standard to the Colline Gate and killed eighty thousand men. After entering the city, he killed three thousand unarmed men contrary to the pledge he had given.

When Sulla struck the guilty and innocent alike with great cruelty, Quintus Catulus said to him openly: “With whom shall we live at last, if we kill armed men in war and defenseless men in peace?”

Sulla then ordered Marcus Marius to be dragged from a goatherd's hut and bound. He had him led across the Tiber and butchered after his eyes had been gouged out and his limbs mutilated, cut, or broken. Seeing this, Marius the Younger despaired and offered his neck to his slave, who killed him.

Again fighting against the Marian party at the Colline Gate, Sulla faced seventy thousand men. Twelve thousand of them surrendered to him, and in his insatiable anger he destroyed the rest.

The other consul, Carbo, fled from Ariminum to Sicily and was killed there by Gnaeus Pompey. Orosius, however, says in book 5 that Pompey, who was a Sullan, drew the aforesaid Carbo back to Sicily when Carbo wished to flee from Corsica to Egypt, and there killed him with his other companions.

Valerius also relates in book 9 that Sulla cruelly flooded the whole city and every part of Italy with civil blood. Four legions of the opposing party had followed his pledged word--that is, they trusted in the immunity he had promised them. In vain they implored mercy at a public villa in the Campus Martius, for he ordered them killed, and their bodies, mangled by the sword, were cast into the Tiber.

Five thousand men of Praeneste were summoned outside the municipal walls with the hope of safety. After throwing away their weapons, they prostrated themselves on the ground. Sulla had them killed and caused their bodies to be scattered through the fields. Hence Lucan says in book 2: “Fortune saw all her Praenestine colonists received at once upon the sword.” Orosius relates that the reason for this was that Marius the Younger had held out against Sulla in the city of Praeneste and that the city had favored his party.

Sulla entered 4,600 persons upon public tablets, to be slaughtered under his dreadful edict of proscription, so that the memory of this deed might be preserved.

Orosius relates in book 5 concerning tablets of this kind that after Quintus Catulus rebuked Sulla for the excessive killing, Sulla ordered Lucio Farcidio [i.e., Lucius; Farsidius] to prepare the infamous tablet of proscription. The first proscription was of eighty men, among whom were four who had been consuls or were worthy of the consulship: Carbo, Marius, Gaius Marius, Urbanus, and Scipio. Sertonius [i.e., Sertorius], who was then feared above all, was also among them.

Another proscription of five hundred men was then posted. Valerius, who knew himself guilty of nothing, read it; when he saw his own name among those listed and wished to flee with a price set upon his head, he was killed. Nor did these tablets seem to set an end to the killing. Sulla's slaves slaughtered some whom he had not proscribed, while they killed others first and proscribed them afterward.

The writers therefore differ concerning the number of the proscribed. Augustine, together with Florus, gives two thousand in book 13, chapter 28 of *The City of God*. Valerius gives 4,700, but Orosius gives only 580. These figures are not entirely contradictory, because they can be understood as referring to different tablets. Those were said to be proscribed who had been sentenced as enemies of the commonwealth and whom citizens were permitted to kill.

According to Florus in book 3, a certain Marian named Baebius was also torn apart without a sword by the hands of the Sullans. Perhaps this happened because another man of the same name, a Sullan Baebius, had been treated in this way by the Marians. The Sullans therefore tore this Marian Baebius apart in the same manner, as if in vengeance for the other.

Two cities in Spain were also destroyed by the Sullans because they had favored the Marians and, together with the aforesaid Marians, had offered strong resistance for a long time, even after the war against Sertonius [i.e., Sertorius] had ended. Pompey overthrew one of them, called Eximia; Africanus took the other, called Calaburna, after a long siege and destroyed it by fire. Florus also relates that Sulla ordered the ancient city of Sulmo condemned and destroyed after its citizens had been killed.

Valerius relates in book 9 concerning Sulla's death that, while obeying the vice of anger, he at last poured out his own life with much blood because of the Puteolans--that is, while indignant against them. The money promised by the decurions for restoring the Capitol was being paid too slowly. In the excessive agitation of his mind and the immoderate violence of his voice, his breast vomited forth his breath mixed with blood. It is therefore uncertain whether Sulla or Sulla's anger was extinguished first.

The Civil Wars of Sertonius [i.e., Sertorius] and Catiline

Sertonius [i.e., Sertorius] was a Marian, whereas Catiline was a Sullan.

After Sulla proscribed Sertonius [i.e., Sertorius], Orosius relates in book 5, Sertonius [i.e., Sertorius]--being a man powerful in cunning and boldness--fled Sulla and came from Africa into Spain. There he stirred the most warlike peoples to arms. Two commanders, Metellus and Domitius, were sent against him. Hirtuleius, a commander of Sertonius [i.e., Sertorius], overwhelmed Domitius and his army. Metellus, wearied by many battles, also wore down the enemy until he joined Pompey's camp.

Pompey gathered an army and most bloodily plundered the city of Lauro. Pompey had thirty thousand foot soldiers and eight thousand horsemen. Sertonius [i.e., Sertorius] then engaged Pompey and killed ten thousand of his foot soldiers, although Sertonius [i.e., Sertorius] himself lost the same number.

Many battles were fought between them. Memmius, Pompey's quaestor and brother-in-law, was killed. The brothers Herculis and Herculei [i.e., Hirtuleius] were killed, and Yppenna [i.e., Perpenna], who had joined Sertonius [i.e., Sertorius], was crushed. Finally, in the tenth year after the war began, Sertonius [i.e., Sertorius] was killed through the treachery of his own men and brought the war to an end. Afterward the cities that had favored Sertonius [i.e., Sertorius] surrendered; two resisted and were destroyed. Augustine touches upon these matters in book 13, chapter 30 of *The City of God*, and also upon Lepidus and Catulus.

Orosius says of the latter in book 5 that after Sulla died, Lepidus, an advocate and defender of the Marian party, rose against Catulus, a Sullan commander, and rekindled the ashes of civil war. Then twice in battle an ally was exhorted, and very many Romans were killed. The city of the Albans was besieged and tormented by famine. Scipio, son of Lepidus, was then captured and killed there. Brutus was killed near Rhegium while Pompey pursued him. Thus this civil war vanished with the same speed with which it had flared up.

§ XXX. Catiline

Catiline was a Sullan and had been nurtured by Sulla. Sallust wrote a book about him called the *Catilinarian*.

Cicero and Sallust say that Catiline was distinguished above all by his wicked lust. Driven by love for Aurelia Oristilla [i.e., Orestilla], he saw a single impediment preventing their marriage: his own son, the only son he had and already of adult age. He removed him with poison.

Cicero says of him in the invectives: “What evil or crime can be imagined or conceived that he did not conceive? What poisoner in all Italy, what gladiator, what robber, what hired killer, what parricide, what woman, what ruined person can be found who admits that he lived on the most intimate terms with Catiline?”

The aforesaid Lucius Sergius Catiline was therefore a man of the noblest family but of the worst disposition. Sallust says that his character was exceedingly vicious and that, oppressed by debt, he led a wretched life. So great a desire to rule the commonwealth invaded him that he considered nothing forbidden, provided only that he might attain his purpose.

He therefore formed a conspiracy of many men, whom he had promised to enrich by slaughter and plunder. He had a very strong army with which he had planned to kill the two consuls Lutius Coccum [i.e., Lucius; Cotta] and Lucius Torquatus and seize the consulship.

Thus, in the 789th year from the founding of the city, he conspired with certain most illustrious and daring men to destroy the fatherland. While Marcus Tullius Cicero the orator and Gnaeus Antonius were consuls, Cicero exposed Catiline's conspiracy and expelled him from the city. His associates were apprehended and strangled in the fortress [read: prison]. Catiline was defeated in battle by the other consul, Antonius, and was killed with his men, as is said, on the plain of Pistoria.

Sallust says: “When the battle was finished, you could then perceive how much boldness and how much force of spirit had been in Catiline's army. Among them there was no freeborn man who either fled or could be captured alive.” Catiline himself was found far from his own men among the corpses of the enemy, still breathing a little and retaining in his face the ferocity of spirit he had possessed while alive. Augustine touches upon these matters in book 2, chapter 23 and book 3, chapter 30 of *The City of God*.

Cicero likewise says of Catiline: “He possessed many signs of the greatest virtues, not expressed but merely sketched. He associated with wicked men, yet pretended to be devoted to the best men. I think there was never such a monster on earth, compounded of inclinations and desires so contrary, diverse, and mutually opposed. Who was sometimes more delightful among distinguished men? Who was more closely joined to the shameful? Who was sometimes a better citizen? Who was a worse enemy of the city? Who was more polluted in pleasures? Who more patient in labors? Who more bitter in rapacity? Who more lavish in giving?”

“This too was remarkable in him: he could turn and govern his nature for the occasion, twisting and bending it this way and that. With the austere he lived severely; with the easygoing, pleasantly; with the old, gravely; with the young, courteously; with criminals, boldly; with the luxurious, luxuriously.”

“O great power of truth, which easily defends itself by itself against the abilities, cunning, and cleverness of all, and against all fabricated snares.” Thus Cicero.

§ XXXI. The Wars More Than Civil Between Pompey and Caesar

Pompey belonged to Sulla's party, but Julius Caesar to Marius's. Lucan says of them at the beginning of his book: “Wars more than civil over the Emathian plains, and right granted to crime,” and so forth.

By “the Emathian plains” he means the plains of Thessaly, where most of the fighting occurred and much blood was poured out. Hence “Emathia” is interpreted as “blood.” He calls the wars “more than civil” because they were fought not only between citizens but also between relatives by marriage. Julius Caesar was the father-in-law and Pompey his son-in-law. After Caesar's daughter Julia, whom Pompey had married, died, they waged many wars against one another. Lucan adds that “right was granted to crime” because the law of civic fellowship and marriage affinity was turned into crime.

Pompey was called “the Great” because of the greatness of his valor. He had waged war in the East against twenty-two kings, all of whom he defeated and subjected to the Romans. He also obtained victory while waging wars against Sertonius [i.e., Sertorius], and earlier, after long wars that Mithridates, king of Asia, brought upon the Romans, Pompey defeated him as well.

Augustine also says of Pompey in book 18, chapter 45 of *The City of God*: after the deeds of the Maccabees, Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, sons of Alexander and Alexandra, fought one another for the kingdom. This Alexander had been king and high priest among the Jewish people, as had his father Aristobulus, who was the first after the Babylonian captivity to assume a diadem and be both king and high priest.

Hyrcanus sought the aid of the Romans against his brother. Pompey, the most renowned prince of the Roman people, entered Judea with an army and captured the city of Jerusalem. He opened the temple not with the devotion of a suppliant but by the right of a victor. He approached the Holy of Holies, where no one but the high priest was permitted to enter, not as a venerator but as a profaner.

He confirmed Hyrcanus in the high priesthood, imposed Antipater as guardian over the subjected nation--such guardians were then called procurators--and led Aristobulus away with him in chains. From that day the Jews began to be tributaries of the Romans.

Crassus afterward also plundered the temple. A few years later the Jews deserved to have the foreign-born Herod as king, under whom Christ was born. Thus Augustine.

Faustus Cornelius, son of Sulla, was the first who dared to enter the temple, as Vincent relates in book 6. The Romans who rushed in after him profaned the temple itself or, as is read elsewhere, stabled horses in its porticoes.

For this reason, Peter Comestor in particular says that from that time onward Pompey never fought without being defeated, although until then he had been most fortunate. Pompey admired the temple's location and adornment and its religion. Nevertheless, he took nothing from it and commanded its custodians to cleanse the temple of filth.

Fourth Title: On the Fifth Age of the World

Chapter Five (continued)

§ XXXII. Julius Caesar

Julius Caesar was the most energetic of all mortals of his time. The Senate had decreed that he should wage war against the Gauls. When that war was finished, after he had subjected all Gaul and was returning victorious to Rome, he asked before approaching the city that a second consulship be given to him. He had already been consul once and sought to become consul a second time, indicating in his request that this must certainly be granted to him.

Marcellus, who was then consul, Pompey, and Latho [i.e., Cato] opposed him. Caesar was ordered to dismiss the armies he possessed and return to the city. By the consul's authority certain legions were entrusted to Pompey, as though he would command a future war against Julius Caesar if Caesar wished to take up arms.

Julius ranged through various regions, even as far as Spain, and gathered a very large and powerful army. The consuls, the whole Senate, and all the nobility fled to Greece. Gathering near Epirus, they resolved to make war upon Julius there if he came into Greece.

Caesar came, engaged Pompey, and was defeated and put to flight. He nevertheless escaped because, when night arrived, Pompey was unwilling to pursue him for fear of an ambush. Caesar then said that Pompey did not know how to conquer and that Caesar could have been defeated only on that day.

They afterward fought in Thessaly. Never before had Roman forces so numerous, or commanded by better leaders, assembled together; they could easily have subjected the whole world. At last, after a long battle of doubtful fortune, Pompey's entire army fled. Pompey himself was also put to flight and went to Alexandria in Egypt, hoping to receive aid from Ptolemy, king of Egypt. Ptolemy instead sent Pompey's severed head and his ring to Caesar.

Afterward Pompey's son, daughter, and descendants were killed. Many battles and great slaughters of men followed in various regions as Caesar pursued those who had belonged to Pompey's party. This war continuously held the whole world for four years. These things have been extracted from Orosius and Eutropius.

§ XXXIII. Latho [i.e., Cato]

When Latho [i.e., Cato] learned that Pompey, whose party he favored, had been defeated by Caesar and beheaded by the king of Egypt, he gathered the remnants of Pompey's army and fled into Africa after placing his people aboard a thousand ships.

He led them about through sandy and serpent-filled places. Many of his men were exhausted by hunger, thirst, and heat, and many others were destroyed by serpents. He and all who followed him suffered such misery that most of them repented of having been from Julius Caesar, as Lucan says.

At last, when Latho [i.e., Cato] saw Caesar prospering in everything and Pompey's party yielding everywhere, he killed himself at Utica rather than submit to Caesar in any way, although he knew that Caesar was of extraordinary clemency. Florus says that after dismissing his son and companions from his embrace, after Plato's book that teaches the immortality of the soul had been read at night by lamplight, Latho [i.e., Cato] rested a little. Then, about the first watch, he drew his sword, uncovered his breast with his hand, and struck it once and again.

After this, physicians dared to violate the man with their remedies. He allowed them to do so, but when they departed he tore the wounds open again. As the force of his blood followed, he left his dying hands fixed in the wound.

Although Florus, Valerius, and some others praise this deed as though Latho [i.e., Cato] had acted energetically and virtuously, Augustine in book 19 and other saints do not judge such a death to have been virtuous or glorious. They ascribe it not to fortitude but to impatience.

Augustine also proves this in book 1, chapter 23 of *The City of God* from the fact that Latho [i.e., Cato] persuaded his own dearest son to submit to Caesar and to hope for everything from Caesar's kindness. If it was evil to submit to Caesar, why did he persuade the son whom he loved most to submit to him? If it was not evil, why did Latho [i.e., Cato] commit the greatest crime--killing himself--so as not to be subject to Caesar?

Valerius relates in book 5 that when Caesar heard of Latho [i.e., Cato]'s death, he said both that he envied Latho [i.e., Cato]'s glory and that Latho [i.e., Cato] had begrudged his own glory to his father. Caesar nevertheless preserved Latho [i.e., Cato]'s patrimony intact for his children.

It should be known that many men were called Latho [i.e., Cato]. Thus there was in the city a certain house or kinship group of the Lathos [i.e., Catos], just as there were houses of the Scipios, Fabricii, Fabii, and many similar families.

According to Valerius, the first to ennoble the house of the Lathos [i.e., Catos] was the Latho [i.e., Cato] called Censorius. According to Hugh, *censorius* means the same as "judge of morals," and this Latho [i.e., Cato] was therefore called Censorius because he was a judge of morals. That house was distinguished by the upright men who proceeded from it.

Gellius says that the family of the Lathos [i.e., Catos] produced not one but several grandsons of Marcus Latho [i.e., Cato] Censorius, born from different fathers. That Latho [i.e., Cato], who was both orator and censor, had two sons by different mothers and of widely differing ages. When one was already a young man and his mother had died, Latho [i.e., Cato] himself, though very old, married the virgin daughter of his client Solini [i.e., Salonius]. From her Marcus Latho [i.e., Cato] Solomanus [i.e., Salonianus] was born.

From Latho [i.e., Cato]'s elder son--who was designated praetor, died while his father still lived, and left distinguished books on military discipline--was born Marcus Latho [i.e., Cato], a forceful orator who left many written speeches. He went to Africa as consul and died there. He too had an elder son named Latho [i.e., Cato], though not the one who died at Utica, but the one who, after being aedile and praetor, went to Narbonese Gaul and died there.

From the censor's other son, the younger son called Solomanus [i.e., Salonianus], were born Lucius Latho [i.e., Cato] and Marcus Latho [i.e., Cato] the praetor, who killed himself at Utica during the civil war. When Cicero wrote about this man's life and praises, he called him the great-grandson of Latho [i.e., Cato] Censorius. Thus Gellius.

Among the Lathos [i.e., Catos], two were more distinguished: Latho [i.e., Cato] Censorius, who was the first of those named, and Latho [i.e., Cato] of Utica, the last of those named. The latter was called Uticensis from Utica, the city of Africa where he killed himself.

It should also be noted that, besides this Latho [i.e., Cato] of Utica, there was another Latho [i.e., Cato], a Stoic philosopher, who according to Eusebius killed himself in the forty-first year of Augustus's rule from weariness with a double quartan fever, hoping to find a better life after this one.

Some believe that he was the Latho [i.e., Cato] who composed the book that children learn in grammar schools. But, as Valesius says upon book 1 of *The City of God*, this cannot be so, because that book mentions Lucan in the verse: "If you wish to know the Roman and Punic wars, seek Lucan," and so forth. The poet Lucan lived about the time of Augustus.

§ XXXIV. Julius Caesar: His Character, Battles, and Death

According to Suetonius in his book on the seven Caesars, Julius Caesar is said to have been tall, fair in complexion, well formed in his limbs, with a somewhat full face and black and lively eyes. His health was good, except that he was accustomed suddenly to faint or even to be terrified in his sleep.

He bore the disfigurement of baldness very badly, having often found it subject to the mockery of his detractors. He therefore used to comb his thinning hair forward from the crown of his head. Not even his enemies denied that he drank wine very sparingly.

He was so indifferent about food that when a host once served rancid oil in place of fresh and the others rejected it, Caesar alone took an even more generous portion, lest he appear to accuse his host of either rusticity or avarice.

He possessed marvelous eloquence, through which he either equaled or surpassed the glory of the most excellent speakers. He left commentaries on his own deeds. Cicero says of them: "He wrote commentaries that are indeed greatly to be approved. They are bare, direct, and graceful, with every ornament of speech stripped away as though it were clothing."

He was most skilled in arms and horsemanship and endured labor beyond belief. While the column was marching he would sometimes ride but more often go ahead on foot, bareheaded whether there was sun or rain. He covered the longest journeys with incredible speed. If rivers delayed him, he crossed by swimming or by supporting himself upon inflated skins, so that he very often arrived before the messengers sent to announce him.

In a doubtful battle he would send the horses away, first of all his own, so that by removing the aid of flight he might impose upon everyone a greater necessity to remain.

He rode a remarkable horse whose feet were almost human and whose hooves were split like toes. The horse permitted no other rider, and Caesar was the first to mount it.

He often restored a wavering battle line by himself, standing in the way of those who fled, holding individual men back, and even seizing them by the throat and turning them toward the enemy.

During the assault upon the bridge at Alexandria, when a sudden enemy attack forced him into a small boat and many men threw themselves into it with him, he leapt into the sea. He escaped by swimming two hundred paces to the nearest ship, holding up his left hand so that the documents he carried would not become wet and dragging his general's cloak in his teeth so that the enemy would not obtain it as a trophy.

He behaved with the greatest restraint toward both his subordinates and his equals. Hence Suetonius says of him: “He neither observed every offense nor punished it in proportion. He was the sharpest investigator and punisher of deserters and the seditious, but restrained himself in other cases.”

After a great battle and victory he never permitted everyone unrestricted license to behave wantonly. In public address he did not call his soldiers merely “soldiers,” but by the more flattering name “fellow soldiers.” He kept them so well equipped that he adorned their weapons with polished silver and gold, both for appearance and so that they would fight more tenaciously from fear of losing them.

He always treated his friends with such favor and indulgence that when Gaius Oppius, accompanying him on a journey through the woods, was suddenly overtaken by illness, Caesar yielded to him the only lodging that existed there and himself slept upon the ground in the open air.

He never adopted enmities so grave that he would not gladly lay them aside when an opportunity to forget them arose. In exacting vengeance too, he was by nature most gentle.

He fought many battles against different peoples, especially against the Germans and Gauls, whom he defeated. Julius Celsus says of the Gauls' character: “Just as the spirit of all Gauls is eager and ready to undertake wars, so it is soft and offers very little resistance in enduring calamities. They often form plans concerning the greatest affairs of which they must immediately repent, since they are slaves to no settled customs and most people give deceptive answers according to their wishes. The Gauls' plans are therefore sudden and abrupt, for nearly all of them pursue revolution and are quickly and readily stirred to war.”

Helinand says that the warlike nation of the Belgae--that is, of the Gauls and Britons--blazed up against Caesar. Among them, the Bellovagi [i.e., Bellovaci], superior to the others in number and courage, had sixty thousand picked armed men. The Suessiones from twelve towns had fifty thousand, and the Numeri [i.e., Nervii] the same number; the Atrebates and Ambiani had ten thousand. The Morini had thirty-five thousand, the Merapi [i.e., Menapii] nine thousand, and the Caleti ten thousand. The Veliocasses and Viromandui had ten thousand, and the Adnatici [i.e., Aduatuci] eighteen thousand. The Adueles, Burenes [i.e., Eburones], Caeroesi, and Ceromani [i.e., Caemani], who by a single name were called Germans, had forty thousand. In total they are said to have been 282,000 picked armed men, nearly all of whom were destroyed to annihilation.

Afterward, near Ottodorum [i.e., Octodurus], when Caesar had resolved to depart for Italy, more than thirty thousand barbarians are reported to have been cut down by the legion Galba commanded, which Caesar had sent among the Bangros [i.e., Nantuates] and Seduni. Thirty-eight thousand Aquitanians and Cantabrians are reported to have been cut down. Caesar is next said to have killed forty thousand Germans.

Julius Celsus says that when Caesar determined to cross the river Rhine, he thought it neither safe enough to cross in ships nor consistent with his own dignity or that of the Roman people. Although the river's breadth and swiftness presented the greatest difficulty in building a bridge, he nevertheless judged that the army should not be brought across in any other way. Thus in a short time he caused a bridge of marvelous design and very strong construction to be built. Caesar led his army across it and hastened into the territory of the Sicambrorum [i.e., Sugambri].

From there he departed for Britain. Orosius says that Caesar's cavalry was defeated by the Britons in the first engagement. In the second battle, with great danger to his own men, he defeated the Britons and turned them to flight. Thereafter the very strong city of the Ternovatum [i.e., Trinovantes], under the leadership of Mandrogeo [i.e., Mandubracius], surrendered to Caesar after giving forty hostages, and the other cities followed its example.

Orosius relates these and many other things concerning Caesar's Gallic War. Julius Celsus also wrote fully about it in five books devoted to the subject, where he gave these notable sayings: “Experience is the teacher of all things. We gladly believe what we wish, and we hope that others themselves feel what we feel. It is natural for all people to be incited by the love of liberty and to hate the conditions of servitude.”

The same writer says: “Anger and rashness are especially innate in the Gallic people, so that they regard a slight report as a proven fact. The Gauls are open men and not at all deceitful, accustomed to fight by courage and not by guile.”

Eutropius says of Caesar in book 6 that he was a man more brilliant than any who had ever lived. With his standards gathered--that is, with his battle lines deployed and arranged--he fought fifty times.

Fourth Title: On the Fifth Age of the World

Chapter Five (continued)

Caesar was of such goodness that he conquered by clemency, even more than by arms, those whom he had subjected with weapons.

After settling the civil wars throughout the world, he returned to Rome and began to act with greater insolence and contrary to the custom of Roman liberty. He bestowed according to his own will honors that had formerly been conferred by the people, did not rise when the Senate came to him, and did certain royal and almost tyrannical things.

Brutus and Cassius therefore instigated a conspiracy against him, of which 260 Roman senators and knights were aware. Caesar died in the Senate house, pierced by twenty-four wounds.

Suetonius says that when Caesar perceived drawn daggers attacking him from every side, he wrapped his toga around his head and at the same time drew its fold down to his feet with his left hand, so that he might fall more honorably with the lower part of his body also covered. He was thus pierced by twenty-three wounds, uttering only a wordless groan at the first blow.

He was killed in the fifty-sixth year of his age, after ruling for five years. The Roman people, stirred by grief, wished to burn the Capitol together with the authors of the crime. His body was burned before the Rostra.

The people erected in the Forum a solid statue of an enormous stone, nearly twenty feet high, above which he was buried and which was called the Julia. The chronicles say that when he was killed, letters warning him of the conspiracy were found in his hand; if he had read them, he would certainly have taken precautions.

Augustine says in book 3, chapter 30 of *The City of God* that the conspiracy wished to kill him as one who sought kingship. In truth, after the kings had been expelled, he was the first to govern the Roman commonwealth as though he were king and emperor. This was very hateful to the Romans as something opposed to their ancient liberty, because before this the Senate and people performed everything by themselves or through others under their authority.

Suetonius says that almost none of Caesar's assassins survived him by more than three years or died a natural death. All were condemned. Each perished by a different misfortune, some by shipwreck and some in battle. Several killed themselves with the same dagger with which they had violated Caesar.

Many portents preceded Caesar's death. Suetonius says that a few months before it, when colonists brought into a colony were breaking open very ancient tombs in order to extend their country houses--and pursued the work more eagerly because they kept finding vessels of ancient workmanship--a bronze tablet was found in a monument in which Capys, founder of Capua, was said to have been buried. It bore Greek letters and words with this meaning: “Whenever the bones of Capys are uncovered, a descendant of Julius shall be killed by the hands of his kindred and soon avenged by great disasters throughout Italy.”

On the day before the Ides of March, birds of various kinds pursued a little wren carrying a laurel twig into the Curia of Pompey from a nearby grove, and tore it apart there.

On the night before the day of the killing, Caesar dreamed that he sometimes flew above the clouds and joined his right hand with Jove's. His wife Calpurnia imagined that the roof of the house collapsed and that her husband was stabbed in her lap. Suddenly the doors of the bedroom opened of their own accord.

The Comestor says that one hundred days before Caesar's death a thunderbolt fell beside his statue in the Forum and knocked the capital letter C from his name inscribed above it. On the night before the day of his death, the windows of his bedchamber opened with so great a noise that he leapt up, thinking the house was about to fall. Thus Caesar's ambition ended together with his glory.

§ XXXV. The Origin of Florence

Lest I seem entirely forgetful of the origin of our city, namely Florence, I shall touch briefly upon it by repeating what that most eloquent man Leonardo of Arezzo writes about it in polished language at the beginning of his *History of Florence*.

The Romans founded the city of Florence, having been brought to Faesulae by Lucius Sulla. These men were Sullan soldiers, to whom part of the territory of Faesulae had been allotted for the outstanding service they performed with the others in the civil war. Faesulae, together with its ancient inhabitants, was handed over to them as a place of settlement. The Romans called these transfers of citizens and assignments of land “colonies,” because estates for cultivation and homes for habitation were given to them.

For an understanding of the matter, the occasion for bringing new colonists into these places must be explained. Not many years before Sulla's dictatorship, almost all the peoples of Italy defected from the Romans at the same time. They were moved by indignation because, although they served alongside the Romans in every campaign and endured labors and dangers to enlarge the empire, they were increasingly excluded from its rewards.

They therefore complained among themselves more and more often. At last envoys were sent concerning the common matter and demanded that honors and magistracies be granted to them as though they were members of the citizen body. Marcus Drusus, tribune of the plebs, took up this cause, and for some time it was prolonged in doubtful hope. But when their demands were at last rejected, they openly rebelled as though against ungrateful men and waged the war called the Social War because it was waged by the allies.

When the Roman people at length prevailed in that war, they pursued the provinces that had taken the lead in rebellion and afflicted them with many disasters. They raged especially against the Picentes and Tuscans. Asculum, the most flourishing city of the Picentes, was ravaged by the Romans as though it were an enemy city, and in Tuscany Clusium was razed to the ground. In addition to the damage and slaughter of war, great calamities were inflicted upon the people of Arretium and Faesulae. The goods of many were confiscated, many people were driven into exile, and the cities were left almost empty of inhabitants.

This was the occasion, and as it were an invitation, for Sulla afterward, as dictator, to assign these places above all to his soldiers. In this manner Lucius Sulla brought soldiers into Faesulae and divided the fields among them man by man.

Most of them judged the mountain city, difficult of access and especially unnecessary amid the security of Roman rule, to be of little use to them. Leaving the mountain, they began to construct buildings and dwell upon the nearby plain below it, along the banks of the rivers Arno and Munionis [i.e., Mugnone].

Because the new city lay between two streams, they first called it Fluentia, and its inhabitants were called Fluctini [i.e., Fluentini]. That name seems to have belonged to the city for some time, until, as its fortunes increased and the city grew to a greater size--or because it flourished with marvelous success--they called it Florentia instead of Fluentia.

Cicero and Sallust, two of the foremost authors of the Latin language, mention these colonists. Cicero affirms that they had been excellent Roman citizens and most courageous men, but, enriched by unexpected and sudden wealth through the civil war and Sulla, they did not know how to observe moderation in their expenses. While they built as though they were blessed and used great households, great banquets, lavish expenditures, and costly furnishings too extravagantly, they fell so deeply into debt that if they wished to free themselves, Sulla would have to be raised again for them from the dead.

Indeed, from the magnificent things that the father of Latin eloquence writes about their buildings, I infer that splendid foundations were laid for this city from its very cradle. Remains of ancient works survive even today, amid the admirable magnificence of the city in our own time. These include the aqueduct through which water gathered at the seventh milestone was conducted into the city, and an enormous theater for public games, which was then placed outside the walls but is now enclosed within the city itself and occupied by private buildings.

There is also the temple in which the baptistery now stands, an ancient and truly outstanding work that paganism consecrated to Mars. I should believe that private buildings also corresponded to this public magnificence, although less evidence of the private structures remains. As we said, the unrivaled remains of the public works bear witness to it.

While the colonists were occupied with these buildings and with the other splendor of life that Cicero recalls, neither looking ahead to the future nor sparing what they had gained, their money soon failed, as happens. At the same time their single hope of further largesse vanished: Lucius Sulla had departed not only from the dictatorship but also from life.

Partly driven by need and partly by their accustomed rewards, they therefore hoped that some new disturbance would arise. They were military men habituated to civil war and knew no way to remain at peace. Once more they pondered new dictatorships and new rewards of war. Debt too supplied another spur, one that is accustomed to give even timid men courage to disturb the peace.

By chance, at that time Lucius Chatellina [i.e., Catiline] undertook a revolution at Rome and entered into a great conspiracy against the commonwealth. It included many men of the equestrian order, many of the senatorial order, and some of patrician birth. Suspicion also touched Gaius Caesar, the man who afterward became dictator. At that time he was believed to desire revolution not only because he was a private citizen but also because he was burdened with debt.

Chatellina [i.e., Catiline] first attempted to accomplish many things at Rome. When these attempts succeeded poorly, he left part of the conspirators within the city to carry out what he had prescribed, while he determined to depart with the others and stir up war outside it.

At first he had planned to occupy Penestre [i.e., Praeneste] in a nocturnal attack and establish the seat of war there. But when he perceived that city to be more diligently guarded, he changed his plan and chose Faesulae instead of Penestre [i.e., Praeneste]. Departing from Rome and coming to these very places, he enveloped the whole region in war and arms.

This was the first danger and almost the final crisis of the city while it was still young and newly founded. Yet it escaped in such a manner that I would indeed say the event proved advantageous. Lentulus, Cetheus [i.e., Cethegus], and the other leaders of the conspiracy whom Chatellina [i.e., Catiline] had left at Rome tried to admit more people into partnership in the crime. Betrayed by the ambassadors of the Allobroges and convicted in the Senate, they were at last subjected to the ultimate punishment and perished.

When Chatellina [i.e., Catiline] heard this, because his hope was now broken and his undertaking seemed destined to fall uselessly, he tried to flee into Gaul. Surrounded by Roman armies and compelled to risk the fortune of battle, he was killed with his men in the territory of Pistoria.

In Etruria, from the earliest Roman wars down to these times, many cities and large towns that had formerly possessed authority had perished. Caere, Tarquinii, Populonia, and Luna had once been great cities situated along the shore of the Lower Sea. In the inland region there was Vehi [i.e., Veii], which I wrote above was besieged by the Romans for ten years. Rusellae, Capena, and Falerii likewise failed altogether. Clusium and Faesulae were little removed from destruction.

Some have handed down that Florence was destroyed by Attila, king of the Huns, while others say by Totila, and that it was restored a long time afterward by Charlemagne. It is, however, more than sufficiently established for us that Attila, king of the Huns, never entered Etruria and never advanced beyond the inicium river [i.e., Mincius], which flows from Lake Benacus into the Po.

We show, however, that Totila, king of the Goths, raged against the Etruscan cities that had defected from the Goths after Belisarius's victory. I am thus led to believe that, through confusion of names, some people mistakenly took Attila for Totila.

Besides Florence's recent defection, an old grief is thought to have inflamed Totila's mind to destroy the city: so many thousands of Goths had long before fallen near it with their commander Radagaso [i.e., Radagaisus]. By stirring up the memory of this event in his mind, Totila wished to remove Florence, which while it stood existed in Etruria like a trophy set up over his people.

If these things are so, this city must have lain overthrown for more than two hundred years between Totila and Charlemagne. In this matter one will reasonably wonder: if the city was left empty of people for so long a time, in what places were its citizens preserved in the meantime?

It is utterly vain to believe that Charlemagne brought new inhabitants from Rome, especially when Rome was entangled in so many calamities and already so afflicted by many disasters that it needed a supply of inhabitants itself rather than being able to give them to other places. Indeed, it is recorded that at approximately those same times, when inhabitants were lacking because Rome was empty, settlers were placed from Sardinia at Hostiam [i.e., Ostia], a city so necessary to the Romans.

I therefore believe that Totila inflicted great disasters, that a very great slaughter of the citizens occurred, and that the walls were overthrown. But I do not believe that the city was utterly destroyed or that it was entirely without inhabitants during the intervening time.

For I see that noble and principal temple of Mars and certain other buildings more ancient than Totila's age still standing. When I observe that they were left intact, I am unwilling to believe that the entire city was destroyed or that those buildings stood for so long without inhabitants.

I therefore believe instead that the walls were restored by Charlemagne; that the nobility, which had been scattered when the city's defenses were broken and had fortified castles upon their estates, was recalled within the city; and that the city itself, variously disordered, was restored to the form of a city--repaired rather than founded again.

We showed above which cities had perished throughout Etruria. Among those that emerged from so many tempests and survived to the end, Pisa, Florence, Perugia, and Siena stood out most prominently.

The Pisans, powerful in their fleet, long ruled the sea. They did this more easily because Pisa alone remained among the maritime Tuscan cities, Tarquinii, Luna, and Populonia having already been taken away. The Florentines prevailed on land through industry and skill. The Perugians, increasing through the fertility of their soil and the advantageous nature of their location, possessed great power. The splendor of Siena's civic affairs and the excellence of its families ennobled it far and wide and supplied the material for its power.

Fourth Title: On the Fifth Age of the World

Chapter Five (continued)

Rusellae and Populonia, cities formerly neighboring those that survived, were nearest to them. The people of Arretium surpassed almost everyone in the goodness of their fields and the extent of their territory; but, situated between the Florentines and Perugians, the power of two very strong cities obstructed them.

Cortona indeed remained for a long time under the power of the people of Arretium and even lost the name of a city, until not long before our own age it deserved to recover its former rank. Next after these came the people of Lucca, Volterra, Pistoia, Orvieto, and Viterbo. These cities, worthy of remembrance, survived after long tempests. Thus Leonardo.

Chapter Six

Although Julius Caesar was the first emperor of the Romans, he ruled for only a short time and not peacefully but as though by violence, for which reason he was killed by the counsel and will of the senators. Therefore the fourth monarchy of the world, namely that of the Romans, is more commonly said to have begun with Octavian, his immediate successor.

Just as all emperors are named Caesars from Julius Caesar, so all are called Augusti from Octavian Augustus, because they ought to augment the commonwealth--that is, the empire--just as Octavian Augustus greatly enlarged it after defeating Antony, as will be related.

Under him Christ was born, king of kings and lord of lords, who subjected to himself--that is, to his faith--the whole monarchy. This is contained in the vision of Daniel 3, in the statue crushed by a stone, namely Christ, cut without hands from the mountain. First, however, the wars of Octavian himself and the manner in which he reached the monarchy will be treated, and afterward his character.

It should therefore be known, as can be gathered from Eutropius in book 7 and Orosius in book 6, that Octavian Augustus waged five civil wars. He waged the first, while still a youth of seventeen years, against Mark Antony after Julius Caesar had been killed. As was said, very many Roman senators and knights had conspired in Caesar's death.

Eutropius says that this Octavian was born to his father, the senator Octavius, and obtained his maternal ancestry from Aeneas through the Julian family, for Julia descended from Julus, son of Aeneas. Octavian was also Caesar's nephew. Caesar left him his heir in his testament and ordered him to bear his name. He indeed took that name, for he was called both Caesar and Augustus, while nevertheless retaining his own name, Octavian.

Augustine's statement in book 3, chapter 30 of *The City of God* that Octavian was the aforesaid Caesar's adoptive son does not contradict this, for he was both his nephew by nature and his son by adoption, having been adopted as his son through the testament.

The aforesaid Mark Antony was then consul and belonged to Julius Caesar's party. He was attempting through civil wars to crush those who had killed Julius Caesar, while the Senate favored them. After Antony disturbed the commonwealth and committed many crimes, the Senate judged him an enemy and sent Octavian Augustus to pursue him. The two consuls Pausa [i.e., Pansa] and Ircius [i.e., Hirtius] were nevertheless the principal commanders, and a third commander was joined to them. These three commanders therefore set out and defeated Antony at Mutina.

It happened that both consuls were killed and died, and that the three armies obeyed Octavian alone. Antony, put to flight and having lost his army, took refuge with Lepidus, who had been Caesar's master of the horse. Through Lepidus's efforts Octavian made peace with Antony and gave him his sister Octavia as wife.

As though intending to avenge the death of his adoptive father, Octavian set out for Rome with an army and extorted the consulship for himself in the twentieth year of his age. Afterward he proscribed the Senate--that is, according to Orosius, 112 members of the Senate. Cicero was among them, Antony his enemy and Lucius Antonius proscribing him.

Octavian then began to administer the commonwealth with Antony and Lepidus. Through this arrangement Cicero the orator and many other nobles were killed.

Valerius says of Cicero in book 5 that Popilius, whom Cicero had earlier defended in court against a serious charge and freed from death and capital punishment, afterward pursued Cicero to his death, although Cicero had injured him neither in deed nor in word. Of his own accord he asked Mark Antony to send him to pursue and slaughter Cicero once he had been proscribed--that is, at the time the Senate was proscribed.

Having obtained his request, Popilius ran exultantly to Gayeta [i.e., Gaeta], where Cicero was. He commanded the man of most illustrious dignity and outstanding service to offer him his venerable throat. Immediately he cut off the head of Roman eloquence and the most illustrious right hand of peace, carrying them with him to Rome.

Here it should be known that Cicero initially resisted Julius Caesar when, after winning his victory over Gaul, Caesar sought a second consulship; Cicero belonged to the party of Pompey and Cato. But after Julius Caesar obtained supreme rule, Cicero was reconciled to him.

After Caesar himself was killed, Mark Antony intended to usurp for himself the sole power of the empire. Among the Caesarians he pretended that, having received power, he would avenge Caesar's death. Cicero resisted him and composed invectives against him, because Antony was vicious in many respects.

Cicero then attached himself to Octavian, hoping that Octavian would defend the liberty of the fatherland. Octavian, intending to draw the whole commonwealth to himself and perceiving that Cicero would resist him, handed Cicero over to Antony, his enemy, as though for the good of securing the peace when they made peace with one another. Because Antony desired Cicero's death for the reasons given above, he ordered him to be killed in the manner already described.

Octavian waged his second war against Brutus and Cassius, who had been the leaders in Caesar's assassination. They had stirred up a great war, and Octavian and Antony advanced against them in Greece. They fought them near Philippi, a city of Macedonia. Octavian and Antony were defeated in the first battle, although Cassius, commander of the nobility, perished. In the second battle they killed Brutus and the immense body of nobles who had waged war with them.

The commonwealth was then divided between Octavian and Antony: Octavian held Spain, Gaul, and Italy, while Antony held Asia, Pontus, and the East.

Octavian waged his third war against the consul Lucius Antonius, who had been proscribed and had stirred up civil war in Italy. According to Orosius this Lucius was the uncle, but according to Eutropius the brother, of Mark Antony, who had undertaken the government of the East. Lucius Antonius was defeated and captured at Perusia, a city of Tuscany.

Octavian's fourth war was against Sextus Pompey, son of Gnaeus Pompey the Great. Sextus had stirred up a great war in Sicily after those who survived from the party of Brutus and Cassius fled to him. Octavian and Antony made war against him, but peace was at last agreed between them. Sextus Pompey afterward broke the peace and, defeated in a naval war, fled into Asia and was killed.

Octavian's fifth civil war was against the aforesaid Mark Antony. Antony had married Octavia, Octavian's sister, but afterward repudiated her and married Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, who was most wicked and most lustful. After this Antony, under Cleopatra's compulsion, stirred up a great civil war against Octavian; then in his ambition he hoped to rule even in Rome.

§ I. Augustus's Character

According to Suetonius in book 2, Augustus had an exceptional appearance and was most handsome at every stage of life, although he neglected all adornment and was so careless about arranging the hair on his head that he would hastily employ several barbers at once, now having his hair cut and now his beard shaved, while at the same time he either read or wrote something.

Whether speaking or silent, his face was calm and serene. He had clear and shining eyes in which he wished people to believe there was a certain divine force. He rejoiced if a person gazing at him intently lowered his face as though before the brightness of the sun.

He was short, but the proportion and symmetry of his limbs concealed this, so that it could not be perceived except by comparison with a taller person standing beside him.

He brought ill-settled nations back to obedience and made war upon no people without just and necessary causes. He governed military discipline with the utmost severity and only reluctantly permitted even one of his legates to visit his wife, and then only during the winter months.

If any cohorts yielded their position, he decimated them and fed them barley. He punished centurions who deserted their posts with capital penalties just as he punished ordinary soldiers. For other kinds of offenses he marked men with various disgraces: he sometimes ordered them to stand all day before the praetorium wearing tunics and without their military belts, and sometimes carrying ten-foot poles or even pieces of turf.

He considered nothing less appropriate to a perfect commander than haste and rashness. He often repeated that whatever is done well is done quickly enough. He maintained that war should never be undertaken unless greater hope of gain than fear of loss was apparent. He used to say that those who sought the smallest advantages at no small risk resembled men fishing with a golden hook, whose loss, if it broke off, no catch could compensate.

He embellished and adorned the city in keeping with the majesty of the empire, so that he rightly boasted that he had found it made of brick and left it made of marble.

He forbade young people of either sex to attend any nocturnal spectacle except in the company of an older close relative. After obtaining ten assistants from the Senate, he compelled every knight to render an account of his life. He censured some because they borrowed money at lower rates of interest and invested it at higher rates.

He frequently displayed great generosity to every order as occasions arose, so that one recognized him as a beneficial rather than a self-promoting prince. When the people complained of the scarcity and high price of wine, he restrained them with a most severe reply, saying that his son-in-law Agrippa had provided sufficiently by conducting many waters into the city, and people thirsted.

Except for a few, the kingdoms he obtained by right of war he either returned to the same people from whom he had taken them or assigned to foreigners. He also joined allied kings to one another by mutual ties of kinship. Being the readiest maker and arranger of every affinity and friendship, he brought up and educated the children of many kings together with his own.

There are many great proofs of his clemency and civility. When it was alleged against Aemilius Aelianus, among definite charges and above all else, that he was accustomed to think ill of Caesar, Augustus turned to the accuser with a look as though moved and said, “I wish you to prove these things to me.”

When Tiberius complained to him rather violently and persistently by letter about the same matter, Augustus wrote back: “My Tiberius, do not indulge your age in this matter, and do not be too indignant that there is anyone who speaks ill of me. It is enough if we have ensured that no one can do us harm.”

Although he knew that temples were customarily decreed even for proconsuls, he most obstinately abstained from this honor in the city. He even melted down all the silver statues that had once been erected to him. He always abhorred the title “Lord” as a curse and reproach.

While he was watching the games, the words “a just and good lord” were pronounced. When everyone exultantly approved them as though they had been spoken about him, he immediately checked the shameful flatterers with his hand and expression. On the following day he rebuked them in a very severe edict. He did not afterward permit himself to be called “lord,” even by his children or grandchildren, either seriously or in jest, and he prohibited flatteries of this kind even among them.

He did not rashly leave or enter any city or town except in the evening or at night, lest he disturb anyone for the sake of ceremonial duty. In courts of law he allowed himself to be questioned as a witness and refuted with a most even temper.

He did nothing more worthy of Augustus than these things: he did not dare to extort the nearest houses from their owners, and whenever he commended his sons to the people he added, “If they shall deserve it.” When they were still boys wearing the bordered toga, he complained most bitterly that everyone in the theater rose for them and applauded them while standing.

He wished his friends to be great and powerful in the city, yet equally subject to care as the others and bound by judicial laws. When he returned from a province, people accompanied him not only with favorable omens but also with measured songs. It was also observed that no punishment was exacted from anyone whenever he entered the city.

With sudden and complete unanimity everyone conferred upon him the title “Father of the Fatherland.” Some heads of households provided in their wills that their heirs should lead victims to the Capitol with a placard displayed and pay a vow on their behalf because they had left Augustus alive after them. Friendly and allied kings each founded cities called Caesarea in his own kingdom.

He educated his daughter and granddaughters so that he even accustomed them to wool-working, and he forbade them to say or do anything except openly and in such a way that it might be entered in the daily records. He so thoroughly kept them from associating with strangers that he once wrote to Licinius, a young man of illustrious and honorable birth, that he had acted somewhat immodestly by coming to Baiae to greet his daughter.

He neither admitted friendships easily nor failed to retain them with the greatest constancy.

Fourth Title: On the Fifth Age of the World

Chapter Six (continued)

Nevertheless, Augustus nevertheless did not worthily pursue each person's virtues and merits, but also his faults and offenses. As patron and master he was no less severe than approachable and merciful.

When a fierce boar suddenly charged Augustus while Diomedes, his steward, was walking beside him, Diomedes in fear thrust Augustus in the animal's path. Augustus preferred to accuse him of timidity rather than wrongdoing. Although the matter had involved no small danger, because there had been no deceit he turned it into a joke.

They say that he never slept on any couch except one low and modestly furnished. He rarely wore any clothing except garments made at home by his sister, wife, and daughter. His togas were neither tight nor loose, and their stripe was neither broad nor narrow.

He served a dinner of three courses, or at the most abundant, six. He ate very little and was also by nature most sparing of wine, customarily drinking no more than three times during dinner and hardly drinking during the day. Instead of drink he would take bread soaked in cold water, a piece of cucumber, or fresh or dried fruit whose juice resembled wine.

From his earliest age he cultivated eloquence and liberal studies both eagerly and with the greatest labor. During the war at Mutina, amid so great a mass of affairs, he is said to have read, written, and declaimed every day.

By the stenches of recondite words of truth, he took especial care to express the meaning of his mind as openly as possible. He did not spare Tiberius when the latter sometimes hunted after obsolete and recondite words. He rebuked Mark Antony as a man who wrote things that people would admire rather than understand.

He fostered the talents of his age in every way and listened kindly and patiently to those who recited their works. He was nevertheless offended if anything was composed about him unless it was both serious and written by the most excellent authors.

He was somewhat weakly terrified by thunder and lightning, so that he always and everywhere carried a sealskin about with him as a remedy. At the suspicion of a greater storm he would withdraw into a hidden and vaulted place.

§ II. Wars Under Augustus

In the thirty-seventh year of Augustus's rule, Tiberius, who afterward succeeded him in the empire, celebrated a triumph after destroying the Vindelici, Armenians, and Pannonians. Thus Orosius.

Claudius Drusus, Caesar's stepson, received Gaul and Greece by lot and subdued them. This same Drusus, brother of Tiberius, subdued in Germany first the Susipetes [i.e., Usipetes] and then the Tethecos [i.e., Tencteri] and Cacios [i.e., Chatti]. He destroyed Marconiam [i.e., Marcomannia] almost to annihilation.

Afterward, in a single war, though one sprinkled also with the blood of his own men, he overcame the most powerful nations of the Cherusci, Suebi, and Sicambri, peoples to whom nature gave strength and custom experience of strength.

Their courage and ferocity can be judged from this: whenever their women were shut within their barriers by the advance of the Romans, after missiles and every object that their fury could use as a weapon had failed them, they dashed their little children upon the ground and hurled them into the faces of the enemy. In every killing of a son they were twice parricides.

At that time in Africa, Cossius [i.e., Cossus], Caesar's commander, confined within narrow boundaries the Insulanos [i.e., Musulani] and the Gaetuli, who had wandered too widely. Tiberius also assailed the Germans in war and led away forty thousand of them as captives in victory. This very great and formidable war was waged for three years, and scarcely any war since the Punic War was greater.

Piso in turn was sent against the Vindelici and emerged victorious, and Agrippa overcame the Bosforanos [i.e., Bosporani]. Thus Orosius.

The Martinian Chronicle says of the emperor Octavian: so great a man was not without vices. He was a slave to lust, for he was accustomed to recline among twelve cathaniones [read: catamites] and as many girls.

Thus this man was most fortunate in the world, so that it was said proverbially of him, “None was more fortunate than Octavian, and none better than Trajan.” Even if he had possessed no other vices, he is believed to have been condemned for idolatry alone. Suetonius too, who praises him so highly, writes that he was devoted to debauchery, adulteries, and other wanton acts.

§ III. Learned Men in the Time of Octavian

In the time of this Octavian the following most learned men flourished: the historians Marcus Varro and Valerius Maximus; Marcus Tullius Cicero and Sallust, outstanding orators or rhetoricians; and the poets Vigilius [i.e., Virgil], Ovid, and Oratius [i.e., Horace]. Some of the more notable sayings from their books will be set down.

Marcus Varro died in the fifteenth year of Octavian's rule. These are his moral sayings:

“There is a double evil when we bear vexatiously what is necessary.”

“Speak as all people do; think as few do. In many matters, to be wise against everyone is to be foolish.”

“Return feigned thanks to one who gives unwillingly.”

“Do not consider a thing scarcely given a benefit, but plunder.”

“He gives once who gives when asked; he gives twice who gives without being asked.”

“To ask more than once is to extort.”

“It is most shameful to hope for repayment of gifts; it is most beautiful for gifts to be returned with interest.”

“A gift is judged great according to the giver's intention.”

“Do you wish to test a friend? Become unfortunate.”

“A good man carries his fatherland with him wherever he goes and guards all his possessions. Let no one think that what lies outside himself is his own.”

“Riches should be dismissed with the same expression with which they should be received.”

“It is not as praiseworthy to remember as to discover, for the former belongs to another, but the latter is the work of one's own gift.”

“Trust stands midway between opinion and knowledge, touching neither.”

“The clearest kind of teaching is the presentation of examples.”

“Ease in understanding the truth gives birth to negligence.”

“A lover of truth does not pay as much attention to how a thing is said as to what is said.”

“Choose as a teacher the man whom you admire more in his own things than in those of others.”

“There are certain things that should be erased from the knowing mind because they occupy the place where truth is to be inserted.”

“Books are only poor little aids to the sciences. They contain the beginnings of inquiries, so that from them the mind may take the beginnings of its work.”

“Studies should nevertheless be interrupted lest they be abandoned, for the mind delights in variety.”

“He will teach nothing magnificent, because he says nothing himself.”

“Many people taste books as they taste dinner delicacies, but things quickly run through slip away still more quickly.”

“Philosophy rejects a squeamish stomach and invites a cheerful guest to a simple dinner.”

“The ear that does not commit what it hears to memory is a cracked vessel.”

“He who follows every path he sees will arrive nowhere.”

“It is a mark of ignorance to demand that a most difficult thing be done quickly.”

“To one who knows, no loss is more grievous than that of time.”

“Travelers do not go merely so that they may go; likewise life is not lived for its own sake, but so that something excellent may be done through it.”

“There is no happiness that receives misery into itself.”

“It is a sign of flattery when praise precedes a request.”

“Many people admit praise because they themselves proclaim it about themselves.”

“A wise man praises himself in this one way: by praising in others the good things that appear in himself.”

“It is useful but inglorious to succeed without labor to the labors of others.”

These are the sayings of Marcus Varro to an Athenian hearer.

This Marcus Terentius Varro died at the age of ninety. In his praise Augustine says in book 6 of *The City of God*: “Who inquired into the inventions of the gods more curiously than Marcus Varro?”

“Who discovered anything more learnedly? Who considered it more attentively? Who distinguished it more acutely? Who wrote more diligently and fully? Although he is less pleasing in eloquence, he is nevertheless so replete with doctrine and the sciences that in every branch of learning--which we call secular but they call liberal--he instructs a student of things as much as Cicero delights a student of words.”

Finally, Cicero himself offers Varro such testimony that in the *Academic Books* he says that he conducted the disputation treated there with Marcus Varro, who was his contemporary. He calls him “easily the sharpest of all men,” and where he contends that everything should be doubted, he adds without any doubt that Varro was most learned.

Cicero was certainly so sure about this matter that he set aside the doubt he customarily applied to everything, as though, when about to dispute this one matter on behalf of the Academics' doubt, he forgot that he himself was an Academic.

Terentianus also says briefly of Varro in a most elegant phrase: "Varro was a most learned man in every field. He read so much that we wonder he had any leisure to write; he wrote so much that we can scarcely believe anyone could have read it all."

Varro nevertheless worshiped the gods and judged that they should be worshiped in such a way that in this very work of his writings he says that he feared they would perish, not through a hostile attack but through the citizens' negligence. He says that he delivered them from that ruin and deposited and preserved them in the memory of good people through free persons of this kind [read: books].

He wrote forty-one books of *Antiquities*, which he divided into human and divine subjects. He allotted twenty-five to human matters and sixteen to divine. He said that he wrote about human matters before divine because cities existed first and afterward these rites were instituted by them.

He also says that the ancient Romans worshiped God for more than 170 years without an image. "If this had continued until now," he says, "the gods would be observed more chastely." He adduces the Jewish nation as a witness to the same opinion.

This same Varro also says that he believes God to be the soul of the world, which the Greeks call the *cosmos*, and that this world itself is God. But just as a wise man, although consisting of body and soul, is called wise from his soul alone, so the world is called God from its soul alone.

"The world," he says, "is divided into two parts, heaven and earth. Heaven is in turn divided into ether and air, and earth into water and soil." He says that all these four parts are full of souls: immortal souls in the ether and air, and mortal souls in the water and soil.

According to Augustine in book 7 of *The City of God*, Varro also established three kinds of theology--that is, discourse or reasoning concerning divine things.

One is fabulous theology, which poets use when they sing in theaters and represent through mimes the shameful deeds of the gods before the people.

The second is civil theology, which priests used in temples, themselves also performing many incongruous and indecent things in the sacrifices and worship of those gods.

The third kind is called philosophical theology. Philosophers and learned men used it when they attempted to color the erroneous obscenities of civil or fabulous theology with physical interpretations, as though giving them the appearance of a higher doctrine.

Varro himself censured the first kind of theology in his writings because of the obscenities performed in it, which are detestable to every wise person. Nevertheless, he did not attack it in speech because he feared the people.

Although Varro did not condemn the second kind, namely civil theology, Seneca, though a pagan, inveighed greatly against it for the same reason: shameful and indecent acts were also performed by the priests in the temple. Augustine explains this at length in book 6 of *The City of God*.

Augustine most effectively empties the third kind of its vain and false subjects throughout many chapters of book 6 of *The City of God*.

In his books Marcus Varro made a certain distinction among the gods. He called some plebeian and named others selected--that is, chosen separately from the others. He states that there were twenty selected gods, whom he called selected because they had a better administration in the world than the other gods. Of those twenty, twelve were male and eight female: Janus, Jove, Saturn, Geminum [i.e., Genius], Mercury, Apollo, Mars, Vulcan, Neptune, the Sun, Ortum [i.e., Orcus], Liber, Tellus, Ceres, Juno, Luna, Diana, Minerva, Venus, and Vestem [i.e., Vesta].

Varro assigns to each of them the particular functions in which they operate. But in many chapters of the aforesaid book 7, Augustine most effectively refutes the natural interpretations Varro gives to the things said about such gods. He shows that Varro says many false and vain things and contradicts himself. In chapter 29 of that book Augustine declares that the true and one God whom we worship is accustomed to produce by himself or through various creatures all the effects assigned to the gods.

The plebeian gods were almost innumerable. Not only were certain human beings venerated as gods, such as Romulus, Aeneas, Hercules, and others of this kind, but even the vilest created things had gods or goddesses: the sewer had the goddess Cloacina, fever the goddess Febris, pallor the goddess Pallor, and so forth.

Indeed, one and the same kind of created thing had several gods or goddesses in its different stages: grain had the goddess Semetia [i.e., Sementia] when it was sown, Ortea when it was born, Herbea when it became grass, Nondea when it had not yet formed a joint, Spicea when it reached the ear, and Segetia when it ripened.

From all these things it is evident that all people in whom there is no knowledge of God are vain, and that the wisdom of this world with which this most renowned Varro was imbued is foolishness before God, as the Apostle says.

Therefore hell enlarged its soul and opened its mouth without limit, as Isaiah 5 says, receiving and holding forever all who worshiped something other than the one true God and served the creature rather than the Creator, who is blessed forever.

§ IV. Valerius Maximus

Valerius Maximus published a distinguished work divided into nine books, containing many headings on the virtues, vices, and marvelous deeds of the ancient Romans and Greeks. The following few extracts are taken from it.

In the first book: “Divine anger indeed advances with a slow step toward vengeance for itself, and compensates for its delay by its gravity.”

In the second book: “The passage from virtue to luxury is somewhat easier than that from luxury to virtue. The sweetness of life compels people both to do and to suffer many shameful things.”

In the third book: “Virtue consecrated by public reverence does not need private praise.”

Likewise, in the fourth book: “Nothing is so magnificent or so illustrious that it does not desire to be tempered by moderation. That power is safe which sets a limit to its own strength.”

Fourth Title: On the Fifth Age of the World

Chapter Six (continued)

“A person is made rich not by possessing many things, but by desiring few.”

“Modesty is the parent of every honorable counsel, the guardian of solemn duties, the teacher of innocence, dear to neighbors, acceptable to strangers, displaying much that is favorable in every place and time.”

In the fifth book: “The sweetness of humanity penetrates even savage dispositions, softens the bereaved and fierce eyes of enemies, and finds a peaceful path among drawn swords. Under no bitterness of fortune and no squalor does the value of dear filial devotion grow cheap; indeed, its proof is the surer the more wretched it is.”

He gives the example of a certain matron who was imprisoned and was failing there from hunger. Her daughter visited her, and when she had been searched lest she bring any food to her mother, she replied: she nourished her for a long time only with milk expressed from her own breasts. When the judge considered and marveled at this, he freed the mother herself.

Valerius gives an almost similar example of another woman who nourished her imprisoned father, and adds: “The eyes of human beings fasten upon the sight and are astonished when they see the painted representation of this deed. The other virtues indeed earn much admiration, but filial devotion also merits the greatest love.”

And below: “For how rich in sweetness is this recollection: before I was born I dwelt in the same home, passed the time of infancy in the same cradle, and called the same persons parents. A wife is dear, children are sweet, friends delightful, and relatives pleasing. But no affection for those known afterward should arise that drains away the earlier affection.”

In the sixth book: “When Rutilius resisted an unjust request made by one of his friends and the man indignantly said, ‘What use to me, then, is your friendship if you do not do what I ask?’ Rutilius replied, ‘Indeed, what use to me is yours if I am going to do something dishonorable because of you?’”

In the seventh book: “That king of refined judgment who, they say, when a diadem was handed to him, held it for a long time and considered it before placing it upon his head, said: ‘O cloth more noble than happy! If anyone knew thoroughly how many anxieties, dangers, and miseries it is filled with, he would not wish to pick it up even if it lay upon the ground. For this sweetness lies close beside ruin.’”

In the eighth book: “Leisure indeed seems especially contrary to zealous industry, but it ought particularly to be joined to it--not so that virtue may disappear, but so that it may be refreshed. The nature of things does not permit a human being to endure continuous labor.”

“The ornaments of eloquence consist in suitable delivery and fitting movement of the body. When eloquence has equipped itself with them, it approaches people in three ways: by penetrating their ears, soothing their eyes, and invading their minds.”

In the ninth book: “Luxury is a seductive evil, which is sometimes easier to accuse than to avoid. Let it be inserted in our work, not so that it may receive any honor, but so that, recognizing itself, it may be driven to repentance.”

“Why should I speak further about women, whom both weakness of mind and the denial of aspiration to weightier tasks encourage to devote all their effort to the more elaborate cultivation of themselves, when I see men excellent both in name and spirit tumble into a byway unknown to ancient continence?”

“What is more foul than vices, or indeed more harmful? By them virtue is worn down, victories languish, sleeping glory is turned into infamy, and the powers of mind and body alike are conquered.”

“The passions of anger and hatred excite great waves in human breasts. The former is swifter in its onset, the latter more persistent in its desire to do harm. Each is full of consternation and never violent without tormenting itself, because when it wishes to inflict pain it suffers bitter anxiety lest vengeance fail to occur.”

“Now let treachery, a hidden and insidious evil, be drawn out from its hiding places. Its most effective powers are lying and deception, while its fruit consists in the commission of some crime, when the same evil, resolute in spirit, has enclosed cruelty within its wicked bonds. It brings as much harm to the human race as good faith supplies safety.”

§ V. Marcus Tullius Cicero

In the time of Octavian there also flourished Marcus Tullius Cicero, the most eloquent of the Latins. He was killed at Gayeta [i.e., Gaeta] at the beginning of Octavian's rule, as was shown above.

As Augustine says in book 12 of *The City of God*, Cicero, wishing to define God as briefly as he could, said: “He is a certain mind, unfettered and free, separated from every mortal concretion, perceiving and moving all things, and itself endowed with everlasting motion.”

Jerome says of him in *Against Jovinian*: when Cicero was asked by Ircius [i.e., Hirtius] to marry his sister after divorcing Terentia, he did not consent, saying that he could not devote himself at the same time to a wife and to philosophy.

Cicero wrote very many books, from which a very few extracts are set down here.

In the book *On Duties* he says: “We ought to know that all things produced on earth are created for the use of human beings, but that human beings were generated for the sake of human beings, so that they might be able to benefit one another. In this matter we ought to follow nature as our guide and bring common benefits into the midst.”

“The foundation of justice is that no one be harmed, and next that the common benefit be served.”

“Who does not see that one need not abide by promises which one has made when compelled by fear or deceived by fraud?”

“Injuries often arise from an overly subtle but malicious interpretation of the law. From this the saying ‘the greatest right is the greatest wrong’ has already become a well-worn proverb.”

“Of all associations, none is more excellent or more secure than when good men who resemble one another in character are joined in familiarity. For nothing is more lovable and nothing more closely binding than a similarity of good qualities. Among those who have the same pursuits and the same desires, it comes about that one delights in another as in himself, and thus one is made from many.”

“A common life and manner of living, counsels, conversations, exhortations, and sometimes even rebukes flourish especially in friendships. The most delightful friendship is that which similarity has joined together.”

“Just as knowledge divorced from justice should be called cunning rather than wisdom, so too a spirit ready for danger, if it is driven by its own desire and not by the common benefit, has the name of rashness rather than courage.”

“Those who will serve the republic should keep two precepts of Plato. One is that they should watch over the welfare of the citizens in such a way that they refer whatever they do to it, forgetting their own advantages. The other is that they should care for the whole body of the republic, lest while protecting one part they desert the others.”

In his book *On the Republic*, Tullius introduces Scipio disputing about the republic and concluding, not--as some thought--that a republic cannot be governed without injustice, which is false, but that this is most true: a republic cannot be governed without the highest justice.

Lelius [i.e., Laelius] also confirmed this, saying: “Nothing is so hostile to a state as justice [read: injustice], and a republic can be conducted or remain standing only through great justice.”

Scipio proves this through definitions of the two terms, namely “republic” and “people.” He says that a republic is called the property of the people. A people is defined as an assembly not of every multitude, but of a multitude united by agreement concerning law and by a community of benefit.

From these things it is gathered that a republic and the property of a people exist when it is governed justly and well, whether under one king, under a few aristocrats, or by the whole people. He said that the rule of an unjust king is tyranny, that the rule of unjust aristocrats is faction, and he also calls the government of an unjust people tyranny.

This is evident because in those cases there is no assembly of a multitude united by agreement concerning law, since there is no law among them because there is no justice. Hence *ius*, “law,” is so called as though from *iustum*, “just.” Nor is the true common benefit sought, but private benefit, namely that of the body and of temporal things, not of the soul.

He adduces a saying of the poet Emnius [i.e., Ennius]: “The Roman state stands by ancient customs and by men.” He therefore concludes that in his own time the Roman republic was not the worst and most disgraceful republic, as Sallust described it, but that it had already perished and was nothing.

But as Augustine says in book 2 of *The City of God*, a republic never existed there before the faith was received, because true justice was never there. Although it was administered in some fashion by the more ancient Romans better than by the later ones, true justice nevertheless exists only in that republic whose founder and ruler is Christ, namely the Church of God.

Thus Augustine, who also says in *Decretum*, Cause 24, Question 1: “Where sound faith does not exist, justice cannot exist,” because, as Abacuc [i.e., Habakkuk] says, “the just man lives by faith.”

The same Cicero says: “Nothing is more praiseworthy or more worthy of an illustrious man than placability and clemency. These are nevertheless to be approved in such a way that severity is applied for the sake of the republic, without which a state cannot be administered.”

“It is the duty of a foreigner and resident alien to do nothing beyond his own business, to inquire into nothing concerning another, and least of all to be meddlesome in a foreign republic.”

“Let the speaker's voice be sweet and not contentious, neither languid nor sing-song. Above all, let him consider the subjects about which he speaks: if serious matters, let him employ severity; if jests, charm.”

“I do not know how it happens that we perceive any fault more readily in others than in ourselves.”

“Because that very thing which we call seemly and honorable pleases us in itself and by its own nature moves the minds of everyone, we are therefore compelled by nature itself to love those in whom we perceive it to exist. This indeed is the weightiest cause of love.”

“So great is the power of justice that not even those who feed upon wrongdoing and crime can live without some portion of it. For unless even the chief of brigands distributes the booty equally, he will either be killed by his companions or abandoned.”

Catho [i.e., Cato] wrote that Publius Scipio was accustomed to say that he was never less idle than when idle, nor less alone than when he was alone. It is a magnificent saying and worthy of a great and wise man, declaring that he was accustomed to think about business when at leisure and to converse when in solitude.

“Certainly, even if we could conceal our deeds from all human beings and gods, we must nevertheless do nothing avariciously, justly [read: unjustly], or lustfully.”

“Duties are especially thrown into confusion in friendships. Honors, riches, pleasures, and things of this kind that seem useful must never be placed before friendship. Nor will a good man do anything for a friend's sake against the republic, an oath, or good faith, even if he is the judge of that very friend. For when he assumes the person of a judge, he lays aside the person of a friend.”

“If all things that friends desire are to be done, such bonds should be considered conspiracies, not friendships.”

“Every lie is to be removed from transactions. If buyer or seller comes to speak, let neither speak more than once.”

The same author says in the book *On Friendship*: “Friendship is nothing other than agreement in all things divine and human, together with goodwill and charity.”

“How can life be useful if it does not rest in the mutual goodwill of a friend? What is sweeter than to have someone with whom you dare to speak as with yourself?”

“Scipio used to say that nothing was more difficult than for a friend to remain until the final day of life.”

“There is no plague greater to friendships than greed for money among most people, and among all the best men rivalry for honor and glory, from which we see that the greatest hostilities have often arisen among the closest friends.”

“There is no excuse for sin if you have sinned for a friend's sake.”

“Let this law of friendship therefore be established: that we ask honorable things from friends and do honorable things for the sake of friends. Let us rejoice to give true counsel freely, for in friendship the authority of friends who offer good persuasion is of the greatest force.”

“Let this also be established in friendship: that we neither ask for shameful things nor do them when asked. For this is a shameful excuse and must by no means be accepted if anyone admits that he acted against the republic for a friend's sake.”

“Good men must therefore be instructed that, if through ignorance they should by some accident fall into friendships with the wicked, they should not think themselves so bound that they cannot withdraw from friends who sin against the republic. Nor should a lesser penalty be ordained for those who have followed another, the leaders of impiety.”

“I have no less concern for what the republic will be like after my death than for what it is like today.”

“Those who are superior ought to lower themselves in friendship and in this manner raise up those who are inferior.”

“The foundation of the stability and constancy we seek in friendship is good faith.”

“If God took us away from the company of human beings and placed us somewhere in solitude, supplying there an abundance of all the things nature desires but taking away the power to look upon a human being, who would be so iron-hearted that he could endure such a life, and from whom solitude would not take away the enjoyment of every pleasure? For nature loves nothing solitary.”

“The safety of anyone whose ears are so closed to truth that he cannot hear the truth from a friend must be despaired of.”

“Therefore, to admonish and to be admonished belong to true friendship: the one should be done freely but not harshly, and the other received patiently.”

“One must also know that there is no greater plague among friends than flattery, which is the vice of frivolous and deceitful people.”

The same author says in the book *On Old Age*: “The old age of a life lived quietly, purely, and honorably is calm and light, for the recollection of a well-lived life and of many good deeds is itself most delightful.”

“Rashness belongs to flourishing age, but prudence to advancing age. Hence anyone who wishes to read or hear about ancient events will find that the greatest republics were weakened by young men but supported or restored by old men.”

“Great affairs are conducted not by bodily strength or speed, but by counsel, authority, and judgment.”

Fourth Title: On the Fifth Age of the World

Chapter Six (continued)

“The speech of an old man is becoming when it is quiet and tremulous [read: relaxed], and it often procures an audience for itself. The discourse of an eloquent old man is polished and gentle.”

“As for what people say--that old men, namely some of them, are foolish, credulous, forgetful, and dissolute--these are not the vices of old age, but of an indolent, slothful, and drowsy old age. For just as petulance or lust belongs more to young men than to old, yet not to all young men but to those who are wicked, so that senile foolishness which is called dotage belongs to old men, but not to all of them--only to the frivolous.”

“O splendid gift of age, if indeed it takes away from us that which is most vicious in youth, namely bodily lust! Pleasure, the enemy of reason, hinders counsel and dazzles the eyes of the mind; it has no fellowship with virtue.”

“The summit of old age is authority. Hence in the senate the opinion of each man who is more advanced in age holds the first place. Yet gray hairs and wrinkles cannot suddenly seize authority; rather, an earlier age honorably lived gathers the final fruits of authority.”

“A young man hopes in vain for the furthest reaches of life or promises himself that he will live a long time. For what is more foolish than to regard uncertain things as certain? Indeed, that age has many more occasions of death than old age, for young people fall into diseases more easily, are sick more severely, and are treated more painfully.”

“In this respect the old man is of a better condition: he himself has attained what the young man hopes for. Just as fruits, if unripe, are torn forcibly from trees, but if mature and fully ripened fall of themselves, so force takes life away from young people, as though violently, but ripeness takes it from old people.”

“Death which is followed by immortality should not be mourned. From youth onward we ought to have meditated upon disregarding death. Without such meditation no one can possess a tranquil mind, since it is most certain that we must die and uncertain at what time.”

The same author says in the book *On Oratory*: “Natural talent, because of its swift movements and its abundance for thinking and speaking, contributes the greatest power to action. But whatever offends in speaking also overshadows the things that deserve praise.”

The same author says in the *Paradoxes*: “There is nothing so incredible that it cannot be made probable by speaking, and nothing so rough and uncultivated that it cannot shine through oratory.”

“Just as no one who is wicked, foolish, and indolent can be well, so a good, wise, and courageous man cannot be miserable. Every wise man is free and every fool a slave. What is liberty? The power to live as you wish.”

In his book of *Philippics*: “The more the power of the mind exceeds that of the body, the graver are the evils conceived in the mind than those borne in the body. Therefore, the person who takes crime upon himself is more wretched than one compelled to endure another's crime.”

The same author says: “It belongs to any human being to err, but to no one except a fool to persist in error. For later thoughts, as people say, are customarily wiser. A change of counsel is the best harbor for one who is perishing.”

The same author: “Law is nothing other than right reason drawn from the divine power, commanding honorable things and forbidding their contraries.”

The same author: “Things badly gotten are badly scattered.”

The same author says in the book of *Rhetoric*: “Wisdom without eloquence profits little; eloquence without wisdom never profits and very often does excessive harm.”

“Although human beings are humbler and weaker than beasts in many respects, they appear to excel beasts most particularly in this: that they can speak. Therefore, he appears to me to have attained something splendid who excels human beings in that very respect in which human beings excel beasts.”

The same author says in the first book of *Rhetoric*: “There are six parts of a rhetorical speech: exordium, narration, partition, confirmation, refutation, and conclusion.”

“The exordium is a discourse suitably preparing the hearer's mind for the remaining speech. This will happen if it makes him well disposed, attentive, and receptive. Goodwill is procured from four sources: from nature, from the person of our adversaries [read: from our own person], from that of the judges, and from the cause itself about which the dispute is conducted.”

“We make our hearers attentive if we show that the things we are about to say are novel, important, and useful, and promise that we will set forth our cause briefly. We make them receptive if we explain the substance of the case clearly and briefly. When you wish to make a hearer receptive, you should make him attentive at the same time, for the person most capable of learning is the one prepared to listen most attentively.”

“Narration is an exposition of things done or as though done. It ought to have three qualities: it should be brief, credible, and clear. Yet the imitation of brevity deceives many, so that while they think themselves brief they are exceedingly long, because they strive to say many things briefly rather than few.”

“Partition makes the whole speech lucid and transparent. It has two parts. One shows what point is agreed upon with the adversaries and what remains in controversy; from it some definite matter is indicated upon which the hearer should keep his mind occupied. In the other part a distributed, brief exposition is given of the matters about which we are to speak. By it the hearer is enabled to retain definite matters in his mind and, when they have been stated, to understand that the speech will be finished. This partition ought to have three qualities: completeness, brevity, and paucity.”

“Confirmation is that through which argument adds credibility, authority, and support to our cause. Refutation is that through which the adversaries' confirmation is dissolved, weakened, or diminished by argument. Conclusion is the end and termination of the entire speech.”

The same author says: “There are three kinds of things to be sought. One kind pleasantly attracts us to itself, capturing us by no advantage but drawing us by its own worth, such as virtue, knowledge, and truth. Another must be sought not for its own force and nature but for its fruit and usefulness, such as money. A third is joined from parts of the other two: it attracts us through pleasantness and worth and bears some usefulness before it, so that it is desired all the more, such as friendship.”

“In the first kind are honorable things, in the second useful things, and in the third are things that contain a part of honorableness and a part of usefulness. But they should be referred to the better part of the word and called honorable. From these things it

follows that the divisions of things to be sought are honorableness and usefulness, while those of things to be avoided are shamefulness and uselessness."

The same author: "The honorable has two parts, of which one is simple and the other mixed. That is, one is sought entirely for its own sake, while the other is sought in one part for its own sake and in the other for the fruit of usefulness. In the first kind, all things are embraced by one force and one name, virtue. For virtue is a habit of mind consonant with reason according to the manner of nature. It has four parts: prudence, justice, courage, and temperance."

He next gives definitions of each one and of the virtues and their other parts, together with their definitions. All of these are treated more fully below in the treatise on the virtues.

"For their own sake, however, we must avoid not only those things contrary to the virtues--for example, cowardice contrary to courage and injustice contrary to justice--but also those which seem bordering and close to them. For a vice bordering upon every virtue is found: rashness upon confidence, obstinacy upon perseverance, superstition upon religion, and others of this kind."

The same author says in the *Tusculan Disputations*: "No one would ever offer himself to death for his fatherland without a great hope of immortality. And somehow there inheres in minds a certain augury, as it were, of future ages. It exists and appears most greatly and readily in the greatest talents and loftiest spirits. If it were taken away, who would be so mad as always to live amid labors and dangers?"

"There is a Greek proverb: let each person practice the art that he knows."

"Since we are accustomed to be inflamed to every desire by the torches of the body, we shall surely be blessed when, having left our bodies, we are free of desires and rivalries and devote ourselves entirely to contemplating and beholding things. For by nature there is also in our minds a certain insatiable desire to see the truth, which will especially enjoy that vision."

"For there are seeds of the virtues innate in our talents. If they were permitted to grow, nature itself would lead us to the blessed life. But now, as soon as we are brought forth into the light and taken up, we continually dwell amid every kind of depravity and perversity of opinions, so that we seem almost to have sucked error with a nurse's milk."

The same author: "It is characteristic of foolishness to perceive the vices of others and forget one's own."

"Will is that which is desired with reason. For so the Stoics define it, and they think it exists only in the wise man. But that which is aroused more violently in opposition to reason is lust or unbridled desire, which is found in all fools."

The same author: "It is characteristic of the wise man to do nothing of which he might repent and nothing unwillingly, but to do everything splendidly, constantly, gravely, and honorably; to expect nothing as though it were certain to occur; to marvel at nothing when it occurs; and to stand by his own judgments."

"I plainly see that it was the opinion of the wisest men that law was not devised by human ingenuity, nor was it some decree of peoples, but something eternal that ruled the whole world through the wisdom of commanding and forbidding."

The same author says in the book *On the Nature of the Gods*: "Nothing is more lovable than virtue. Whoever has attained it will be loved by us wherever in the world he may be."

"If we refer friendship to our own benefit and not to the advantage of the person whom we love, it is not friendship but a kind of commerce in one's own advantages. Meadows, fields, and livestock are loved in this way."

The same author: "When we contemplate the heavenly things, what is so manifest as that there exists some divine power of the most excellent mind by which these things are ruled?"

"I call those men versatile whose mind turns swiftly."

The same author: "Ignorance of its cause creates wonder at a new thing, but a person does not marvel at what he sees frequently, even if he does not know why it happens."

The same author says in the book *On Fate*: "No external cause must be sought for voluntary movements of minds. For voluntary movement contains within itself the nature that makes it lie in our power and obey us."

The same author says in the book *On the Creation of the World*: "It is difficult to discover the parent of this universe, and when one has discovered him, it is unlawful to reveal him to the multitude."

The same author says in the dialogue *Hortensius*: "The common five lights, as it were, of speech are these: clarity, brevity, credibility, brilliance, and pleasantness."

The same author says in the *Achademicis* [i.e., Academic Books]: "One ineptly teaches Minerva."

The same author: "He appears to have conquered victory itself who remitted to the vanquished the things he obtained by victory."

The same author: “Of the many virtues, none is more admirable or weightier than mercy, for human beings approach most nearly to the gods in no other way than by giving to human beings.”

“Who was ever so cruel toward anyone that he would forbid him either to earn favor with himself or to make supplication to others?”

“The sustained practice of a man devoted to a subject often overcomes both talent and art.”

Although this Cicero was most eloquent, he was nevertheless an unbeliever and erred in many things concerning the divine, especially by denying divine foreknowledge, as Augustine shows in book 5, chapter 9 of *The City of God*.

For it appeared to Cicero that human free choice could not remain intact if the infallible foreknowledge of God were presupposed. Therefore, to establish freedom of choice toward good or evil, he denied God's foreknowledge concerning human acts.

But Augustine, refuting him, shows clearly that God's infallible foreknowledge does not remove the freedom of the human will. Instead, both the foreknowledge of God and freedom of choice remain together and do not contradict one another.

This is also found in *Decretum*, Cause 23, Question 4, chapter *Nabuchodonosor* [i.e., Nebuchadnezzar], together with the following chapter, and more fully in the First Part of Saint Thomas.

§ VI. Sallustius

[i.e., Sallust] Sallustius, a noble Roman citizen [i.e., Sallust], was a contemporary of Tullius. He too was very eloquent, but he was an enemy of Cicero. Hence they wrote insulting invectives against one another, which is contrary to the teaching of Christians.

From this it is evident that all their labor was upon their own lips, for speaking ornately, and not for doing the things they taught. But, as Solomon says, “Their soul will not be enriched,” namely with virtues; rather, they wandered poor and empty of the true virtues themselves.

Among other things, this was a common error of pagans who shone with worldly wisdom: they believed that by their own free choice, without the aid of God's grace, they could be truly virtuous. Yet Augustine says: “Where knowledge of eternal and immutable truth is absent, virtue is false even in the best virtues.”

Sallustius wrote two books [i.e., Sallust], namely *Iugurtinum* [i.e., The Jugurthine War] and *Catellinarium* [i.e., The Catilinarian War], and a book of *Histories*, which is nevertheless not found. Some things are excerpted here from the foregoing works.

In *Catellinarium* [i.e., The Catilinarian War] he says: “Before you begin, deliberate--that is, take counsel. When you have deliberated, there is need of prompt action.”

“Every excellent person prefers to act rather than to speak.”

“All things obey virtue.”

“Prosperous circumstances weary even the minds of the wise.”

“Avarice subverts good faith, probity, and all the other good arts, and in their place it has taught pride and cruelty, to neglect God, and to possess all things.”

“Avarice has zeal for money, which no wise person has loved or desired. Imbued, as it were, with evil poisons, it emasculates a manly body and mind. It is always boundless and insatiable; neither abundance nor poverty diminishes it.”

“All mortals know the deeds of those who, endowed with great command, pass their lives in a lofty station. Thus in the highest fortune there is the least license.”

“Many things made our ancestors great which are nothing among us: diligence at home, justice abroad, and a spirit free in deliberation, subject neither to wrongdoing nor to lust. In place of these things, however, we have luxury and avarice, public poverty and private opulence.”

Fourth Title: On the Fifth Age of the World

Chapter Six (continued)

“There is no distinction between good and evil people. Ambition possesses all the rewards of virtue. At home they serve pleasure; abroad they serve either money or favor.”

The same author says in *The Jugurthine War*: “To strive in vain and seek nothing by wearying oneself except hatred is the height of madness.”

“Through concord small things grow; through discord the greatest things fall apart.”

“There are many things which, although grievous, are nevertheless regarded as nothing through habit.”

“Remember that envy follows glory. Therefore, the more distinguished you are or will be, the more anxious or solicitous you ought to be.”

“It is better to be conquered in a good manner than to overcome an injury in an evil manner.”

Sallust says in praise of the Romans who lived under the consuls after the kings had been expelled that right and good prevailed among them more by nature than by laws. Augustine proves in book 2, chapter 19 of *The City of God* that this was not true, because both in the time of the kings and in that of the consuls, even at the beginning, many unjust and evil things were done by them.

Although during that brief period when the expelled Tarquin sought to recover his lost kingdom with Porsenna's aid they were united and at peace with one another, this arose from fear of Tarquin, not from love of virtue. Hence immediately after his death, as though they no longer feared, great discords and jealousies arose between the plebeians and nobles, and even seditions.

Among other things, Sallust also says that the plebeians were oppressed by interest. Thereafter evils continually increased, together with innumerable slaughters.

§ VII. Virgil

Virgil the poet flourished in the time of Octavian. He died at Brundisium in the fifty-third year of his age, but his body was buried at Naples. He was born at Mantua.

He is commended by everyone for his books. Hence Augustine says in book 1 of *The City of God*: “Little children read Virgil for this reason: that the great poet, the most illustrious and best of all, may be drunk in during tender years and may not easily be erased by forgetfulness.”

Macrobius says of him that he was ignorant of no branch of knowledge. Juvenal compares him to Homer, saying: “The founder of the *Iliad* will be celebrated, together with the poems of high-sounding Maro, which make the palm of victory doubtful.”

When envious men objected to Virgil that he inserted the verses of others into his own work, he replied: “It belongs to men of great strength to wrest the club from Hercules' hand.”

Virgil used to say that he fashioned verses in the manner and custom of a bear. For just as that beast brings forth shapeless and unformed offspring and afterward perfects and shapes it by licking, so the recent productions of his talent were crude, unfinished, rough, and imperfect. But afterward, by treating and cultivating them, he gave them, as it were, the lineaments of a face and countenance.

Many deeds are also reported of him as having been accomplished at Naples and Rome through the art of necromancy.

Juvenal shows that Virgil was intemperate through a most wicked vice when he says: “For if Virgil should lack a boy and tolerable lodging, all the hydras would fall from their locks.”

He published three books, as is evident in his epitaph: “I sang pastures, fields, and leaders”--that is, the *Bucolics*, *Georgics*, and *Aeneid*.

It should also be noted that Virgil was not as eloquent in prose as in composing verse. Hence Seneca says in book 3 of the *Declamations*: “Even great talents do not excel in more than one work. That felicity of talent abandoned Virgil in prose; his own eloquence deserted Cicero in poetry.”

As for the books attributed to Virgil and entitled *Virgil on the Gnat* and *Virgil on Etna*, Vincent says in book 7 of the *Historical Mirror* that this attribution is apocryphal.

Augustine says in book 10 of *The City of God* that certain things concerning Christ were prophesied by Virgil, such as:

> *Now the final age of the Cumaean song has come;*
> *a great order of ages is born anew.*

Virgil says in the *Bucolics*, with the following verse:

> *Now a new progeny is sent down from high heaven.*
> *Now the Virgin returns, the reign of Saturn returns.*

And this:

With you as leader, if any traces of our crime remain,
made void, they shall free the lands from perpetual fear.

Jerome did not approve the claim that this was a prophecy about Christ. Rather, these things were spoken with another intention and about another person, but the sayings of a Virgilian cento were artfully adapted to Christ. Isidore confirms this.

Although what Jerome says is true, it can nevertheless stand together with what Augustine says: that Virgil spoke this prophetically, taking prophecy in a broad sense, as it is taken in John 11. There, when Caiaphas says in the council of the Jews, "It is expedient that one man die for the people," and so forth, the Evangelist adds: "He did not say this of himself"--supply: but from the Holy Spirit--"because, since he was the high priest of that year, he prophesied that Christ was going to die for the nation," and so forth, that is, for the salvation of the nations.

It is clear that Caiaphas did not say this with that intention, and yet he is said to have prophesied because the things he said were prophetic, although he himself did not understand them. It could therefore be said that the Holy Spirit made even pagans utter those things in order to foretell and signify the mystery of the Incarnation, although Virgil himself intended not this but something else.

The same Virgil says in the *Bucolics*: "Each person is drawn by his own pleasure."

"From Jove comes the beginning."

The same author:

You who gather flowers and strawberries growing upon the ground,
flee, boys! A cold snake lies hidden in the grass.

"In the furrows to which we have often entrusted great barley, unlucky darnel and barren oats spring up."

"We cannot all do all things."

The same author: "The god rejoices in an odd number."

"Love conquers all things; let us too yield to Love." Add: and if this is so of worldly love, much more is it so of Christ's love.

The same author says in the *Georgics*: "Persistent labor conquers all things, together with want pressing hard in difficult circumstances."

"O exceedingly fortunate people, if they should know their own blessings!"

"Every best day of life is the first to flee from wretched mortals; diseases and sorrowful old age follow."

"The older man, cold toward Venus, vainly drags along the thankless labor imposed upon him."

"Enter upon the path of training while the minds of the young are pliant and their age is still changeable."

The same author says in book 1 of the *Aeneid*: "Release your hearts from fear and shut harsh cares from your minds."

In the second book: "Fury and anger cast the mind headlong."

In the third: "To what do you not drive mortal hearts, accursed hunger for gold?"

In the fourth: "Fear betrays degenerate spirits."

In the fifth: "Woman is always fickle and changeable"--that is, in what she says and thinks.

In the sixth:

Not even if I had a hundred tongues, a hundred mouths,
and an iron voice could I comprehend every form of crime
or run through all the names of punishments.

In praise of the Romans, he also describes what those who preside in government ought to do, saying:

You, Roman, remember to govern the peoples with command.
These will be your arts: to impose the custom of peace,
to spare the subjected, and to subdue the proud.

He also sets down various punishments in another life for those who have sinned here. But Virgil erred in believing and saying that all punishments, whether inflicted by human or divine laws, whether in this life or after death, are applied for correction. The Platonists held this view, asserting also that no sins are unpunished.

Hence Augustine says in book 21, chapter 13 of *The City of God*: “From this comes that opinion of Maro.” After Virgil had said of earthly bodies and dying members that souls here fear, desire, grieve, and rejoice and, “shut within darkness and a blind prison, do not look up toward the breezes,” Maro himself--that is, Virgil--continued:

> *Indeed, even when life has left them with its final light--*

that is, when on the final day this life leaves them,

> *nevertheless, not all the evil, nor all the corporeal plagues,*
> *depart wholly from the wretched; and it is necessary that many things,*
> *long hardened deep within, grow strangely through manifold ways.*
> *Therefore they are exercised by punishments and pay penalties*
> *for their ancient evils. Some are spread out empty,*
> *suspended to the winds; for others beneath a vast gulf*
> *the stain of crime is washed away or burned out by fire.*

Thus Virgil.

Augustine adds there: “Those who hold these views think that after death there are no punishments except purgatorial ones.” But according to the truth of the faith, souls condemned after this life for mortal sins never escape those punishments and are not purified through them, but are tormented forever, according to Job: “In hell there is no redemption, but everlasting horror dwells there.”

And in the Gospel of Matthew, Christ says: “Whoever has blasphemed against the Holy Spirit will not be forgiven, either in this age or in the future.” From these words Augustine and Gregory argue that some sins, such as venial sins, are purged by fire in the future, but that others, such as mortal sins, are expiated in no way, as is found in Distinction 25, section *Alias*, and in the chapter *Qualis*.

Augustine touches upon another error of Virgil in book 10, chapter 30 of *The City of God*, saying that Virgil appears to have spoken in the Platonic manner of purified souls being sent into the Elysian Fields--by which name, as though in a fable, the joys of the blessed appear to be signified--and being called to the river Lethe, that is, to forgetfulness of the past, so that, forgetful of the world above, they may revisit the vault of heaven and begin again to wish to return into bodies.

This rightly displeased the Platonist Porphyry, although he was a pagan. In truth, it is foolish to believe that from that life, which could not be most blessed unless it were most certain of its own eternity, souls would desire the corruption of corruptible bodies and return from there to these things, as though supreme purification brought it about that defilement should be sought.

For if that which is perfectly cleansed brings it about that souls forget all evils, but forgetfulness of evils produces a desire for bodies so that they may again be entangled in evils, then supreme felicity will surely be the cause of unhappiness, perfection of wisdom the cause of foolishness, and supreme cleansing the cause of uncleanness. Nor will a soul truly be blessed there as long as it is where it must be deceived in order to be blessed, for it will not be blessed unless it is secure.

§ VIII. Ovid

About the same time lived the poet Ovid, called Naso, who wrote many books in verse. A few moral verses from them are set down here.

In the book of *Epistles*: “The outcome proves the deeds.”

“It becomes an art when a crime is learned from tender years.”

“It is a virtue to have abstained from pleasing goods.”

“Belief is customarily slow in great matters.”

The same author says in the book without a title: “A burden becomes light when it is borne well.”

“Night, love, and wine counsel nothing moderate. Night lacks shame; Liber and Love lack fear.”

“Beautiful women play; she is chaste whom no one has solicited.”

“Fool, what is sleep but the image of cold death?”

“What is permitted is unwelcome; what is not permitted burns more fiercely.”

“I flee what follows me; I myself follow what flees.”

“We always strive for the forbidden and desire things denied. Thus a sick man leans toward forbidden waters.”

The same author says in the book *The Art of Love*: “The crop is always more fertile in another's fields, and a neighbor's livestock has a larger udder.”

“An angry god is softened by a pleading voice.”

“It is easy for a god to be able to do all things.”

“There is no law more just than that the artificers of death should perish by their own art.”

“There are as many characters in human breasts as there are forms in the world. The person who is wise will be suited to innumerable characters.”

“There is no less virtue in preserving things acquired than in seeking them.”

“Yield to the person who resists; by yielding you will go away the victor.”

“It is a small virtue to keep silence about things; on the contrary, it is a grave fault to speak of things that must be kept silent.”

“Accustom yourself to bearing badly what you bear; you will bear it well while the new branch grows together with the green bark.”

“Believe me: gifts placate human beings and gods. Jove himself is placated by gifts.”

“Believe one who has experienced it: do not believe quickly, for believing quickly may harm you. Procris will be no slight example for us.”

The same author says in the book *Remedies*: “Resist beginnings; medicine is prepared too late when evils have strengthened through long delays.”

“But hasten, and do not put yourself off to the coming hours. The person who is not ready today will be less ready tomorrow.”

“The impatient spirit, not yet tractable by art, rejects the words of the one who admonishes and has hatred for them. I shall make a better approach when it will allow its wounds to be touched and will be fit for truthful words.”

“Who except a person bereft of reason forbids a mother to weep at the funeral of her son? This is not the time to admonish her. When she has shed her tears and filled her sick heart, that grief must be moderated with words.”

“Medicine has force at the proper times; wine given at the proper time helps, and wine given at an unsuitable time harms.”

“If you remove leisure, Cupid's bow has perished, and his despised torches lie without light.”

“As the plane tree rejoices more in a stream than the poplar in water, and as the marsh reed rejoices in muddy soil, so Venus loves leisure.”

“Evils are neighbors to good things; under the very appearance of error, virtue has often borne accusations as a vice.”

“Let people live by the sun; let shade be pleasing in heat and water in thirst. Many things together help where individual things do not.”

The same author says in the book of the *Metamorphoses*:

> *Although all other animals look downward upon the earth,*
> *God gave the human being an uplifted face and ordered him*
> *to see heaven and raise an erect countenance toward the stars.*

“Riches, the incitements of evils, are dug out. Now harmful iron, and gold more harmful than iron, comes forth. War comes forth, which fights with both.”

“People live by plunder: no guest is safe from a host, nor a father-in-law from a son-in-law; harmony among brothers too is rare. A husband threatens the destruction of his wife, and she that of her husband. A son before his father seeks after his father's years--or honors. Filial devotion lies conquered wherever the earth extends; fierce Erinys reigns.”

“You would think they had sworn themselves to wickedness, so greatly does guilt now reign everywhere.”

“It is tedious to enumerate. Hold between both extremes; you will go most safely in the middle.”

“Scarcely any power is long-lasting.”

“Alas, how difficult it is for a face not to betray a crime!”

“Pallor sits upon the face, and leanness is in the whole body. Nowhere is the gaze direct; the teeth are livid with rust. The breasts are green with bile; the tongue is suffused with venom. Laughter is absent except that which pains have produced. It does not enjoy sleep and wastes away while living.”

“Majesty and love do not agree well or remain in one seat.”

“A human being's final day must always be awaited, and no one must be called blessed before death.”

“Love grew with time. The more it is concealed, the more the hidden fire seethes.”

“What does love not perceive? It is lawful to be taught even by an enemy.”

“A tearful beginning was followed by better fortune.”

Fourth Title: On the Fifth Age of the World

Chapter Six (continued)

“Souls lack death; all things flow. There is nothing in the whole world that persists. The times themselves also roll onward in ceaseless motion. No person's hope remains his own, and nature, the renewer of things, restores one form from another.”

The same author says in the book of the *Fasti*: “Wealth gives honors; wealth gives friendships. The poor person lies neglected everywhere.”

“Haughtiness inheres in the beautiful, and pride follows beauty.”

“According as each person's conscious mind is, so within the breast it conceives hope and fear according to its own deed.”

“A mind conscious of rectitude laughs at fame's lies. But we are a crowd credulous toward vice.”

The same author says in the book of the *Tristia*: “As long as you are fortunate you will number many friends; if the times become cloudy, you will be alone.”

“If I had not sinned, what could you pardon? My fortune has given you material for forgiveness.”

“If Jupiter sent his thunderbolts whenever people sinned, he would be unarmed in a short time.”

“Perverse minds can corrupt all things. Nevertheless, all things are safe in their proper places.”

“No one can teach what he knows least.”

“I, the poet Naso, perished through my own talent.”

“There is a certain pleasure in weeping. Grief is filled by tears and goes out through them.”

“Glory goes by a steep path over a precipice.”

“As many grains as the sleep-bearing poppy has, as many beasts as the forest nourishes, and as many fish as swim in the water, I am pressed by so many adversities. The wise person patiently bears all bitter events.”

“Grief shut in strangles and seethes within, and is compelled to multiply its own powers.”

“A guest is cast out more shamefully than he is refused admission.”

“Long endurance of evils has conferred talent.”

“Glory gives no small strength to the spirit.”

“It is easy to be good where that which forbids one to be good has been removed.”

“Rare indeed is the virtue that fortune does not govern.”

“Fresh wounds recoil from hands brought near.”

“It is not always within the physicians' power that the sick person be relieved.”

“I do not know by what sweetness one's native soil draws everyone and does not permit them to be forgetful of it.”

“You see how leisure consumes a sluggish body, and how waters acquire corruption unless they move.”

Isidore says in the book *On the Highest Good*: “Christians are therefore forbidden to read the fictions of the poets because they excessively stir the mind toward the incitements of lust,” as is found in Distinction 37, chapter *Ideo*.

Ovid does this most particularly in his books. Therefore, his teaching ought most particularly to be avoided, except in a few moral sayings.

§ IX. Oratius [i.e., Horace]

At that time there also flourished the poet Oratius [i.e., Horace], who died at Rome in the thirty-fifth year of the rule of Augustus Octavian, in the fifty-seventh year of his age. According to Vincent in the *Historical Mirror*, he is said to hold the first place among the Latin satiric and lyric poets.

He is called a poet of great gravity by Jerome, not because of the gratuitousness of his acts or morals, for he was most incontinent, but because of the gravity of his opinions.

He wrote books of *Sermons*, *Epistles*, and lyric *Odes*, and the *Art of Poetry*. A few of his sayings have been excerpted and follow here.

In the *Art of Poetry*:

> *The boy who now knows how to return words and marks*
> *the ground with a sure foot delights to play with his peers,*
> *gathers anger and lays it aside rashly, and changes from hour to hour.*
> *The beardless youth, once his guardian has at last been removed,*
> *rejoices in horses and dogs and the grass of the sunny field.*
> *Pliable toward vice, harsh toward those who admonish him,*
> *slow to foresee useful things and prodigal with money,*
> *lofty and desirous, he is swift to abandon the things he loved.*

“Many inconveniences surround an old man: either because he seeks things and, wretched, abstains from what he has found and fears to use it, or because he administers all matters timidly and coldly. He is a procrastinator, long in hope, sluggish, greedy for the future, difficult, querulous, a praiser of the time past when he was a boy, and a chastiser and censor of his juniors.”

“The bow will not always strike whatever it threatens.”

“Sometimes even good Homer nods.”

“What pleased once will please when repeated ten times.”

In his book of *Epistles*: “No one is so savage that he cannot grow gentle.”

“He who has begun well has half the deed.”

“The energetic merchant runs to the furthest Indies, fleeing poverty through the sea, through rocks, and through fires.”

“He despises what he sought and seeks again what he lately abandoned. He seethes and is inconsistent throughout the whole order of his life. He demolishes, builds, and changes square things into round.”

“The miser is always in need.”

“The envious man wastes away at another's flourishing circumstances and beholds the other's prosperity with tears. The Sicilian tyrants did not invent a greater torment than envy.”

“Anger is a brief madness. Rule your spirit: unless it obeys, it commands. Restrain it with reins; restrain it with chains.”

“A jar will long preserve the scent with which it was once imbued when new.”

“Citizens, citizens, money must be sought first; virtue comes after money. Queen Money gives a wife with a dowry, credit and friends, lineage and beauty.”

“Small things suit a small person.”

“Those who run across the sea change the sky, not their spirit.”

“The wicked hate to sin from fear of punishment; the good hate to sin from love of virtue.”

“Death is the final boundary line of things.”

“To have pleased leading men is not the least praise.”

“Virtue is a mean between vices, reduced from both sides.”

“Riches permit foolishness.”

“Often beware what you say about any man and to whom you say it. Flee the inquisitive questioner, for he is also a babbler. Once a word has been sent forth, it flies irrevocably.”

“Examine the sort of person you recommend and also consider carefully, lest another person's faults soon strike you with shame.”

“For your own affair is at stake when the neighboring wall burns.”

“The sad hate the cheerful and the playful hate the sad; the swift hate the calm, and the active and energetic hate the relaxed. Drinkers, having drunk Falernian wine from the middle of the night, hate the man who refuses proffered cups, although.”

“Physicians promise what belongs to physicians; craftsmen handle the work of craftsmen. Learned and unlearned alike write poems everywhere.”

“One man often quarrels about goat's wool.”

“There are those who consider nothing right except what has pleased themselves.”

“There is a mean in things, and finally there are fixed limits beyond and short of which the right cannot stand.”

“While fools avoid vices, they run into their contraries.”

“It is just to return pardon to one who seeks it for his sins. Again, let a rule be present that imposes equal penalties for sins.”

“Tender age is customarily treated more gently.”

“Virtue, fame, honor, divine and human things obey beautiful riches. The person who has heaped them up will be illustrious, courageous, just, and wise, and even a king and whatever he wishes.”

“Thirsty Tantalus catches at streams fleeing a little distance from his lips.”

“Alas, no one is born without vices; the best man is the one pressed by the fewest.”

All the aforesaid orators, poets, and historians, together with their emperor in whose time they shone in the world, were exterminated and descended to hell. For although through natural reason they knew God, they did not glorify him as God or give thanks. Instead, they became vain in their thoughts, saying, “Our lips belong to us; who is our lord?” They served the creature rather than the Creator, committing idolatry with the people.

Yet because truth, by whomsoever it is spoken, is from the Holy Spirit, as Ambrose says, the Spirit illuminated their intellect to recognize those things which they spoke truly and moved their tongue and hand to write them--not by dwelling within them through grace. Therefore, what is true and useful in them should not be despised, but their falsehoods and depraved morals should be detested together with them.

§ X. The Birth of Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary

In the time of this Octavian our Lord Jesus Christ was born, namely in the forty-second year of his rule. Octavian also ruled afterward for twelve years, namely after Christ's birth.

Christ was born at a time when there was peace throughout the whole world. This had never happened from the death of Numa Pompilius, the second king of the Romans, until then. Rather, the Romans were always at war except during a single year, as is evident above.

The Romans, considering this and attributing it to Octavian's industry, wished to venerate him as a god. But the prudent emperor, understanding himself to be mortal, did not consent.

When the people were importunate with him about this, as Innocent III says, he summoned the Sibyl, a prophetess, wishing to learn through her oracles whether someone greater than he was to be born. Therefore, when on the day of the Nativity he had convened a council about this matter and the Sibyl was attending to her oracles in the emperor's chamber, at midday a golden circle appeared around the sun, and in its midst a most beautiful virgin carrying a child in her lap.

The Sibyl showed this to Caesar and said to him, “This child is greater than you; therefore adore him.” A voice was also heard saying, “This is the altar of heaven.” Hence that church at the place where Octavian's palace then stood, namely on the Capitol, which is now a church and convent of the Order of Friars Minor, is today called Saint Mary of the Altar of Heaven.

Orosius says of this: “In the time of Octavian, at approximately the third hour, a circle resembling a heavenly bow suddenly surrounded the orb of the sun in clear and pure, serene air, as though he were about to come who alone had made the sun itself and the whole world and would rule them.” Eutropius says the same.

Innocent III also says that, when the Romans had possessed a great peace for twelve years under Octavian, they built a most beautiful temple in the city and called it the Temple of Peace. When they consulted Apollo about how long that temple would endure, the answer was: “Until a virgin gives birth.”

Hearing this and believing it impossible, since it is certainly not possible according to nature, they had this carved upon its doors: “The Eternal Temple of Peace.” But on the night when Christ was born it collapsed from its foundations. It was thereby shown that a virgin remaining in virginity had given birth, namely Mary.

That such great peace then existed in the world was not due to the industry of Octavian or of other human beings, but to divine dispensation, in order to indicate that he was being born who is our peace, who makes both one, and who had come in our flesh to make our peace with God.

The whole of this, namely that peace would also be possessed temporally, he had foretold through the Psalmist and the prophet Isaiah when they spoke of his coming.

First, however, something must be said briefly according to the history about the nativity of his mother. Something has been said by way of preaching about her virtues, dignity, and praises in the Third Part, under the title on the state of those comprehended, with respect to the different states; but it will be noted more abundantly, if life accompanies us, in the treatise on the gifts, under the title on the gift of piety.

The nativity, therefore, of the glorious Virgin arose from Abraham's seed, from the tribe of Judah, and from the illustrious stock of David; her glorious life illuminates all churches.

The Virgin's father was named Joachim, of the tribe of Judah, and her mother was named Anna. When they had remained barren for many years, they finally vowed that, if the Lord granted it, they would offer their offspring to God. Anna conceived the Virgin Mary, not indeed from the Holy Spirit, as some fools assert, but from Joachim in the human manner.

When she was conceived in the womb, she was not sanctified at that moment, since a soul--the subject of sanctification--did not yet exist there. But after the soul had been infused into the fully organized body, she was cleansed from original sin as quickly as possible after that infusion, not after several months as John the Baptist was. She was also cleansed more fully, so that she would be immune even from venial sins during life, a privilege believed to have been granted to no one else, according to Bernard and Augustine.

Because some hold that she was free even from original sin, although the ancients expressly say the contrary, and because the Church has determined neither position, one can hold either opinion without prejudice to salvation. But this subject is treated fully in the First Part, under the title on original sin.

Anna therefore first bore Mary, the Lord's mother, by Joachim. After he died, Anna married Cleophas, by whom she bore another daughter whom she also called Mary. She gave this second Mary in marriage to Alphaeus. By Alphaeus this Mary had four sons: James the Less; Joseph the Just, who was also called Barsabas; Simon; and Judas, or Thaddeus.

After Cleophas died, Anna married a third husband, Salome, by whom she bore a third daughter whom she likewise called Mary. This Mary married Zebedee and had two sons by him, namely John the Evangelist and James the Greater.

Hence these verses are given:

> *Anna is customarily said to have conceived three Marys,*
> *whom the men Joachim, Cleophas, and Salome begot.*
> *Joseph, Alphaeus, and Zebedee took them as wives.*
> *The first bears Christ; the second, James the Less,*
> *Joseph the Just, with Simon and Judas;*
> *the third, James the Greater and winged John.*

It should also be known that Elizabeth, the mother of John the Baptist, was the Virgin Mary's cousin. For Elizabeth's mother, named Hismeria, was the full sister of Anna, the Virgin Mary's mother. Elizabeth is called the Virgin's kinswoman in the Gospel because she was related by blood in the way described.

Nor is this surprising, although Joachim and Anna are said to have been from the tribe of Judah and Elizabeth was of the tribe of Levi, as is evident in Luke 1, whereas according to the law everyone was obliged to take a wife from his own tribe and family. For the tribe of Judah and the priestly tribe of Levi were accustomed to intermarry with one another, and it was not considered contrary to the law.

Hence Aaron, the first high priest, also had a wife from the royal stock of David. It could therefore have happened, as Bede says, that a union of this kind arose in a more recent time, with women of the tribe of Judah being given in marriage into the tribe of Levi and conversely, so that the blessed Mary, who descended from the royal tribe of Judah, would manifestly be shown to have had blood kinship with those who were of the tribe of Levi.

Thus the blessed Mary was of both tribes. The Lord willed that these two tribes, namely the royal and the priestly, should be joined matrimonially to one another because of the mystery: to indicate that from them was to be born our Lord Jesus, true King and High Priest, who offered himself for us as a sacrifice to God upon the altar of the cross as an odor of sweetness, and who would rule his faithful as they valiantly exercised their warfare in this life and magnificently crown them in the next.

Hence he is also called Christ, which is Greek and is interpreted “anointed” in Latin.

Fourth Title: On the Fifth Age of the World

Chapter Six (continued)

Only kings and priests were anointed. The faithful take their name from him, so that they are called Christians from Christ, as anointed persons from the Anointed One. God anointed him, namely Christ, with the oil of gladness--that is, with the Holy Spirit--above his companions, as is said in the Psalm.

Therefore, as is said in Peter's canonical epistle, Christians are “a chosen race, a royal priesthood.” Giving thanks to God in the heavenly kingdom, they say: “You have redeemed us, O Lord our God, in your blood and have made us a kingdom for our God,” and so forth.

Matthew in chapter 1 and Luke in chapter 3 of their Gospels describe the genealogy of the glorious Virgin and, consequently, of the Lord Jesus Christ her Son. He alone was conceived and born from her, not from the male seed of Joseph or another, but by the power of the Holy Spirit.

According to Jerome and Chrysostom, the genealogies described by the Evangelists end not in Mary but in Joseph her spouse because it was not the custom among the Jews to compose catalogues of generations, or genealogies, through women but through men. Hence, if an Evangelist had expressly composed Mary's genealogy, this novelty and unusual style would have roused the Jews to scandal.

Nevertheless, by composing Joseph's genealogy, he also implicitly and consequently traced Mary's genealogy. For since Joseph, in whom that genealogy ends, was Mary's spouse, as is evident in Matthew 1, it is thereby shown that the Virgin his spouse was also from the same genealogy and descended from the tribe of Judah and the family of David. According to the command of the law, everyone was required to take a wife from his own tribe and not from another, a rule which was then fully observed.

Joseph is called a son of David in Matthew 1 because he descended from him; therefore his spouse Mary was also of the house of David.

Chrysostom says that none of the holy women is placed in Christ's genealogy, but rather sinful women, to indicate that he came for the sake of sinners, as a physician to save and not as a Lord and judge to pass judgment.

Jerome says upon Matthew: “Our Lord Jesus Christ willed to be born not only from foreigners but even from adulterous unions, granting us great confidence that, in whatever manner we were born, so long as we imitate his footsteps, we shall not be separated from his body, whose members we have been made through faith.” This is also found in Distinction 56, chapter *Dominus*.

Matthew and Luke differ in the manner of describing the Lord's genealogy. Matthew narrates by descending, from Abraham to Joseph, successively expressing three sets of fourteen generations through Solomon's line. Luke, however, describes seventy-seven generations by ascending from Joseph to Adam through Nathan's line.

The reason is that Matthew wrote his Gospel for the Jews. Nothing could delight converted Jews more than to hear that Christ descended from Abraham, to whom a promise had been made concerning him, and also from David, to whom Christ was also promised when it was said to him, “From the fruit of your womb I shall place one upon your throne.”

Therefore, to make them more well disposed and attentive, Matthew made the Lord's genealogy, beginning from Abraham and David, the opening of his Gospel. He narrated it by descending because he intended to show Christ's humanity, through which God descended to us from heaven.

He placed three sets of fourteen to indicate that through this we are both incorporated into Christ and are his brothers through adoption if, with faith in the Trinity, we observe the ten commandments together with the four Gospels.

For the number fourteen is composed of ten and four. Fourteen multiplied three times reaches forty-two generations, through which one comes from Abraham to Christ. These signify forty-two degrees of virtues through which one reaches Christ, so that Christ may be generated in us through grace.

These acts of the virtues can be taken from the interpretation of the Hebrew names described in the genealogy itself. The first of them is Abraham, the father of faith, whose name is interpreted “father of many nations.” For faith is the foundation and father of all foundations.

The last is Joseph, whose name is interpreted “increase,” because the perfect person always seeks to increase in the virtues.

These degrees are also figured by the forty-two stations through which the children of Israel, after crossing the Red Sea, journeyed through the desert toward the Promised Land, which signifies the heavenly fatherland, just as the desert signifies this world.

Luke the Evangelist, however, produced the genealogy by ascending as far as God, because he reveals the form of the sacrament. Beginning there from Christ's baptism, he ascends as far as God, showing by this that the baptized ascend so as to be sons of God.

He sets down seventy-seven generations. That number, seventy-seven, signifies forgiveness, according to Matthew 18: “I do not tell you to forgive seven times, but seventy times seven.” For in baptism all things are forgiven, even if there were all the sins of the seventy-seven generations from which Christ had descended.

Luke, moreover, was speaking not only to converted Jews but commonly to everyone, including the Gentiles. He therefore extends the genealogy as far as Adam, because all descend from Adam.

Matthew uses the term “begot” because he counts only sons by nature. Luke, however, says “who was,” because he also includes sons made according to law or by adoption. Through this the disagreement which appears between Luke and Matthew concerning Joseph's father is resolved, for Matthew says that Joseph was the son of Jacob, while Luke calls him the son of Heli.

Augustine says in the book *Questions on the Gospels* that three explanations occur, one of which the Evangelist followed. Either one Evangelist named the father of Joseph by whom he was begotten, while the other set down either his maternal grandfather or someone among his elder kinsmen; or one was Joseph's natural father and the other his adoptive father; or, according to the Jewish custom, when one of two brothers had died without sons, the nearer relative took his wife and assigned to the dead kinsman the first son whom he begot from her, so that the child would be called his son. This was a certain kind of legal adoption.

Thomas says in the Third Part, question 31, that this third explanation is truer than the others. The gloss of Jerome upon Matthew also gives it, and Eusebius of Caesarea says in the *Ecclesiastical History* that it was handed down by Africanus the historian.

They say that Matthan and Melchi at different times each begot one son from one and the same wife, named Hescha. Matthan, who descended through Solomon, took her as his wife first and died after leaving one son, Jacob. After Matthan's death, because the law does not forbid a widow to marry another man, Helchi, who traced his lineage through Nathan to David and was from the same tribe but not the same family, took Matthan's widow as his wife and himself received from her a son named Heli.

Thus Jacob and Heli, arising from different lines of fathers, became uterine brothers, namely brothers from the same mother. One of them, Jacob, in obedience to the command of the law took the wife of his brother Heli, who had died without children, and begot Joseph. By natural descent Joseph was his own son, but according to the command of the law he was made Heli's son. Therefore Matthew says, “Jacob begot Joseph.” But because Luke describes the legal generation, he names no one as having begotten him.

Although Damascene says that the blessed Virgin, Christ's mother, was related to Joseph according to the lineage in which Heli is called his father, because he says that she descended from Melchi, it must nevertheless be believed that she also drew her origin from Solomon in some manner through those fathers whom Matthew enumerates. Matthew appears to have narrated Christ's generation according to the flesh, especially since Ambrose says that Christ descended from the seed of Jeconiah. Thus Thomas in that place.

The most blessed Mary was therefore that perfectly straight branch which came forth from the root of Jesse, David's father, as was foretold by Isaiah. She was also the star of the sea--for so her name is interpreted--of whom Balaam said: “A star shall arise out of Jacob,” and so forth.

Her father Joachim was a native of the city of Nazareth, and her mother Anna was from Bethlehem. Their life, as is read in a certain little book translated from Hebrew into Latin by blessed Jerome and entitled *On the Nativity of Blessed Mary*--which, although apocryphal, contains things consonant with reason--was simple, upright, and pious.

They divided all their substance into three parts. They offered one part to the temple and its servants, distributed the second to the poor and to pilgrims, and reserved the third part of their income for the support of themselves and their household.

Thus, just before God and pious toward human beings, for about twenty years they conducted a chaste marriage at home without the procreation of children. They vowed that, if the Lord gave them offspring, they would consign it to his service.

On one occasion, at the Feast of the Dedication, Joachim ascended to the temple in Jerusalem and stood with his offerings among his fellow citizens and fellow tribesmen who had children. Issachar the high priest scorned him together with his gifts, saying that the gifts of one whom he judged unworthy of offspring could not appear acceptable to God, and that the man who left no seed upon the earth was accursed.

Confounded by this reproach cast upon him, Joachim withdrew to his shepherds in the pastures. He did not dare to return home lest his fellow citizens mark him with the same reproach of sterility.

One day an angel of the Lord appeared to him with a great light and comforted him in his terror, saying: “Do not fear, for I am an angel sent by the Lord to announce to you that your prayers have been heard by God and your alms are pleasing to him. The reproach of sterility has not rightly been cast upon you; rather, sterility, or the abasement caused by delayed offspring, is recompensed and sometimes exalted by the nobility of the child who follows, as is evident in Sarah and Rachel.”

“Behold, your wife Anna will bear you a daughter, and you will call her Mary. From infancy, as you vowed, she will be consecrated to the Lord and will be filled with the Holy Spirit from her mother's womb, namely through sanctification. Her continual dwelling will be in the Lord's temple. Just as she herself will be born wonderfully from barren Anna, so, incomparably, the Virgin will generate the Son of the Most High.”

An angel of the Lord also appeared to Anna while she was anxious about her husband's return and comforted her with a similar revelation. Each, moved from his own place at the angel's command, met the other at the Golden Gate of Jerusalem. They disclosed their visions to one another and rejoiced together, giving thanks to God.

After they returned home and devoted themselves to marital union, the most blessed Mary was conceived from them and born.

When she had been weaned, her parents, striving to fulfill their vow, brought her at the age of three to the Lord's temple in order to dedicate her to God. There were fifteen steps by which one ascended to the temple--that is, to the altar of holocausts in the temple's outer court, where sacrifices were offered.

Her parents placed the girl upon the lowest step while they clothed themselves in more ceremonial garments. The most blessed Mary, though three years old, ascended all those steps by herself without anyone's aid, so that nothing seemed lacking to her perfect age. This signified that in mind she had already ascended the fifteen degrees of perfection signified in the fifteen Gradual Psalms, which were recited by the priests as they ascended to the temple. Nicholas of Lyra briefly gives their application in his commentary upon the Psalter.

When the sacrifice had been celebrated, her parents left their daughter in the temple to be guarded with the other virgins and returned home.

In ancient times it was unknown when, or on what day, the Virgin's nativity had occurred, and therefore it was not solemnized by the Church. But as Vincent relates in book 7 of the *Historical Mirror*, a certain holy man living a solitary life repeatedly perceived a great harmony in heaven on that day each year. When he desired to know the reason, an angel revealed that this occurred because the Lord's mother had been born on that day.

When this became known, the Church instituted the celebration of the feast of her Nativity. Later, Innocent IV instituted its octave. Hence Bernard says: “Blessed Mary was holy before she was born, for she would not be celebrated with festive praises if she had not been born holy.”

§ XI. Mary's Life and Conduct in the Temple

Concerning her life and conduct while she remained in the temple, a certain little book, though apocryphal, says that she established this rule for herself: from morning until terce she devoted herself to prayer; from terce until none she occupied herself with work at the loom; from none onward she did not withdraw from prayer until an angel of the Lord appeared to her and brought her food from heaven for her sustenance.

Whatever the ministers gave her, she returned to be distributed to the poor. All her speech was full of grace, so that God was recognized upon her tongue, and she persevered in searching the law of God.

She was solicitous for her companions, lest any one of them should sin even in a small thing or become domineering or proud toward another companion. She blessed God without interruption. Lest perhaps she be withdrawn from the Lord's praises by returning a greeting, if anyone greeted her, she answered “Thanks be to God” in place of a return greeting.

Although she was more beautiful in body than all other women, such purity and such honor shone in her face that even the most unchaste men who looked upon her were not only not incited to desire her, but were urged and pierced in heart toward chastity and modesty.

Fourth Title: On the Fifth Age of the World

Chapter Six (continued)

That blessed Mary was immune from every actual sin is evident from the words of Augustine in the book *On Nature and Grace*: “With the exception of the holy Virgin Mary, concerning whom, for the honor of the Lord, I wish to raise absolutely no question when sins are discussed.”

“For we know that more grace was bestowed upon her to conquer sin on every side, since she merited to conceive and bear him who, it is agreed, had no sin. With this Virgin alone excepted, if all the holy men and women had been asked while they lived here whether they were without sin, they would all have answered with one voice what John says: ‘If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves.’” Thus Augustine.

He is speaking of venial sins. This should not be understood to mean that a holy person cannot find himself free even from venial sin for some brief period. Rather, he cannot remain so for a long time without falling into some sin, because although we can avoid individual sins, we cannot avoid them all, according to Thomas in the *Summa*.

Accordingly, when Mary's father and mother had left her in the temple, the Lord took her up, and she advanced daily in grace. When she had reached the age of fourteen years, the high priest admonished her and the other virgins that they should return to their own homes, or those of their parents, and devote themselves to marriage.

Although the other virgins gladly agreed, the Virgin Mary alone resisted as though the command were contrary to her, saying that she could not obey it because she had vowed virginity to God.

The high priest was anxious and perplexed about this matter, both because the law commanded that a vow be fulfilled and because, on the other hand, the custom at that time was contrary to anyone's preserving virginity rather than devoting herself to carnal propagation. He judged it fitting to consult a divine oracle concerning these matters.

Without delay, as all listened at God's propitiatory, it was heard that the prophecy of Isaiah should be consulted to determine to whom the Virgin should be betrothed, namely: “A branch shall come forth from the root of Jesse, and a flower shall ascend from his root, and the Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him.”

The high priest therefore ordered all men of David's family who were fit for marriage to bring their rods before him at the altar. When this was done and Joseph brought forth his rod among the others, the rod itself immediately budded and flowered, and a dove was seen to settle upon its summit.

By this sign it was shown that the Virgin was to be betrothed to Joseph. After she had been betrothed to him, she was therefore led to the home of her parents or of Joseph. For it was then customary for betrothed women sometimes to enter and remain in the homes of their spouses, preserving all honor and virginity until the wedding day.

§ XII. Mary's Betrothal and Vow

Although the Virgin could have been betrothed to Joseph through the sign and manner described above, this account is not authentic. It is, however, most certain that she was betrothed to Joseph, as the Gospel attests.

Matthew 1 says, “When Mary, the mother of Jesus, had been betrothed to Joseph,” and Luke 1 says, “The angel Gabriel was sent to the Virgin Mary, betrothed to Joseph.” From these words it is also evident that she was betrothed before Christ's conception.

The doctors assert that she also made a vow of virginity. But as to whether it was before or after her betrothal, Augustine appears to say that she vowed inwardly before her betrothal but afterward expressed it with her mouth.

For he says, as is found in Cause 27, Question 2, section 1: “Blessed Mary had resolved in her heart that she would preserve a vow of virginity, but she did not express the vow of virginity itself with her mouth. She subjected herself to divine disposition when she resolved that she would persevere as a virgin unless God revealed otherwise to her.”

“Committing her virginity, therefore, to divine disposition, she consented to carnal union, not by desiring it, but by obeying divine inspiration in both respects. Afterward, however, she bore a son and, together with her husband, expressed with her lips what she had conceived in her heart; and each remained in virginity.” Thus Augustine.

She therefore consented to the conjugal state with Joseph when God revealed it, because she had vowed in this manner. It was also revealed to her that she would not be known by that man.

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter One

According to some, the sixth age of the world began in Christ Jesus from his Nativity, which occurred in the forty-second year of the rule of Augustus Octavian and in the 5,199th year from the beginning of the world according to the Septuagint and Bede, but in the 3,865th year according to the Hebrews and Jerome.

According to others, the sixth age of the world begins from Christ's baptism, because at that time regenerative power was bestowed upon the waters in baptism. According to others, it begins with his Passion, when the door of paradise was opened.

Both his baptism and Passion occurred under the emperor Tiberius, Octavian's immediate successor.

Our Lord Jesus, having assumed flesh, descended from the royal and priestly tribes through patriarchs, priests, and kings. He is a priest forever according to the order of Melchizedek and a high priest of the good things to come, entering the Holy of Holies by his own blood; and he is King of kings and Lord of lords, as is said in the Apocalypse.

In him the Christian empire and the supreme pontificate have their origin and true foundation, as is said in Distinction 10, chapter *Quoniam idem mediator*, in the text and gloss.

Just as there are two great lights in the firmament, the greater sun and the lesser moon, so in Christ the pontificate was established as the greater light and the empire as the moon. As the moon is illuminated by the sun, so the empire is instructed and directed by the priesthood, as is stated in Distinction 96, chapter *Duo sunt*.

In this chapter, therefore, Christ's life and miracles will be treated according to the Evangelists' narration, with their chapters cited, and afterward the supreme pontiffs, emperors, and notable deeds of their times.

Our Lord Jesus was born from the Virgin Mary on Sunday, as Vincent says in the *Historical Mirror*. On that day light arose for those dwelling in the region of the shadow of death, as Isaiah 9 says. On that day God said at the beginning of the world, “Let there be light,” and light was made, as is stated in Genesis 1.

For as Pope Leo says, “On this day, namely Sunday, the world took its beginning, death received its destruction, and life received its beginning,” namely through the Resurrection, as is found in Distinction 75, chapter *Quo die*.

Every creature, even heavenly creation, marvels at this mystery, Jerome says. The oracles of the prophets and predictions of the Sibyls foretold it.

For it is said in Jeremiah: “The Lord will make a new thing upon the earth: a woman shall encompass a man.” It is indeed new beyond all novelties that Mary should encompass in the womb, by conceiving, a man perfect in every grace and glory, receiving him not from a human source but from the Holy Spirit.

Isaiah 66 also says: “Before she was in labor, she gave birth; before her delivery came, she bore a male. Who ever heard such a thing, and who saw anything like it?”--as though to say, no one.

For before Mary labored, before the doorway of her modesty was opened--which was never opened but was always closed forever, like the gate in the Lord's house through which the Lord alone entered and went out, as the prophet Ezekiel saw in spirit and foretold--Mary bore her firstborn son with the seal of her virginity preserved, just as, when risen, he came forth from the closed tomb with the priestly seal preserved.

Who heard or saw anything like this? Certainly no one. Bernard says that in this mystery things were joined together: God and man, mother and virgin, faith and the human heart. There never was and never will be anything similar.

Hence Maximus says in a sermon on the Nativity: “Our fathers indeed saw marvelous and innumerable works of God. Heaven rained angelic foods for them; the hardest rock supplied sweet drinks; the strongest wall of their enemies fell at the blare of trumpets; the river Jordan turned its perpetual course back toward its source; and the sun, having delayed in heaven, granted victory to the people fighting.”

“But it was granted to none of them to see this: that the Only-Begotten of the Most High, whom the trembling powers of the archangels receive, would show himself to human beings as a human being.” Thus Maximus.

“All these things happened to them in a figure,” as 1 Corinthians 10 says. Because light is more excellent than shadow and truth than figure, if that which you admire is the shadow, how much more must that of which it is the shadow be admired? Thus Ambrose, in *On Consecration*, Distinction 2, chapter *Revera*.

The aforesaid marvels prefigured the marvels accomplished through Christ's Nativity. God gave the human race from heaven the dew of divinity and an abundance of every perfection from the richness of the earth, that is, from Christ's human nature.

The rock, which is the most steadfast Christ, offered the people sweet drinks of doctrines and sacraments. At the trumpet of the apostles' preaching, which went out into all the earth to announce this mystery, the walls of vices fell.

The Jordan of the sensitive power, which flows downward toward things to be desired and toward death, turned itself back toward seeking higher things and life. The Sun of Justice, delayed in the airy heaven upon the cross, triumphed against the powers of the air.

“This is the day the Lord has made; let us exult and rejoice in it,” says the Psalmist. Ambrose expounds this concerning Christ's Nativity: “For human nature assumed by the Word is wholly day, knowing neither the sunset of sin nor the darkness of ignorance. The Lord Trinity made that day--that flesh and soul and their union with the Word.”

“Therefore, let us exult in body by singing praises and psalms; let us rejoice by exulting in mind.” Hence Pope Leo also says in a sermon: “Our Savior is born today; let us rejoice. No one is excluded from the gladness of this day. Let the just person exult because he is invited to the palm; let the sinner rejoice because he is called to pardon; let the Gentile take courage because he is summoned to life.”

Hence Faustus says in a sermon on the Nativity: “Lead forth, faithful people, your most festive joys, for today a new thing which was once promised has been completed for us. The Maker of the world enters the narrowness of a human womb. An untouched mother becomes pregnant, and behold, like a bridegroom from his chamber, Christ proceeds from Mary's womb.”

“O new and unheard-of mingling! O marvelous and unsearchable joining! God and man, Word and flesh, are united. No created intellect and no science can grasp so ineffable a mystery.”

As another says: “Nature does not possess it; experience does not know it; reason does not comprehend it; the mind does not grasp it; speech is silent; talent grows dull; earth is astonished; heaven trembles; creation marvels; all things keep a profound silence, and on this day they are fulfilled.”

Alan says in the *Anticlaudianus*:

> *The force of logic is banished; all judgment of rhetoric perishes,*
> *and reason totters, so that night shines and the sun grows dark in eclipse.*
> *The true Sun grows weak so that he may lead the stars back to their rising.*
> *The physician falls sick that he may heal the diseased patient.*
> *Heaven joins itself in covenant with earth: cedar with hyssop,*
> *the giant himself with the smallest, king with servant,*
> *rich man with pauper, purple with sackcloth.*

Thus Alan.

Likewise another says:

> *Heaven is enclosed in a potsherd; the world is held in a fist.*
> *The sphere is encircled by its center; the circle lies in its center.*
> *The stream exceeds its source; the potter comes forth from the vessel.*
> *The eternal Sun is obscured; light and life are darkened.*
> *He who bears every creature is borne;*
> *he who bears the care of all is governed.*
> *The diameter of the infinite joins itself to a parallel side.*
> *The Word becomes an infant of a girl and is silent;*
> *standing above, he lies below; he is silent and thunders in the clouds.*

Thus he.

§ I. The Gospel Narratives Begin

Matthew describes the genealogy of Christ's generation according to his humanity at the beginning of his Gospel, beginning it with Abraham and ending it with Joseph, the husband of Mary, from whom Christ was born.

John the Evangelist, however, began his Gospel from Christ's eternal generation according to divinity, saying, “In the beginning was the Word,” and from there descended to his temporal generation according to humanity, saying, “And the Word was made flesh.”

Luke begins his Gospel from the conception of Christ's precursor, namely John the Baptist. It was announced to his father Zechariah in the temple by the archangel Gabriel on the Feast of Propitiation, when entry was made into the Holy of Holies.

Gabriel foretold John's name, his sanctification in the womb, the austerity of his life, and his office of preaching. Because Zechariah doubted and asked for a sign, he received a sign by being made mute until John's birth.

After Zechariah returned to his home, his barren wife Elizabeth conceived John the Baptist by him.

Note that Zechariah was chosen by lot to place incense in the temple. From this it cannot be argued that lots are lawful. For as Master Gratian says in Cause 26, Question 1, chapter *His ita*: “Before the Gospel became clear, many things were permitted which, in the time of a more perfect one, as of Zechariah or of blood relations, was prohibited neither by legal nor by evangelical or apostolic authority. It is nevertheless forbidden by ecclesiastical law.”

Thus the use of lots was permitted in the Old Testament, as is evident there, but lots were prohibited by the Church lest the faithful return to the rites of idolatry under the appearance of divination, especially in ecclesiastical elections.

In the sixth month after John's conception, the angel Gabriel was sent by God to Nazareth, a city of Galilee, to the Virgin Mary betrothed to Joseph.

When Mary was terrified by the angel's greeting, “Hail, full of grace, the Lord is with you; blessed are you,” and so forth, the angel comforted her and announced that she would conceive the Son of the Most High.

The Virgin asked him, not because she doubted the word announced to her as Zechariah had, but so that she might hear the manner of this conception, for she said, “I do not know a man”--that is, “I have resolved that I shall not know one,” as is expounded in Cause 27, Question 2, section 1.

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter One (continued)

The angel answered by explaining the manner: she would conceive not by human seed, but through the operation of the Holy Spirit. He adduced as an example the conception of the barren Elizabeth, which had been hidden from Mary, not to make her believe as though she had been doubtful, but to heap joy upon joy and to make the young woman think of service to the old woman, namely at Elizabeth’s delivery.

Then, when Mary said, “Behold the handmaid of the Lord; let it be done to me according to your word,” in that moment the Word was made flesh. From the Virgin Mary--that is, from her purest blood--the matter of Christ’s body was formed and at once distinguished into the lineaments of all its members. A soul newly created by God was infused into that body and united to the Godhead, filled with all grace, wisdom, and glory. All these things occurred together in an instant.

After conceiving, Mary arose and went into the hill country to Zechariah’s house. When she greeted Elizabeth, the infant John leapt miraculously in Elizabeth’s womb. With his use of reason hastened, as is said, he recognized the Savior’s advent in the Virgin’s womb and revered him. He was then sanctified from original sin, that is, cleansed.

Elizabeth, too, through a revelation made to her concerning the Word of God conceived in the Virgin, exclaimed that this merit and grace had befallen her: that the mother of the Lord had come to visit her. The most blessed Virgin, seeing that the mystery hidden from everyone was now being made manifest, was filled with a fervent spirit and poured herself out in incomprehensible thanksgiving, singing that most devout canticle, “My soul magnifies the Lord,” and so forth.

Mary remained with Elizabeth for three months, namely until John’s birth, which, as is piously said, she awaited. When Elizabeth then gave birth to John, all her neighbors and relatives rejoiced with her. On the eighth day they came for the child’s circumcision. Although he had been cleansed from original sin through sanctification in the womb, it was nevertheless fitting that he should be circumcised so as to conform to the others of that people.

A pious dispute arose between his relatives and his mother about the imposition of a name. His mother wished him to be called John, but the others refused and sought to give him another name. When they approached his father Zechariah for a decision, he asked by a sign for a writing tablet and wrote, “John is his name.” Immediately the mouth of him who had been mute was opened, and he prophesied, declaring the mystery of the Incarnation that had until then been secret and saying, “Blessed be the Lord God of Israel,” and so forth. Everyone marveled at this, and it was reported throughout the region.

After John was born, Mary returned to her own home, and Joseph perceived that Mary, his betrothed, was pregnant. Since he was just and knew that he had not known her, yet did not wish to expose her--that is, to accuse her, according to Augustine in Cause 2, Question 1, chapter *Si peccaverit*--and since he did not believe that one so holy and chaste had committed adultery, he resolved to dismiss her.

But an angel revealed to him in a dream that he should not fear to receive her, because she had conceived by the Holy Spirit a son whom he was to call Jesus, because he would save the people. “Do not fear to receive Mary your wife.” Chrysostom explains “receive” as “retain in your house.” He already had her at home according to the ancient custom by which betrothed women were kept in their spouses’ homes with all chastity, but he had already dismissed her in his mind. This is found in Cause 27, Question 2, chapter *Priusquam*.

“Your wife,” Origen explains, means: “the woman betrothed to you, whom I nevertheless call your wife--not because of a union accomplished or yet to come with you, but so that I may conceal her virginity from the devil and not destroy the institutions of the law.” This is found in Cause 27, Question 2, chapter *Inventam*.

Gregory says: “The Lord wished Mary to have a betrothed before his birth, although he did not attain to marriage with her. For just as the disciple Thomas, by doubting and touching, became a witness of the true Resurrection, so Joseph, Mary’s betrothed, became the guardian of her wholly inviolate virginity.” This is found in Cause 27, Question 2, chapter *Sic quippe*.

§ II. Christ’s Nativity, Circumcision, and Presentation

When a decree went out from Caesar Augustus, that is, Octavian, that the whole world should be enrolled, this meant those who were subject to the Roman Empire, for the whole world without qualification was never subject to anyone. The decree ordered everyone to go to the city from which he drew his origin, so that each might be enrolled there and pay a silver denarius in acknowledgment of subjection to the emperor.

Mary and her betrothed Joseph, to provide an example of obedience to superiors even when they are pagans, went from Nazareth to Bethlehem, the little city from which David had arisen and from whom they themselves were descended. Because many people had gathered there and, being poor, they found no house to receive them, they entered a certain lodging place: not a habitable dwelling, but a place to which people resorted in rainy weather or to converse together.

There, at about midnight on Sunday, Mary gave birth--not with pain like other women, but with supreme joy incomprehensible to us--in accordance with Isaiah’s words, “Budding, it shall bud with rejoicing and praise.” Just as the earth produces plants without being opened, so she bore her firstborn son: not one after whom other sons were born, but one before whom there was none, that is, her only-begotten. Immediately after bearing him, she adored him.

There was no midwife there, no maidservant, and no nurse, as Jerome says. The Virgin alone suckled him at a breast full from heaven. She wrapped him in cloths and laid him in a manger between an ox and an ass, as is commonly said. This agrees with Abachuc [i.e., Habakkuk] 3: “In the midst of two animals you shall be made known.” The newborn child was warmed by the animals’ warm breath.

An angel of the Lord appeared with a great light to shepherds keeping watch over their flocks in that region and announced the birth of the Savior of the world. At this there was heard a multitude of the heavenly army with him, praising God and saying, “Glory to God in the highest,” and so forth.

Speaking to one another, the shepherds said, “Let us go over to Bethlehem and see this word that has come to pass, which the Lord has made and shown to us.” They came in haste and saw the infant with his mother. Nor is Joseph believed to have been absent, since he enjoyed so great a mystery of the newborn child. After adoring him, the shepherds returned to their own affairs, glorifying God and spreading word of what had happened.

Mary preserved all these words, pondering them in her heart. As Bede says, she compared what she knew the prophets had foretold about the Son of God and her son with the things she saw fulfilled in him each day. She committed them to memory so that, at the proper time, she might disclose them to the apostles and evangelists who had not been present at these events.

On the eighth day after his birth the child was circumcised, and his name was called Jesus. Here Gratian says, in Cause 25, Question 1, final section, that Christ both gave the law and himself fulfilled it carnally: he was circumcised on the eighth day and presented in the temple on the fortieth, so that in his own person he might sanctify it. Later, to show himself Lord of the law, he cleansed a leper by touching him, contrary to the letter of the law. Many reasons are assigned for his circumcision, although he had no need of it, but this is not the place to discuss them. Thus Luke.

§ III. The Magi and the Presentation in the Temple

On the thirteenth day after his birth the Magi--that is, wise men foremost in astrology and kings--came from the East to Jerusalem, led by a star that had appeared to them either on the very day of the Nativity, as is commonly said, or on that same date in the preceding year. Believing that a child so excellent, whose birth had been revealed to them, had been born there, they asked, “Where is he who has been born King of the Jews?”

When Herod, king of Judea, heard this, he was troubled, and all Jerusalem with him. He gathered those learned in the law and asked them about the birthplace sought by the Magi. When it was explained to him from Micah’s prophecy that it was

Bethlehem--"And you, Bethlehem, land of Judah," and so forth--he pointed out the place to the Magi and urged them to make the child known to him when they had found him. He pretended that he wished to adore the one whom he intended to kill.

After leaving Jerusalem, they saw again the star whose sight they had lost upon entering the city. The star went before them until it reached the place where the child had been born and stood still there. From this they recognized that the child whom they found with his mother Mary was true God, and they adored him. Each offered gifts--there are said to have been three of them, Caspar, Balthasar, and Melchior--of gold, frankincense, and myrrh.

According to Bernard, the gold was for relief of poverty, the frankincense to remove the stable's stench, and the myrrh to strengthen the child's limbs. According to Leo, gold signified royal power, frankincense divine majesty, and myrrh his mortality. By these gifts they professed what they believed about him; or they honored him as the author of all philosophy or wisdom, which is divided into natural, moral, and rational philosophy, according to Gratian in Distinction 37.

After adoring him, they were warned in dreams not to return to Herod and went back to their own country by another road. Augustine says that interpreters of the stars--that is, of the constellations under which people are born--were then called Magi but are now called mathematicians. We read in the Gospel of those who announced Christ's birth; knowledge of their art was permitted until Christ, so that after Christ appeared no one should thereafter interpret any person's birth from the heavens. This is found in Cause 26, Question 3, chapter *Igitur genus*.

On the fortieth day Christ was presented in the temple by Mary and Joseph according to the law of purification. A pair of turtledoves or two young pigeons were offered for him in sacrifice, and he was redeemed for five silver shekels. The aged Simeon recognized the Savior when he was presented in the temple, took him in his arms, blessed God, and said, "Now you dismiss," and so forth. Restoring him to his mother, Simeon prophesied concerning him: "Behold, this child is set for the fall," and so forth, and that the sword of his Passion would pierce her soul.

Anna the prophetess, who was eighty-three years old and remained continually in the temple, also recognized him and made him known to others. Faithful women still observe this custom by not entering a church for forty days after giving birth. They do this not because it was commanded in the Old Law, for that would be to Judaize, but from a certain reverence toward the church. Yet, as Gregory says in Distinction 5, if a woman wishes to enter a church in the very hour in which she has given birth--not in contempt, but to give thanks to God--she must not be prohibited.

§ IV. Herod and the Holy Innocents

When the Magi told Herod nothing about the child they had found, at first he thought that they had been deceived and had not found him and therefore were ashamed to return to him or send a messenger. But afterward he heard the reports about the newborn King of the Jews increase through the words of the shepherds, Simeon, and Anna the prophetess. Thinking that the Magi had deliberately concealed the child they had found, and seeing that they had mocked him, he became exceedingly angry and began to devise a way of killing the child Jesus.

While he was arranging the children's slaughter, however, Caesar Augustus summoned him by letter to go to Rome and answer the accusation of his sons, as the Historian says. While traveling, Herod learned that the Magi had crossed in ships of Tarshish, and he had those ships burned, in accordance with the words, "With a vehement spirit you shall shatter the ships of Tarshish."

When father and sons had argued their case before Augustus, they were reconciled on the condition that the sons should honor their father and remain subject to him, while he could dispose of the kingdom as he pleased. Returning to Judea, Herod informed the people that by Augustus's decree he had been constituted judge concerning his successor to the kingdom.

And, as is said, lest Herod himself, ignoble and alien to the Israelite stock, should be regarded as a foreigner, he had all the books in which the nobility of lineage was recorded and preserved in the temple burned, so that when the proofs were gone he might appear to belong to that lineage. To mingle his offspring with the royal family of the Jews, he cast off his wife Doside [i.e., Doris] and married Mariagnem [i.e., Mariamne], the granddaughter of Aristobulus and daughter of Hyrcanus.

After returning from the aforesaid victory, he became bolder and ordered the cruel plan for slaughtering the children, intended to reach Christ, to be carried out, as the Historian says. Sending men into Bethlehem and all its territory, he had all that region's children two years old and under--meaning from two years of age down to one day old--gathered, as can be imagined, into one place and brought by their mothers or nurses under the pretext of some work of piety and munificence.

A year had already passed since the Magi's adoration, because Herod had been occupied with his journey to Rome; and it was thought that so royal a child, King of the Jews, would be more beautiful and larger than the rest. Herod therefore sought to include him among all those killed.

Thus very many little children were killed for Christ and became and were called martyrs. They bore witness not by speaking but by dying. Their number is unknown. For when the Apocalypse text sung in their office to their praise says, "One hundred and

forty-four thousand, having the Lamb's name written on their foreheads," a definite number is there put for an indefinite one, comprehending under it the great mystery of the elect. It is not said that their precise number was this.

Before the Innocents were killed, an angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph in a dream and said, "Take the child and his mother and flee into Egypt, because Herod will seek the child to destroy him." Rising by night, Joseph went to Egypt with the mother and child.

When Jesus entered Egypt, as the Historian says, just as at Israel's departure from Egypt there was no house in which the firstborn had not died, so at Jesus's entrance into Egypt there was no temple in which an idol did not fall. This accorded with the prophetic words of Isaiah 19: "Behold, the Lord will ascend upon a light cloud"--that is, the Virgin, who knew neither the burdens of marriage nor those of any sin--"and will enter Egypt, and the idols of Egypt shall fall." The Lord is said to have remained there for seven years.

Here Augustine says: "Let Christ's minister flee, as Christ fled into Egypt from Herod's face. Let him who is specially sought flee, while the Church's safety remains firm through others." This is found in Cause 7, Question 1, section *Hoc tunc*, after chapter *Adversitas*.

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter One (continued)

After Herod later died, an angel of the Lord told Joseph in a dream to return with the mother and child to the land of Israel, because those who sought to take the child's soul--that is, his life--were dead. Upon returning, Joseph heard that Archelaus, Herod's son, reigned in Judea in place of his father, and he was afraid to go there. He withdrew into the province of Galilee and dwelt in the city of Nazareth with Mary and the little child.

§ V. Christ at Twelve Years and John the Baptist

When Jesus had reached twelve years of age, Mary and Joseph went up to the temple in Jerusalem for the feast according to the law's command, and the child Jesus went with them. Laypeople remained in the temple's porticoes, although the men were separate from the women. It may piously be believed that Mary wished Jesus to follow her, but while she was withdrawn from sensible things in prayer and did not notice, the child Jesus removed himself from her presence.

Coming back to herself and not seeing the child with her, she supposed that he had gone to Joseph, for children were permitted to travel and remain with either their male or female relatives. When Mary and Joseph met each other as they left the temple and neither had Jesus, they thought he was in the company of their other relatives. After searching among them for a day without finding him, they began to grieve, fearing that he might have fallen into Archelaus's hands or had abandoned them for some other reason.

They therefore returned to Jerusalem and, after three days, found him in the temple--that is, in the temple's portico, where the doctors taught--sitting in their midst and questioning them, while everyone marveled at his words. It may piously be imagined that he was discussing the Messiah's advent.

His most blessed mother said to him, "Son, why have you done this to us? Behold, I and your father"--that is, his putative or nurturing father--"have sought you sorrowing." He answered them, "Why is it that you sought me? Did you not know that I must be in the things that are my Father's?" They did not understand.

He then went down with them to Nazareth and was subject to them. Jesus advanced in age, wisdom, and grace. This is not to be understood as an advance in the habit of wisdom or grace, for he possessed their fullness from the beginning of his conception, but as an advance in the act of outward manifestation, since he performed works demonstrating ever greater wisdom and grace.

Here Gratian says in Distinction 36, section *Ecce quod sacrarum*: "Our Savior first sat in the temple among the doctors, listening to and questioning them, and afterward began to preach, because one must first learn and afterward assume the office of preaching."

Nothing else about the Lord Jesus's infancy and childhood is found in the Gospels besides what has been stated. Certain other things are found in the book *On the Savior's Infancy*, but because that book is placed among the apocrypha in Distinction 16, chapter *Sancta Romana*, those things are omitted as doubtful in their truth. Nowhere is it recorded what he did or where he lived in his adolescence up to the thirtieth year of his age. In Distinction 78, chapter *Presbyter*, it is said that the Lord Jesus was baptized at age thirty and began to preach.

Mark the Evangelist begins his Gospel from John the Baptist's preaching, saying that Malachi had prophesied concerning John, "Behold, I send my angel"--that is, John--and Isaiah had said, "The voice of one crying in the wilderness." Luke says that John's

preaching began in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar, Octavian's successor, when Pontius Pilate governed Judea as the emperor's representative there, Herod was tetrarch of Galilee, and Annas and Caiaphas were high priests.

All the evangelists attest John's preaching and baptism. Matthew and Mark describe the austerity of his food and clothing: he ate locusts and wild honey--some understand "locusts" as certain roots of herbs--and his garment was made of camel hair.

Matthew gives his preaching in general: he told everyone, "Do penance, for the kingdom of heaven has drawn near." He also records John's rebuke of the scribes and Pharisees: "Brood of vipers," and so forth. Luke relates the different instructions he gave to the crowds, publicans, and soldiers who came to him.

Thus Ambrose says: "The holy Baptist gave a reply appropriate to each class of people. He told publicans not to exact beyond what was prescribed, and he taught soldiers not to make false accusations; they seek plunder, showing that military stipends were established lest, while expenses are sought, the robber be enlarged."

The exercise of mercy is common to all and is therefore a common precept. Everyone alike is moved to give to one who has nothing. This is found in Distinction 86, chapter *In singulis*. By the second tunic, superfluity is understood. Note also what is said about stipend-receivers and officials in Cause 23, Question 1, chapter *Militare*.

Mark says that John baptized and preached a baptism of penance for the remission of sins, and that many were baptized by him in the Jordan while confessing their sins. John the Evangelist says that when the Jews sent priests and Levites from Jerusalem to ask him whether he was the Christ, as many believed, he affirmed that he was neither the Christ nor Elijah nor the prophet, but the voice crying in the wilderness foretold by Isaiah.

He explained why he baptized: he baptized in water specifically to dispose people to penance, but after him would come the one who baptized inwardly, namely Christ. He was also told that a sign would be given to him by which to recognize Christ.

Matthew relates more explicitly that Christ approached John while John was baptizing people in the Jordan and asked to be baptized by him. When John refused out of humility, saying, "I ought to be baptized by you," Christ commanded him, "Thus it is fitting for us to fulfill all justice," that is, the most perfect humility.

John then baptized him. In that act he saw the heavens opened and a dove--that is, the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove--descending upon Christ, and he heard the Father's voice thunder, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased." Mark relates the same very briefly.

Luke also adds Christ's age then: he was beginning to be about thirty years old and was thought to be the son of Joseph, who was of Heli, and so forth. By ascending he sets out seventy-seven generations from which Christ was descended as far as Adam, touching upon profound mysteries that are not to be explained here.

Note that on January 6, the Epiphany, the thirteenth day after his birth, Christ was adored by the Magi. After thirty years had passed, he was baptized by John the Baptist on the same date. After another year had passed, on that same day he performed the first of his signs at the wedding, changing water into wine. The Church sings this firmly. According to Bede, in the following year, on the same date, he fed five thousand men from five loaves and two fish.

§ VI. The First Disciples and Early Ministry

The next day, John was standing with his disciples near the Jordan. Seeing Christ pass by, he said, "Behold the Lamb of God." Upon hearing this, two of his disciples followed Christ, one of whom was Andrew, Simon Peter's brother. They approached with him the house of his dwelling, namely Christ's, and remained with him that day. Andrew found his brother Simon and told him that he had found the Messiah; then he brought him to Christ. Christ first said to him, "You are Simon Bariona"; then, "You shall be called Cephas," which is interpreted Peter.

The following day, while walking through Galilee, Jesus found Philip and said to him, "Follow me," which Philip did. Philip afterward found Nathanael, a man learned in the law, told him that he had found the Messiah, and led him to Jesus. Jesus praised him highly, saying, "Behold a true Israelite in whom there is no guile."

When Nathanael asked how Jesus knew him, Jesus answered, "Before Philip called you, when you were under the fig tree, I knew you." Nathanael then confessed him to be the Messiah, saying, "You are the Son of God," and so forth. Christ said that they would see angels ascending and descending over him.

When Jesus heard that John had been imprisoned by Herod, he withdrew into Galilee and came to Capernaum. He began to preach, saying, "Do penance, for the kingdom of heaven has drawn near," according to Matthew, so that what had been spoken by Isaiah might be fulfilled: "The people of the nations who walked in darkness saw a great light," and so forth, namely the light of Christ's doctrine.

Walking beside the Sea of Galilee, Jesus saw two brothers, Andrew and Peter, who were fishermen, and called them. Leaving everything, they followed him. Then he saw two other brothers, James and John, the sons of Zebedee, mending their nets with their father. He called them, and they left their father and their nets and followed him.

They nevertheless returned to their own affairs. Later, on another occasion, after they had fished all night and caught nothing, Christ preached from Simon's boat near the shore. At Christ's command Simon Peter let down his net and enclosed so great a multitude of fish that they filled both his own little boat and those of his partners John and James. After seeing this miracle they followed Christ wholly from then on. The Historian, however, places this last calling second and the second calling just described third.

Ambrose says that Peter alone was told, "Lead the boat into the deep," that is, into the depth of disputations. For what is so deep as to see the depth of the riches, know the Son of God, and take up the confession of divine generation? Although the human mind cannot comprehend it fully through rational investigation, the fullness of faith embraces it. This is found in Cause 24, Question 1, chapter *Non turbatur*.

Jesus went throughout all Galilee, preaching and healing all the sick who were brought to him from every place.

At the wedding celebrated at Cana of Galilee, which is commonly said to have been that of John the Evangelist, the Virgin Mary attended as a relative, and Jesus was invited with his disciples. There he changed water into wine, and his disciples believed in him, that is, were more firmly established in the faith. John, without consummating the marriage, followed Christ as a virgin.

Jesus then went to Nazareth and entered the synagogue. The book of the prophet Isaiah was given to him, and opening it he read the first passage he encountered: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he has anointed me and sent me to evangelize," and so forth, from Isaiah 61. When he had read it, he said that it was then fulfilled. Thus Luke.

Luke also relates that the Pharisees said, "Do here in your own country the many things we have heard were done in Capernaum." He did not do so but introduced the examples of Elisha and Elijah performing miracles for foreigners rather than Israelites because of the Israelites' unbelief. Angered, they led him to the brow of the hill to cast him down, but he escaped.

Jesus afterward called Matthew as he stood at the tollbooth, saying, "Follow me," and Matthew followed him. Matthew gave him a banquet in his house, where many sinners ate with them. When the Pharisees murmured about this to his disciples, Jesus answered that he had come to call sinners, because the healthy have no need of a physician.

§ VII. The Sermon on the Mount

Seeing the crowds, Jesus ascended the mountain. When he sat down, his disciples--that is, the twelve apostles already chosen by him--approached him. He delivered to them a long sermon, which Matthew alone reports continuously over three chapters, setting out the entire life of the Christian religion.

Luke touches upon some of these things, but they are commonly held, according to Augustine, to belong to another sermon that Jesus gave when he came down from the mountain and stood on a level place, where both the disciples and a great crowd of people were gathered around him.

There, after an admonition to love one's enemies, Christ added, "Give loans, hoping for nothing from them, and your reward shall be great." From this even mental usury is prohibited, as is clear in the chapter *Consuluit* of the title *On Usury* in the *Extravagantes*, and throughout Cause 14, Question 3. There Christ also urges mercy, saying, "Be merciful," and so forth. The manner of giving alms is given in Distinction 86, chapter *Non satis*, and fully in the fourth part under the title *On Mercy*.

Returning to the sermon delivered on the mountain, Christ first sets down the seven Beatitudes, which, according to Thomas, are acts of the virtues, and their rewards. The one placed eighth is not a distinct Beatitude but a kind of trial and perfection of the others.

Gratian says in Cause 22, Question 4, chapter *Ex his omnibus*, after chapter *Haec autem vita*: "In the Old Law a bodily punishment was appointed; in the law of the Gospel pardon of every sin is promised through penance. Hence the former began from terror, saying, 'I am a jealous God, visiting sins'--that is, punishing them--'to the third and fourth generation.' The latter, however, begins from the mildness of gentleness and mercy, saying, 'Blessed are the poor in spirit; blessed are the meek; blessed are the merciful.' In the former it is said, 'Whoever has done this or that shall die the death.' In the latter, 'I rejoice over one sinner who does penance,' and, 'I came not to call the just but sinners.' The beginning of the preaching both of the Savior and of his precursor invited sinners to penance, saying, 'Do penance.'" Thus Gratian.

Christ then shows that prelates ought to be perfect, calling them by similitudes: salt, because of prudence and wisdom; the light of the world, because of the shining example of their lives; a city set upon a mountain, because of their instruction and providence toward subjects; and a burning lamp, because of the eminence of their fervor and reputation. He concludes that whoever teaches and loosens--that is, acts contrary to--God's commandments shall be called least in the kingdom of heaven, meaning no one, according to Gregory.

Among other things Christ says, “I came not to destroy the law but to fulfill it.” Isidore says: “It is just for a prince to obey his own laws, and then let him think that his laws should be observed by everyone when he first shows them reverence.” This is found in Distinction 10.

According to Thomas in the *Summa*, Christ fulfilled the laws in five ways: first, by observing the legal provisions according to the letter; second, by fulfilling in himself through his works the things that they prefigured; third, by rightly expounding the moral precepts and excluding the scribes’ false understandings; fourth, by perfecting them, that is, by instituting the sacraments of grace; and fifth, by adding counsels to the moral precepts.

Then he invalidated the scribes’ false interpretations of the law, declaring that one must abstain not only from evil outward works but also from evil thoughts. He said, “Unless your justice abounds,” and so forth, and prohibited anger, the appetite of carnal concupiscence, and the bill of divorce.

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter One (continued)

Chrysostom says: “God judges not only from works but also from thoughts.” This is found in Cause 22, Question 5, chapter *Qui periurare*, and in *On Penance*, Distinction 1, chapter *Si cui*.

Chrysostom also says: “Many strive for chastity in body but commit adultery in their will, since the Lord says, ‘Whoever looks upon a woman to lust after her has already committed adultery.’ Therefore the will frequently sins without the work.” This is found in Cause 32, Question 5, chapter *Sicut enim*. As he says in the same place, a work performed without the will does not make sin; likewise, justice is not perfected by a work unless the will is present.

Ambrose says: “Anger often leads even the innocent into guilt, because when we become angry beyond what is just and wish to restrain the sins of others, we ourselves commit more serious ones.” This is found in Cause 11, Question 3, chapter *Ira*.

Christ deals with occasions of sin when he says, “If your eye scandalizes you, pluck it out,” and so forth. By the eye understand some object of contemplation, by the hand an action, and by the foot an affection. Or understand by the eye a doctor or counselor, by the hand an administrator, and by the foot a servant. If they scandalize, that is, lead to sin, they must be plucked out, that is, removed, even if they appear necessary.

Jerome says: “Putrid flesh must be cut away; a diseased sheep must be driven from the folds, lest the whole house, lump, body, and flock burn, be corrupted, putrefy, and perish.” This is found in Cause 24, Question 3.

Christ prohibits an unlawful and vain oath when he says not to swear at all, that is, without an urgent cause, either by the Creator or by creatures. Augustine says in Cause 22, Question 1: “The Lord is understood to have commanded that one not swear lest anyone pursue oath-taking as though it were a good, and through habitual swearing be carried by custom into perjury.”

What Christ adds bears upon this: “Let your speech be ‘Yes, yes; no, no’”--that is, simple, truthful speech affirming or denying without an oath, so that what is felt in the heart as yes or no is expressed by the mouth as yes or no, that is, as affirmation or negation. “And whatever is more”--that is, to swear--“is from evil,” namely from the infirmity or unbelief of the person to whom one speaks, because he does not believe what is said.

It is not evil to swear when one ought to do so, but the oath proceeds from the evil of human infirmity, which does not believe a person speaking simply unless he swears. Thus Augustine there. That one must not swear by creatures is treated in the chapter *Considera* and the four chapters following it.

Christ commands love of enemies, excluding hatred of them from the heart, mouth, and deed, when he says, “You have heard that it was said to those of old, ‘You shall love your friend,’” and so forth. Christ says in the Gospel: “You have heard that it was said in the law”--namely, concerning the mode of vengeance established by the law--“an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. But I, taking away this reciprocal requital and inviting you to gentleness and the perfection of charity, tell you not to resist evil, but love your enemies,” and so forth.

Every wicked person is an enemy of the good; every friend of this world is an enemy of God. One who is an enemy of God is an enemy of justice and goodness. Gratian says this in Cause 23, Question 4, chapter *Haec autem*, in the following section. Augustine says: “I exhort you to love your enemies, because I know no medicine more effective for healing the wounds of sinners.”

Christ instructs that alms be given not for show but with sincere intention. There are three kinds of alms. One is corporal: to give the needy whatever you can. Another is spiritual: to forgive the person by whom you have been injured. The third is to correct an offender and lead one who errs back onto the way of truth. Thus Albinus, Distinction 45, chapter *Tria*.

When Christ says, “Let not your left hand know what your right hand does,” the left hand--that is, an evil intention--must not involve itself in the right hand, that is, in your good work.

He admonishes us to pray in the secret place of the heart and teaches what must be prayed for, forming the Lord’s Prayer with his own mouth. “When you stand at prayer, most beloved brothers, you must keep watch and apply yourselves to prayer with your whole heart. Let every carnal and worldly thought depart, so that at that time the soul thinks of nothing besides the one thing for which it prays. Let the breast be closed against the adversary--that is, let it be open to God alone--lest during prayer it admit God’s enemy to itself.” Thus Cyprian, in *On Consecration*, Distinction 1, chapter *Quando*. This is to enter the chamber of the secret heart with the door--that is, the outward senses--closed.

Christ teaches the manner of fasting and that treasures must not be stored up, saying, “When you fast,” and so forth. “When you fast, anoint your head and wash your face, so that you may not appear to people to be fasting,” and so forth.

Fasting must therefore be accompanied by the giving of alms. Hence Gregory says: “What you take away from yourself by fasting, give to the poor.” This is to anoint the head, that is, Christ, with the oil of mercy while removing vices.

Augustine says: “A general fast is to abstain from iniquities.” This is found in *On Consecration*, Distinction 5. Likewise Pope Pius says: “It avails nothing toward the merit of eternal life to fast and pray and perform other works of religion unless the mind restrains itself from iniquity and the tongue from disparagements.” This is found in *On Consecration*, Distinction 5. This is to wash the face, that is, the conscience.

Third, a fast must be undertaken with pure intention and discretion. Jerome says: “Let your fasts be pure, continual, and moderate, that is, hunger daily and dine daily. Fasting heals the wounds of the languishing, and sanctifies those who have been healed.” This is found in *On Consecration*, Distinction 5. This is not to wish to appear to people to be fasting.

“Do not store up treasures for yourselves on earth.” Ambrose says: “All the covetous, all the avaricious, possess Gehazi’s leprosy together with their riches. By the evil reward they have acquired, they have gathered for themselves not so much the resources of an inheritance as a treasure of crimes, with eternal punishment and brief enjoyment.” This is found in Cause 1, Question 1, chapter *Cum ordinaretur*.

Jerome likewise says: “To have received what is to be distributed to the poor, and to reserve it while very many are hungry, is either caution or timidity; or, what is a most manifest crime, to have withheld something from it surpasses the cruelty of every robber.”

That Theban Socrates, once a very rich man, cast away a great weight of gold when he set out to philosophize, nor did he think that he could possess virtues and riches at the same time. Yet we follow Christ loaded down with gold. This is found in Cause 12, Question 2, chapter *Gloria*.

Ambrose says: “That person truly is the Lord’s treasurer who accomplishes what his blood accomplished,” namely, as gold does, by freeing people from miseries.

“The lamp of your body is your eye,” and so forth, Matthew 6. The eye is the intention; the body is the aggregate of works that are good in themselves. Therefore, if the eye of the intention is simple, namely directed toward God, then the works that follow are also luminous and good. The contrary follows if the intention is evil.

Ambrose says: “It is not enough to do good unless it proceeds from a good source, that is, from a good will and intention.” This is found in Distinction 86, chapter *Non satis*, and Cause 14, Question 5, chapter *Scriptum est*.

“All things whatsoever you wish people to do to you, do you also to them,” Matthew 7. Gratian, at the beginning of Distinction 1, shows that this belongs to natural law. The gloss there says that “whatsoever you wish” means what you wish rationally.

“Enter by the narrow gate, because wide is the gate and spacious the way that leads to perdition, and many enter through it,” Matthew 7. The gate through which one goes out onto the road is appetite; the road is the outward work. It is narrow when it accords with reason and consists of virtuous works, because virtue and knowledge concern difficult things.

Adamantius, that is, Origen, says: “Not to sin belongs to God alone; to amend one’s ways belongs to the wise. But rarely will you find someone who corrects himself. Confession of sin is rare, and penance is rare. Nature--that is, sensuality--and shame resist, because all flesh is liable to fault. It weighs present things above future ones, pleasant things above grave ones, joyful things above sorrowful ones, and swift deeds above slower works. Iniquity, which counsels harm, is swift; virtue is slow and delays, judging what is becoming and honorable before it begins, while iniquity rushes everything headlong.” This is found in *On Penance*, Distinction 3, chapter *Inter haec*.

The wide gate and way also mean living according to sensuality and doing evil, and this leads many to perdition. Augustine says: “Let sinners not rejoice because they find many like themselves, for they will burn no less because they burn with many.” This is found in Cause 2, Question 1, chapter *Multi*.

"Do not give what is holy to dogs," and so forth, Matthew 7. This means that the fellowship of Holy Communion must not readily be given to unclean spirits, namely notorious sinners, according to Ambrose in *On Penance*, Distinction 1, chapter *Hi qui*. One must also beware lest the words of preaching or disputation about the more secret matters of faith be disclosed to the unworthy, as Origen says in Distinction 43, chapter *In mandatis*. Concerning evil persons who prophesy or perform miracles, see Cause 1, Question 1, chapter *Prophetavit*.

Christ calls people back from excessive and undue solicitude for temporal things, saying, "No one can serve two masters," that is, God and the world, and concluding, "Seek first the kingdom of God," and so forth. When the Lord commanded that no thought be taken for tomorrow, he prohibited excessive solicitude, as has been said. This was not commanded so that no money at all would be kept, but so that God would not be served for the sake of temporal things and the way of justice would not be abandoned for fear of poverty. Thus Augustine in Cause 12, Question 1, chapter *Habebat*.

What Christ adds, "Sufficient for the day is its own evil," means its own solicitude and labor, which is called evil because it is the evil of punishment and causes affliction. This is found in Cause 14, Question 5, section *Sed hoc*.

He commands that one not judge, that is, not rashly condemn another person's offense while being worse oneself, under the likeness of the mote and the beam. "Let us not judge rashly and carelessly in any way without examination," since the voice of Truth says, "Judge not, that you may not be judged." Let no one be moved by evils merely heard, nor let anyone ever believe assertions indiscriminately without certain proof.

The Lord's example is adduced: he did not judge the evils of the Sodomites, whose cry had ascended to heaven, without the proof of faithful witnesses. This is found in Cause 2, Question 1, chapter *Deus omnipotens*.

Concerning an evil judge Gregory says: "When someone is placed amid grave sins, while he overlooks his own he does not wash away those of others." This is found in Cause 3, Question 7. Ambrose says: "Let the one who has nothing to condemn in himself judge another's error; let the one who does not do the same things judge," and so forth.

Christ exhorts to frequency in prayer under the likeness of a neighbor asking for an egg, bread, and a fish, which signify hope, charity, and faith. Luke gives the same teaching, but first supplies the likeness of a person who has a friend to whom he goes at midnight to ask him to lend three loaves. The friend first refuses but afterward rises because of his persistence and gives him as many as he needs.

The importunate woman in the Gospel, namely the Canaanite woman, at last merited to be heard. Although the door was shut with bolts, a friend received loaves from a friend even at midnight. God, who cannot be overcome within himself by anyone's powers, is overcome by the publican's prayers. Nineveh, which had perished through sins, stood firm through tears. Thus Jerome in *On Penance*, Distinction 1.

Christ says that one must beware of false prophets in sheep's clothing: "Beware of false prophets." He thereby intimates that on the day of judgment many who prophesy and perform miracles will be rejected because they were evil.

Finally, in concluding the sermon, Christ compares the person who hears and observes his teaching to a wise man who built his house upon a rock, where it remains firm when beaten by winds, rivers, and rain. He compares the person who hears but does not do what he hears to a fool who builds his house upon sand, and it quickly falls.

§ VIII. Healings and Other Miracles

When Jesus afterward came down from the mountain, great crowds followed him: some because of devotion to his teaching and life, some to obtain healing, others to observe him, and others from curiosity.

A leper met him and said, "If you will, you can cleanse me." Jesus healed him from leprosy by the touch of his hand and sent him to show himself to the priest, indicating by this that one cleansed from the leprosy of sin must nevertheless present himself to the priest through confession and offer the sacrifice of satisfaction.

After Jesus entered the city of Capernaum, he heard the centurion explaining that his paralytic servant--that is, his servant boy--was badly tormented. Jesus healed him while absent and greatly commended the centurion's faith above Israel, announcing both the conversion of the Gentiles in the centurion's marvelous faith and the rejection of the Jews.

On another occasion he healed in the synagogue on the Sabbath a man whose right hand was withered. Indignant at this, the Pharisees considered what they should do about Jesus.

When Jesus entered Peter's house, he was moved by the apostles' prayers and healed Peter's mother-in-law, who was suffering from a fever. After sunset he freed all the sick who were brought to him, together with those possessed by demons. As the demons departed from many, they cried out, "You are the Son of God." But Christ rebuked them and did not allow them to speak that truth, teaching by this that we should neither seek even truth from demons nor believe it when they utter it, because they intend to deceive.

Jesus went out into the desert. When the crowds sought him and, after finding him, wished to keep him with them, he did not agree, saying, “I must also evangelize the other cities.”

He refused a man who said that he wished to follow him as a disciple, because the man sought this from avarice for gain or from ostentation. Another man offered himself for this purpose but wished first to bury his father; Jesus commanded him to follow and not care for his father’s burial. When another offered to follow him but first wished to go and take leave of those at home, Christ said, “No one who puts his hand to the plow and looks back is fit for the kingdom of God.”

After the girl’s resurrection, Matthew relates that two blind men approached Jesus to receive their sight. When he asked them, “Do you believe that I can do this for you?” and they answered yes, he said, “According to your faith let it be done to you.” He restored their sight by his touch.

He commanded them to tell no one, teaching by this that good works are to be concealed, especially to avoid vainglory. They nevertheless spread the report throughout that entire country.

Crossing by boat over the sea into the Lake of Gennesaret, Jesus slept while a storm arose, because of which his disciples awoke him. Rising, he commanded the winds and the sea, and the storm ceased.

Upon returning to Capernaum he healed a paralytic who had been lowered through the tiles before him. Because Christ said to him, “Your sins are forgiven you,” thereby showing that sin was the cause of his infirmity, the Pharisees said in their hearts that he blasphemed, because this belongs properly to God.

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter One (continued)

They, however, believed Christ to be a mere man. Christ showed them his divinity by knowing their thoughts, which belongs to God alone, and manifested that he possessed this power by the man’s sudden healing.

Invited to dine by Simon the Pharisee, Christ went with his disciples to Simon’s house. While they were eating, a woman who was a sinner in that city came to his feet, watered them with her tears, wiped them with her hair, and anointed them with ointment. When Simon murmured, Christ commended her love.

According to Gregory, she is commonly believed to have been Mary Magdalene, the sister of Martha and Lazarus. She is called a sinner not because she was a public prostitute, but because otherwise she was very vain and lascivious in mind, and perhaps in body, in accordance with what is found in the hymn: “After the scandals of wanton flesh, from a cauldron she becomes a vial,” and so forth. Some doctors, however, say that this woman was not Mary Magdalene but another.

When Jesus entered a certain village--Bethany, as is commonly said--a woman named Martha received him into her house. Her sister Mary remained at Christ’s feet to hear his words. Martha therefore complained to Jesus that Mary did not help her but left her to minister alone. Christ answered by defending Mary because she had chosen the best part.

The contemplative life, signified by Mary, is safer, more joyful, and longer lasting. Yet Martha’s action is not evil but good, and is even better suited to the present life, in which the human being is born to labor. It is more useful to neighbors and more fruitful in accidental merits. As regards essential merit, however, the greater person is the one more perfect in charity, whether in the contemplative or active life.

§ IX. The Cleansing of the Temple and Christ’s Ministry in Judea and Samaria

Jesus went up to Jerusalem with his disciples at the Jews’ Passover. Entering the temple, that is, its porticoes, and making a whip of cords, he drove from the temple all who bought and sold, in detestation of sacrilege, irreverence toward churches, and simoniacs, who are signified by the buyers and sellers. This is treated in Cause 1, Question 1, and, concerning unjust merchants, in Distinction 88, chapter *Eiciens*, and the chapter *Quam*.

When the Jews asked for a sign declaring by whose authority he did these things, he answered, “Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up,” speaking of the temple of his body. “Destroy” means “you will destroy it by inflicting death”; “I will raise it” means “I will raise it from the dead.”

The Jews understood this of Solomon’s temple and said, “This temple was built in forty-six years.” They were speaking not of its construction by Solomon, for that was completed in eleven years, but of its rebuilding by Nehemiah and Zerubbabel after the Babylonian captivity under Darius II.

Nicodemus, a Pharisee and doctor of the law who was Christ's secret disciple, came to him by night and said, "We know that you have come from God as a teacher, for no one can perform these signs that you perform unless God is with him." These words show that this occurred after Christ had performed and publicized many miracles.

Christ answered, "Amen, I say to you, unless a person is born anew, he cannot see the kingdom of God." Christ thereby declares that the second birth is spiritual, namely the one accomplished through faith in baptism, either in act or in intention, and that it cannot precede the first, carnal birth from the mother's womb. This is found in *On Consecration*, Distinction 4, chapter *Qui in maternis*.

In what follows he also shows the necessity of baptism; the distinct person of the Holy Spirit, who breathes where he wills; the Ascension into heaven; the figure and benefit of the Passion in the bronze serpent, "because just as Moses," and so forth; and, in addition, the immensity of divine love toward us: "For God so loved the world that he gave his only-begotten Son."

On another occasion Christ went into Judea and remained there. He baptized, not by himself, John says, but through his disciples. A certain rivalry and indiscreet zeal consequently arose among John's disciples against Christ, because Christ's reputation for sanctity and miracles increased more every day, as did the number of his disciples.

John's disciples therefore approached him and said, "Rabbi, he who was with you beyond the Jordan, to whom you bore testimony--behold, he baptizes, and everyone comes to him." To enlighten them and remove their jealousy, John said: "A person cannot receive anything"--namely, lawfully, toward any ministry and beyond the common law--"unless it has been given to him from heaven."

"You yourselves know that I told you, 'I am not the Christ,' namely, as you suppose, but that I was sent to bear witness before him, that is, before the Christ of whom you speak. The one who has the bride, namely the Church, is the bridegroom, that is, this Christ. But I, the bridegroom's friend, rejoice and am not saddened by his reputation. He must increase, namely in fame, so as to be known and adored as God; but I must decrease, so that it may be known that I am not the Christ but his servant and friend."

"He who is of the earth speaks of the earth; he who comes from heaven is above all. For God does not give the Spirit by measure. He who believes in the Son has eternal life; he who does not believe in the Son shall not see life." Thus John the Baptist.

When Jesus left Judea and went into another province, namely Galilee, he had to pass through the province lying between them, namely Samaria. Traveling, he came near the city of Sychar, formerly called Shechem, beside Jacob's estate. Wearied from the journey, Jesus sat by the well there and awaited his disciples, who had gone into the city to buy food, for it was about the sixth hour.

A Samaritan woman then came to draw water. When Christ asked her for water to drink, she answered that Jews--one of whom she recognized him to be from his clothing--had no dealings with Samaritans. Thus, after a long disputation, this wanton woman, who after five husbands was living in concubinage, was converted when she heard that he was the Messiah. Running to the city, she announced to everyone that they should come to see him.

Meanwhile, the disciples returned with food and urged him to dine. He answered that he had another food to eat, speaking of the food of spiritual refreshment that he received from the conversion of the people of that city, who flocked to see and hear him. He remained with them for two days at their request, and many more believed in him as the Savior of the world.

Jesus's weariness from the journey signifies the Word's assumption of passible flesh upon the road of the Incarnation. His sitting by the well at the sixth hour and resting in the Virgin signifies the sixth age of the world. The woman signifies either human nature or the Church gathered from the Gentiles, which, after the legitimate exercise of the five senses, when it came to the use of reason, clung by fornication in various errors to the devil. Yet because it naturally thirsted for the true and supreme good, it was converted to Christ by hearing Christ's teaching. He remains with the converted for two days, that is, in the works of love of God and neighbor.

A ruler then begged Jesus to come to the house where his son lay sick at Capernaum, gravely ill with a fever. Jesus did not go, so that the ruler might understand that he could heal the boy while absent, which the ruler did not believe, and so as to teach that in necessities we ought to regard nature more than fortune. Thus Jesus offered to go to the centurion's servant without being asked, but refused to go to the ruler's son even when urgently entreated, as Gregory says.

Finally Jesus told him, "Go; your son lives." The son was healed at that same hour, as the ruler learned from his servants, namely the seventh hour, because through the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit the soul is healed from the fever of sin, which proceeds from the appetite's disordered heat.

When a feast day of the Jews approached, Christ went up to Jerusalem and entered the porticoes of a certain pool there. There were five porticoes, in which people afflicted with various illnesses lay awaiting the movement of the pool's water. At an uncertain time an angel of the Lord moved it, and after this movement the first sick person to enter the pool was healed.

Jesus saw a cripple who lay there and had suffered from that infirmity for thirty-eight years. He healed him, saying, "Rise, take up your bed, and walk." The Jews were scandalized when they saw him carrying his bed on the Sabbath. Christ later found him in the

temple and said, “Sin no more, lest something worse happen to you.” This shows that infirmities proceed from sins, as in the chapter *Cum infirmitas* in the *Extravagantes*, under the title *On Penance and Remission*, although this does not always occur.

The water’s healing power arose partly from the angel’s ministry, partly from the power of the wood of the future cross that Solomon had hidden there and that later floated up, according to the Historian, and partly from its figure of baptism. One who descends into baptism is healed, namely by remaining in the unity of faith and love. The five porticoes signify the Mosaic Law in five books, which revealed sins but did not heal them.

Christ afterward said many things to the Jews against their unbelief and concerning his divinity: that the Father works even until now, namely works of governing the world, and that he works with the Father according to his divinity; that the Father gave him the power to raise the dead and to judge; and that the hour comes in which all who are in the tombs will hear the voice of the Son of God, and those who hear will live.

Those who have done good will come forth into the resurrection of life, but those who have done evil into the resurrection of judgment. John the Baptist had borne witness concerning Christ; John was a burning and shining lamp, and the Jews had wished to rejoice in his light for a time, namely by regarding John as the Christ. Yet Christ possessed testimony greater than John’s.

He told them to search the Scriptures, because they bore witness concerning him. But they could not believe because they sought glory from people, not from God. They did not receive him when he came in the name of God the Father, namely by believing in him. Another would come in his own name, namely Antichrist, and they would receive him as the promised Messiah.

§ X. The Calling and Mission of the Apostles

Concerning the calling and mission of the apostles, it must be known that the apostles were called by Christ three times. First, they were called to some knowledge of him, a calling treated in John 1. Second, they were called to familiarity, when at Christ’s word they cast the net and enclosed so many fish that they filled both little boats; they then followed him.

Third, they were called to his discipleship. This occurred when, walking beside the Sea of Galilee, he saw Peter and Andrew fishing and called them, saying, “Come after me; I will make you fishers of men.” Later on that same day he similarly called James and John, who were mending their nets with Zebedee their father, and they followed him. This concerns Peter, Andrew, James, and John.

The calling of Philip and Matthew is recorded individually. Concerning the other apostles, when or how their calling occurred is not recorded in detail. Matthew, Mark, and Luke chiefly narrate that after the twelve had heard the sermon on the mountain discussed above, they were appointed to the apostolate and sent to preach and perform miracles, while observing austerity and poverty.

Mark says that Christ went up the mountain, called to himself those whom he wished, and appointed twelve to remain with him and to be sent to preach. Like the other evangelists, he gives the names of the twelve apostles: Simon, to whom he gave the name Peter; John and James, sons of Zebedee, whom he called Boarges, which is interpreted “son of thunder” [read: Boanerges; ‘sons of thunder’]; Andrew, Peter’s brother; Philip and Bartholomew; Matthew, Thomas, and James the son of Alphaeus, that is, James the Less; Thaddeus, also called Judas; Simon the Canaanite, his brother; and Judas Iscariot, who betrayed him.

After the sermon on the mountain, however, he sent the twelve to preach, according to Matthew and Luke. Matthew says: “Jesus sent these twelve, commanding them and saying, ‘Do not go into the way of the Gentiles,’ namely for the present, ‘nor into the cities of the Samaritans; but go rather to the sheep that have perished from the house of Israel. As you go, preach that the kingdom of heaven has drawn near. Heal the sick; cleanse lepers; raise the dead; cast out demons. Freely you have received; freely give. Do not possess gold or silver or money, nor a traveling bag, two tunics, shoes, or a staff, for the worker is worthy of his reward.’”

There is a fourfold manner of expounding these instructions given to the apostles. First, they may not have been given as precepts binding the apostles to observe them under mortal sin, but as admonitions directing their life, like the ceremonial observances of religious, because they lived like religious under Christ’s discipleship.

Second, although they were precepts, they were nevertheless temporary and Christ relaxed them at the time of the Passion and thereafter.

Third, Christ intended through them to remove from the apostles and their successors in prelacy and preaching an inordinate affection for earthly things, and also in practice to cut away from them excessive wealth, signified by not carrying gold, silver, or money; bodily delights, signified by not possessing shoes and two tunics; flatteries and blandishments, when he says, “Greet no one along the way”; and excessive solicitude in providing for themselves, signified by carrying no traveling bag, purse, or bread on the way.

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter One (continued)

They were also to eat what was set before them, namely those things that openly came to them as food. They were to cut away vengeance for injuries by carrying no rod, as Ambrose says concerning this last point in Cause 11, Question 3, chapter *Ira*.

Fourth, these things may be understood as prohibited according to a mystical sense. Gold signifies worldly wisdom; silver, vain eloquence; and money, a profit-seeking intention in preaching. In footwear, the affection is commanded to be stripped of bestial passions. A double manner of life, or hypocrisy, is forbidden in the two tunics. They are not permitted to carry bread, lest they chiefly intend to obtain the sustenance of life from these things.

They must not carry the staff upon which a traveler sometimes leans, namely their own or human confidence. They must greet no one by rendering either themselves or another certain and secure of salvation, because "the Lord knows those who are his," says the Apostle, and, as Solomon says in Ecclesiastes 9, "No one knows whether he is worthy of hatred or love."

They are commanded not to pass from house to house, lest they inquisitively seek to know the lives of others, or become wanderers and bearers of news.

Mark adds that Christ prohibited them from having or carrying these things except a staff alone, and said that they should go shod with sandals. This may perhaps be reconciled as follows: Mark speaks of a staff, meaning a walking stick for support, while those who prohibit a staff speak of a rod, meaning a cudgel for striking. Under the staff that is permitted are understood the authority of governance and the power of demanding necessities.

Christ also foretold the adversities they would suffer, exhorting them to constancy and prudence and saying: "Behold, I send you as sheep among wolves. Be therefore prudent as serpents and simple as doves." Explaining this, Jerome says in Cause 16, Question 1, chapter *Si cupis*, that they should neither be overthrown by others' snares nor devise deceits against anyone, but be like doves without gall.

He makes them wary of their persecutors, before whom they were to flee from one place to another when their presence was not necessary for the flock's salvation, as is explained in the final section of Cause 7, Question 1. Against those who refused to receive them or hear their teaching, they were even to shake the dust from their feet and depart.

He then sets down the destruction that would follow for those who did not receive them, greater at the judgment than that of the Sodomites. He foretold woes prepared for Corrozaim [i.e., Chorazin], Bethsaida, and Capernaum, where he had preached and performed many miracles, because they were not converted to penance and faith by such teaching and miracles, although Sodom, Tyre, and Sidon, cities of unbelievers, would have been converted if they had seen them.

No reason can be given why he did not perform those miracles or teach there; one can only marvel, while holding that the whole was done most justly, as Augustine says in Cause 23, Question 4, chapter *De tiris* [i.e., Tyriis].

Christ strengthens them toward patience by his own example, since, although he was the master and householder, he was not heard but was mocked and called belzebub [i.e., Beelzebub]. When they were brought before kings and governors because they preached his doctrine, they were not to take much forethought about what they should answer, because the Holy Spirit would speak through their mouths.

Unbelieving relatives and parents would also sometimes betray them and procure their death, and they would be hated by all people, namely by the reprobate. "But do not fear," he says, "those who kill the body. Rather fear him who can destroy soul and body in hell."

Nor were they to withdraw from pursuing Christ's teaching and life because of affection for kindred, father, mother, wife, children, or others, because one who loves them more than his own salvation or than Christ is not worthy of him, and a person's enemies are those of his own household.

When Christ says, "I came not to send peace but a sword," he speaks of the carnal peace that sinners seek in the world. Christ came to send its contrary, the sword of God's word, which destroys such peace. Yet he commanded that true peace be announced to everyone and that they greet a house with it upon entering, saying, "Peace to this house."

Those who received them would receive a reward even if they gave them a cup of cold water in the name of a disciple. What Christ says, "Nothing is covered that shall not be revealed," is understood either of this life or of the future judgment.

Mark alone relates that when the sermon to the disciples was finished and they came to the house, great crowds gathered around Jesus, seeking either to speak with him or to be healed, so that they could not eat because they were occupied with the people. When the disciples heard, they went out to restrain him, saying that he had been turned to madness. Thus the Evangelist.

It seems that one should imagine that, from consideration of the divine honor resulting from the miracles he had performed and the people's devotion, Jesus gave some unusual sign of fervor. But the apostles, still inexperienced and unacquainted with such things, suspected madness.

Mark also adds that when the apostles went out they cast out demons, anointed the sick with oil, and healed them.

On another occasion, as Luke alone relates, Jesus also appointed seventy-two other disciples and sent them two by two before his face, saying: “The harvest indeed is great, but the workers are few. Ask therefore the Lord of the harvest to send workers into his harvest.” He imposed upon them almost all the commands he had given the twelve when sending them to preach.

When the aforesaid envoys returned from preaching, they reported to Christ with a certain vain and proud joy, “Lord, even the demons are subject to us in your name.” Bringing them back to humility and fear, Christ said, “I saw Satan falling like lightning from heaven,” namely because of pride. He saw this according to his divinity.

“Do not therefore rejoice,” he says, “that the spirits are subject to you, but rejoice that your names are written in heaven,” according to predestination and present justice.

Note here that just as bishops hold the place of the apostles, so priests succeed in the place of the seventy-two disciples, as is found in Distinction 21, chapter *In novo*. Jesus then adds what extends to all prelates: “He who hears you hears me,” namely by obeying; “and he who despises you despises me,” namely by transgressing your just commands.

§ XI. The Miraculous Multiplication of the Loaves and Fish, and Christ’s Walking upon the Sea

Concerning the loaves and fish miraculously multiplied by Christ when he broke them to satisfy many thousands of people, and concerning his walking upon the sea, it must first be known that all four evangelists relate the multiplication of the five loaves and two fish.

When the Jews’ Passover was approaching, a very great crowd followed Christ as he ascended the mountain with his disciples. Christ took the five barley loaves and two fish that a boy had, multiplied them by breaking them, and gave them to the apostles to set before the crowds, who ate upon the grass in groups of fifty.

When all were satisfied, numbering five thousand apart from the children and women, the apostles collected the fragments that remained at Christ’s command and filled twelve baskets.

In narrating this miracle, John states more explicitly Christ’s question to Philip, Philip’s response that two hundred denarii would not suffice for buying food, and Andrew’s information to Christ that one boy was there who had five loaves. Thus John expresses what the other three evangelists passed over.

What Mark and Luke state about arranging the crowds in groups of fifty to sit and eat, Matthew and John omit. From this varied narration, neither falsity nor contradiction can be alleged among the evangelists, just as none arises when several people recounting deeds performed by one person narrate some matters more briefly and others more fully in their circumstances.

This banquet signifies the spiritual refreshment that occurs in the Church Militant through the teaching of the five books of the Mosaic Law, with the Prophets and Psalms as though they were two fish. For Gratian says in Distinction 36, section 2: “By discoursing, Christ expounded the sacred writings of the Law and the Prophets.” This is to break the loaves and fish. Afterward he gave the knowledge of them to his disciples and through them dispensed those things to the faithful.

The twelve baskets of gathered fragments signify the difficult mysteries of Scripture of which the people are not capable, which the doctors themselves must gather and contemplate by themselves. This can also be expounded of the banquet of the Church Triumphant.

On another occasion the crowds remained with Christ for three days to hear his words in a desert place. Jesus said, “I have compassion upon the crowd,” because they had nothing to eat and he did not wish to send them away fasting to their own homes, lest they fail on the way.

From seven loaves found among the disciples and a few small fish, broken and multiplied by Christ, four thousand people were satisfied, apart from the children and women. Seven baskets of fragments remained.

This signifies the spiritual refreshment received from the Church’s seven sacraments by those who are perfectly masters of a body composed of four elements and of the four passions of the sensitive part through the four cardinal virtues. For a thousand signifies perfection.

After the miracle of the five loaves and two fish, John relates that, upon seeing the sign, the people said, “This truly is the prophet who is to come into the world,” that is, the Messiah promised in the Law. Jesus knew that they wished to seize him and make him king, and fled to the mountain, teaching us to avoid lordships because they are dangerous.

Because he had commanded the disciples to cross before him in a boat, they sailed without him. Their boat was in the middle of the sea, tossed by waves because of the contrary wind. About the fourth watch of the night, they saw Jesus walking upon the waters of the sea and approaching them. Thinking him a phantom, they cried out in fear. He exhorted them not to fear, saying, “Have confidence; it is I.”

Peter alone, as Matthew relates, said: “Lord, if it is you, command me to come to you upon the waters.” Jesus said, “Come.” As Peter walked upon the waters, he saw the strong wind, became afraid, and began to sink. Crying out, “Lord, save me,” he was grasped by Christ’s hand. Christ said, “O you of little faith, why did you doubt?” When Christ entered the boat, the storm ceased.

Here is a great mystery concerning the ship of the Church, which is shaken by the waves of tribulations and temptations but is not submerged and does not fail.

Ambrose says of this little boat in Cause 24, Question 1, chapter *Non turbatur*: “The ship that has Peter is not disturbed; the one that has Judas is disturbed. Although the merits of many disciples sailed there, nevertheless the betrayer’s perfidy still agitated it. Peter was in each, but one who is firm through his own merits is disturbed by those of another. Let us therefore beware of the perfidious person; let us beware of the betrayer, lest many of us be tossed because of one.”

“Therefore the ship in which prudence sails is not disturbed. Perfidy is absent; faith overcomes. For how could it be disturbed when the one presiding over it is the foundation of the Church? Disturbance is there where faith is small; security is there where love is perfect.” Thus Ambrose there.

What Ambrose says about Peter’s boat, that it is not disturbed, is understood of Peter’s own boat when, casting the net at Christ’s command, he enclosed an exceedingly great multitude of fish.

§ XII. The Sacrament of the Eucharist

Concerning the sacrament of the Eucharist, commended in many ways, the Jews’ murmuring, and the disciples’ withdrawal on account of it: when other disciples withdrew because Christ had said, “My flesh is truly food,” and so forth, he asked the twelve apostles whether they too wished to depart. Peter answered for them all, “You have the words of eternal life; to whom shall we go?”--that is, where shall we be comforted unless with you?

Here Ambrose says in Cause 24, Question 1, chapter *Quae dignior*: “This is the only one whom no one ought to forsake or exchange, to whom it is rightly said, ‘Lord, to whom shall we go?’ You see the executor of the heavenly commands: because he did not exchange this lodging, he merited the dwelling of heavenly fellowship.” John alone narrates the aforesaid things concerning the sacrament.

After the miracle of the five loaves and the crossing of the sea that follows it, John alone writes that the crowds sought Jesus. He told them: “You seek me not because you saw signs, but because you ate of my loaves.” In this he signifies those who seek Christ in the clergy or religious life for temporal things.

He adds, “Labor not for food that perishes, but for that which remains unto eternal life,” that is, labor in such a way that you can attain the abiding life of the homeland, not merely so that you may have temporal life.

When they asked what they should do to work the works of the Father, he answered that they should believe in the one whom the Father sent, that is, love him by believing.

They asked what sign he would give so that they ought to believe in him, since their fathers had received the sign of manna from heaven so that they might believe God and Moses as one sent by him. He answered that Moses had not given them the true bread from heaven, but that his Father would give the true bread from heaven. For the true bread is the one who descends from heaven and gives life to the world, namely Christ himself.

Not understanding him but thinking of material bread, they said, “Lord, give us this bread always.” He declared that he was that bread of life, and that whoever came to him, namely to receive him, would not hunger for worldly things. But because they did not come to him, namely by believing in him, they could not eat that bread.

He adds: “Everything that the Father gives me shall come to me; and the one who comes to me,” namely by believing, “I shall not cast outside,” that is, outside the Church, “because I came not to do my own will but the will of him who sent me.” This is the Father’s will: that those given to Christ by predestination and present justice should not be cast out but should live in the body of the Church.

He adds: “No one can come to me unless the Father who sent me draws him, and I shall raise him up,” and so forth. Here Augustine greatly commends grace: “No one comes unless drawn by God. Why he draws this person and does not draw that one, do not judge if you do not wish to err. If you are not yet drawn, pray that you may be drawn.”

Augustine also says: “If we are drawn, therefore, do we believe unwillingly? Do not think that you are drawn unwillingly, for the soul is drawn not unwillingly but by love. You show a green branch to a sheep and draw it. You show nuts to a child and draw him. Moreover, if the poet was permitted to say, ‘His own pleasure draws each person,’ with love, not necessity, inviting him, how much more do we say that a person is drawn to Christ when he delights in justice, delights in truth, delights in blessedness, and delights in eternal life--all of which is Christ.”

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter One (continued)

Christ then says that he is the living bread who descended from heaven, and that whoever eats it will not die, namely eternally. The bread that he would give was his flesh.

When the Jews disputed, saying, “How can this man give us his flesh to eat?” he showed the necessity of eating it: “Unless you eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his blood, you have no life in you.” Understanding this badly, namely of his visible flesh as meat from a butcher’s stall is eaten, they said, “This is a hard saying; who can hear it?” Scandalized by this, some of the disciples withdrew from him.

But note that Christ is eaten for life in two ways. In one way, he is eaten spiritually alone, which occurs through the habit of charity by which Christ is united to us. This is necessary for everyone who is to be saved. In this way baptized children eat Christ’s flesh, as do even those not baptized who already truly believe.

In the other way he is eaten sacramentally and worthily. This is necessary for baptized adults at its proper place and time, namely as the Church commands and when there is an available minister. Yet Christ’s flesh is not then eaten materially, as the Jews understood, but spiritually, that is, hidden beneath those species.

Hence he said: “The words I speak to you are spirit and life; the flesh profits nothing,” that is, the words I have spoken, when understood spiritually, will justify you, but when understood carnally will profit nothing. This is found in *On Consecration*, Distinction 2, chapter *Prima haeresis*.

From the aforesaid words of Christ are shown the truth of Christ’s body in the sacrament, its necessity and usefulness, and the fitness required for eating: that one come to Christ with the foot of the intellect by believing and with the foot of the affection by loving him. Concerning all these things, see *On Consecration*, Distinction 2, chapter *Revera*, and many other chapters.

§ XIII. John the Baptist’s Disciples, Christ’s Commendation of John, Fasting, and John’s Death

When John the Baptist had been imprisoned by Herod and heard of Christ’s marvelous works, he sent two of his disciples to say, “Are you he who is to come, or do we await another?” This statement is expounded in four ways.

The first is Chrysostom’s. He says that John asked this question--whether Christ was the promised Messiah whom the Jews awaited--not for himself but for his disciples. John saw that his disciples had a higher estimation of him and a lower one of Christ than they ought. Hence they envied Christ, whose reputation increased more than John’s. So that they would not remain in error after John’s death, he sent them to question Christ, so that John’s disciples might perceive from the miracles of Christ that they saw that he was the Messiah who was to come.

The second exposition is Ambrose’s. He says that John doubted not in faith but in piety, that is, he spoke in the manner of one doubting and asked whether Christ was the one who would come to undergo the Passion for the world. It was as though he said: “Will your condescension be so great that, just as you came into the world, so you will also deign to suffer, although you are the most innocent Lamb, not guilty of death like others? The world does not merit this.”

The third is Gregory’s, in a homily. John did not ask whether Christ would come to redeem the human race by his Passion, for he had foretold this when he said, “Behold the Lamb of God,” and so forth, namely the Lamb to be sacrificed upon the altar of the cross. Rather he asked whether, when Christ died, he would deign personally to visit the fathers in limbo and lead them out, or would send another for this purpose, so that John, knowing the answer before going to his own death and to that limbo, could announce it to those fathers.

The fourth is Hilary’s. He expounds the first part of the statement affirmatively rather than interrogatively, as though John said, “You are certainly the one who is to come to save the world.” He expounds the second part negatively: “Or do we await another?” as though to say, “Certainly we do not await another, as the faithless Jews now do.”

When John’s disciples came to Christ and asked the aforesaid question, Jesus then performed many of the miracles related here, as Luke says. He answered those disciples: “Go and report to John the things you have heard and seen. The blind see,” and so forth. It was as though he said: “From these things you can perceive that I am the Messiah, because I have performed the marvels that Isaiah foretold Christ would perform when he came.” Isaiah 35 says: “God himself will come and save us. Then the eyes of the blind shall be opened,” and so forth.

Those miracles also signify the effects of Christ's grace in our soul when it comes. It enlightens the intellect, directs the limping affection, cleanses leprosy--that is, sin--restores the hearing of obedience, raises to life the act of producing merits, and evangelizes by instructing one's neighbor.

After John's disciples departed, Christ commended John wonderfully: for his constancy in truth, because he was not a reed shaken by the wind of doubts; for his austerity of life and sincerity of teaching, because he was not clothed in soft garments and did not use flattery; for the greatness of his wisdom, because he was more than a prophet; and for the purity of his conscience, because he was the angel foretold to him: "Behold, I send my angel," and so forth, Malachi 3.

Christ also commended the excellence of John's merit and glory, adding, "Among those born of women there has not arisen a greater than John the Baptist." According to Augustine, two are excepted. The Virgin Mary was born, but not as a male, that is, she was a woman. Second, Christ was much greater; he was not born of a woman, meaning one corrupted, but of a virgin.

Hence Christ adds: "He who is less in the kingdom of heaven," that is, in the Church Militant, "is greater than he," namely in perfection. Christ was then less in age and in people's estimation. Or this can be understood otherwise: the least angel in heaven--for at that time no human being was yet in heaven--is greater than John in natural perfection and the perfection of grace, because grace had been consummated in the angels.

Christ adds: "From the days of John, the kingdom of heaven suffers violence, and the violent"--namely those resisting sensuality--"seize it."

He then inveighs against the Jews who murmured both about John and about him: "To what shall I liken this generation? It is like children playing in the marketplace," and so forth. "John came not eating," namely common foods, "and they say, 'He has a demon.' The Son of Man, Christ, came eating and drinking," namely like others, "and they say, 'Behold a gluttonous man and a drinker of wine, a friend of publicans.' And wisdom is justified by all her children," that is, regarded as just by her disciples.

Here Augustine says: "He shows that the children of wisdom understand that justice lies neither in abstaining nor in eating, but in equanimously enduring want and in temperance amid abundance, in not being corrupted, and in taking or not taking at the proper time those things whose use is not reprehensible but whose desire is." This is found in Distinction 41, chapter *Quod dicit*.

When on one occasion the disciples questioned him about the advent of Elijah, who was to precede the Messiah's advent, Christ answered: "Elijah has already come, and they did not recognize him but did to him whatever they wished. And if you are willing to receive it, John himself is Elijah." John was not Elijah in person, but in zeal, office, and solitude. Each rebuked the wicked, even kings, with great zeal for God. Just as Elijah will precede Christ's second advent to instruct and dispose everyone for Christ, so John preceded the first.

At another time the Pharisees and John's disciples asked Christ why his disciples did not fast as they did. Jesus answered by assigning two reasons. The first was that the bridegroom's children cannot fast while the bridegroom is with them--that is, it is not fitting to fast but to rejoice. Christ is the Church's bridegroom and the apostles are the bridegroom's children. As long as he dwelt with them, he did not wish to afflict them with fasts.

The other reason was to teach that those who are inexperienced on God's way and beginning to serve God must not be burdened with abstinences or harsh precepts that they cannot bear. He introduced the example of wine not being put into old wineskins.

John rebuked Herod for incest and adultery, saying: "It is not lawful for you to have your brother's wife," namely Philip's wife, whom Herod had taken away from him. Herodias herself, who had left her lawful husband and adhered to Herod, hated John, plotted against him, and wished to kill him. But she could not do so openly.

Herod himself, as Mark relates, feared John, knowing that he was a just and holy man. Upon hearing him Herod did many things and listened to him gladly. Finally, at Herodias's instigation, he seized John and imprisoned him.

On Herod's birthday, Herodias's daughter danced before him and the princes of Galilee. She pleased them all so greatly that Herod promised to give her whatever she asked, even if she sought half his kingdom, confirming this with an oath. Instructed by her mother, she asked that John the Baptist's head be given to her immediately.

The king was saddened by her request because of his oath, lest he appear perjured by not keeping his promise. He commanded John's head to be cut off in prison and given to the girl. The head was brought on a dish and given to the girl, who presented it to her most wicked mother. Upon hearing this, John's disciples took his body and buried it. The history concerning where his head was found is counted among the apocrypha in Distinction 15, chapter *Sancta Romana*.

Concerning Herod's oath, Ambrose says in his book *On Duties*: "Herod shamefully promised a reward to the dancer and cruelly paid it. It was shameful that a kingdom was promised for a dance; it was cruel that a prophet's death was given out of reverence for an oath. How much more tolerable it would have been to commit perjury with such an oath--if it can even be called perjury--than to fulfill what he had sworn while drunk amid wine and had promised under oath among dancing choirs." This is found in Cause 22, Question 4, chapter *Unicuique*.

When Herod heard of Christ's miracles, he falsely thought that Christ was John raised from the dead and therefore performed miracles. He said: "John, whom I beheaded, has risen from the dead, and therefore powers work in him."

When some people told Jesus that Herod wished to kill him and that he should therefore withdraw, Jesus said to them: "Go and tell that fox: Behold, I cast out demons and accomplish healings today and tomorrow," that is, for a short time, "and on the third day I am consummated." John the Evangelist also says that John the Baptist performed no sign while he lived.

§ XIV. The Institution of the Sacraments of the New New Law [read: New Law]

According to Thomas in the fourth book, there are two opinions concerning the institution of the sacraments of the New Law. One is that Christ did not institute all the sacraments personally, but only certain more principal ones, such as baptism and the Eucharist, and instituted the others through the apostles after the Holy Spirit's coming.

The other and better opinion is that Christ personally instituted all the Church's sacraments. For since the sacraments are the foundations of the evangelical law and causes of grace, and since the Lord Jesus is the lawgiver of that law and the bestower of grace, according to John 1, "Grace and truth were made through Jesus Christ," it is more fittingly said that he personally instituted all the sacraments, though not in the same manner.

He instituted the more principal and necessary sacraments more explicitly by determining their matter, form, and usefulness, as with baptism, the Eucharist, and penance. He instituted the others personally but implicitly and figuratively, to be explained and promulgated through the apostles.

He instituted baptism, which is first and greatest in usefulness, by conferring upon it its cleansing power when he was baptized by John in the River Jordan. Then, by the touch of his most pure flesh, he bestowed regenerative power upon all waters.

Thus Christ's baptism and the sacrament of circumcision operated together to cleanse sins until Christ's Passion. Then the power of circumcision was made void, as all the other legal observances--that is, the ceremonial ones--became dead, and the power of baptism alone remained.

Christ expressed baptism's matter when he said in John 3, "Unless a person is born again of water and the Holy Spirit, he cannot see the kingdom of God." Here its necessity is also expressed: without baptism in act for those lacking the use of reason, or in intention when a minister or opportunity is lacking for adults, the kingdom of God cannot be possessed.

He expressed the form after his Resurrection when, as Matthew relates, he said to the disciples: "Teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit." The act of baptism or washing is expressed when "baptizing" is said, that is, saying, "I baptize." The person baptized is expressed when "baptizing them" is said, that is, saying, "I baptize you in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit."

"In the name" means "in the power," for the power of the Trinity produces baptism's effect. Hence the Trinity also appeared at Christ's baptism. "I" does not belong to the substance of the form, although it ought to be said.

Christ also shows baptism's effect when he says: "He who believes and is baptized shall be saved," namely if he believes truly and not fictitiously and preserves baptismal grace. This is found in the first chapter and chapter *Maiores* of the title *On Baptism* in the *Decretals*.

As to the Eucharist, he expressed the matter when it is said that he took bread and afterward took the chalice in which there was wine. He expressed the form when he said, "This is my body," and, "This is the chalice," and so forth. The explanation of these things is found in chapter *Cum Marthae* of the title *On the Celebration of Mass* in the *Decretals*. He expressed its usefulness when he said, "He who eats this bread shall live forever," John 6, which is understood of a worthy reception of the Eucharist.

Concerning the sacrament of penance, he showed its necessity by saying, "Unless you do penance, you shall all perish," and its usefulness by saying, "Do penance, for the kingdom of heaven has drawn near."

He declared figuratively that confession must be made to priests even after sins have been cleansed through contrition, when he sent the leper cleansed of leprosy away in Matthew 8, saying, "Show yourself to the priest." But he delegated to James the Less the promulgation of this precept concerning vocal confession. Hence James 5 says: "Confess your sins to one another," that is, to priests who have the keys of the Church, and not to others.

He gave the apostles the power of binding and loosing in the person of all priests when, after his Resurrection, he said: "Receive the Holy Spirit. The sins of those whom you retain"--namely, by not absolving them--"are retained; and the sins of those whom you forgive are forgiven."

Again, before his Passion, he said to them, as Matthew relates: "Whatever you loose upon earth shall be loosed in heaven, and whatever you bind upon earth shall be bound in heaven." This is understood when the key does not err. Hence Cause 25, Question 1, chapter *Manet*, says: "Peter's privilege remains," namely concerning the aforesaid absolution or binding, "when judgment is rendered according to equity."

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter One (continued)

In this binding and loosing is also included the sentence of excommunication.

Christ instituted the sacrament of confirmation tacitly and, as it were, figuratively when certain little children were brought to him so that he might bless them. When the apostles, out of reverence for their master, repelled them, Jesus said: “Let the little children come to me and do not prevent them, for of such is the kingdom of heaven.” As Matthew, Mark, and Luke attest, Jesus laid his hands upon each of them and blessed them. Hence that sacrament is also called the imposition of hands, as in *On Consecration*, Distinction 4, chapter *Manus quoque*.

The apostles were confirmed on the day of Pentecost by the power of the Holy Spirit from on high. Christ expressly ordained through the apostles that this sacrament be instituted as to its matter, form, and mode, as in the first chapter of the title *On Sacred Unction* in the *Decretals*.

He similarly instituted the sacrament of extreme unction, namely by a figure, also expressing its matter when, as Mark alone relates, he sent the apostles to preach and to anoint the sick with oil, and they were healed. There the sacrament’s power or effect is also shown, namely the health of soul and body. But James explained the sacrament more fully, saying: “Is anyone among you sick? Let him bring in the priests of the Church, that they may pray for him, anointing him with oil.”

Although marriage was instituted at the beginning in the earthly paradise, Christ instituted it as a sacrament of the Church: an act signifying not merely the aptitude for the indissoluble union of Christ with the Church, or of the divine nature with the human in Christ, and conferring grace like the other sacraments, although not so much. He did this when the Jews asked him whether it was lawful to put away a wife and he said: “What God has joined”--namely through true marriage--“let no man separate,” that is, by dissolving a bond of this kind, whoever that man might be, whether a judge, a private person, or the spouses themselves.

The sacrament of orders is more obscure. Nevertheless, according to the doctors and the gloss on the Decree, Christ, who was the high priest of good things to come, is said to have instituted it at the Last Supper when he told the disciples, “Do this in memory of me,” and then to have given all the orders to the disciples. There is no doubt concerning the power to confect his true body.

Here, according to Thomas in the fourth book, it must be noted that there is a threefold power in conferring the effect of the sacraments.

The first is the power of authority, which belonged to Christ according to his divinity: to remove sins and confer grace by his own power together with the Holy Spirit. This cannot be granted to any creature.

The second is the power of excellence, granted to Christ alone according to his humanity: that his Passion should operate meritoriously in the sacraments; that the sacraments could be given in Jesus’s name; and that he could give any sacrament without its form and matter, or the effect of a sacrament without the sacrament itself, such as the remission of sins without baptism or confession, and the like. Through this power he conferred the sacrament of orders upon the apostles without matter and form by its institution.

Third, he conferred ministerial power upon the apostles, which all priests possess. Concerning the number, effects, matter, and form of the sacraments, a full treatment is found in many places in the third part.

§ XV. Christ’s Miracles, First Concerning Those Freed from Demons

Near the beginning of Christ’s preaching, Luke relates that in the synagogue there was a man possessing an unclean spirit who cried out: “What have we to do with you, Jesus of Nazareth? Have you come to destroy us? I know that you are the Holy One of God.” When Jesus said, “Be silent and come out of him,” the man was freed.

In the country of the Gerasenes, as Matthew, Mark, and Luke write, Christ freed a demoniac who had a legion of demons. A legion is said to contain the number six thousand six hundred and sixty-six.

Mark narrates this more fully. He says that this demoniac lived naked day and night among the tombs and mountains and was so savage that no one could tame him. He cut himself with stones, and when bound with chains he broke them.

Seeing Jesus from afar, he ran to him, adored him, and said: “What have I to do with you, Jesus, Son of the Most High God? I adjure you by God not to torment me.” For Jesus was saying to him, “Come out of him, unclean spirit.” When Jesus asked his name, he answered, “Legion, because we are many.”

Those demons begged him not to cast them out of the region, or, if he did cast them out, at least to permit them to enter a herd of swine that was there. When permission was given, they entered the swine, which suddenly threw themselves into the nearby sea, about two thousand in number.

Their herdsmen fled and announced this in the city and countryside. Those who went out to see found the man freed from the demon, clothed, and of sound mind with Jesus. Upon hearing what had happened, they asked Jesus to depart from them.

When Jesus entered the little boat to cross the sea, the man who had been freed began to ask to remain with him. Jesus refused but told him to go to his own people and relate how much the Lord had done for him.

Matthew says that there were two such demoniacs. There is no falsity here, but the grammatical figure in which the plural is put for the singular. Likewise, when he says that the two thieves crucified with Christ reproached him, only one did so. He put two to designate the human race in its two first parents, or the Jewish people and the Gentile people as two distinct peoples possessed by many demons through many vices and freed by Christ.

Note also that the devil can harm neither people nor even swine without permission given him by Christ. Nor was the swine's owner harmed in this without a just cause. Hence Isidore says in *On the Supreme Good*: "According to the Catholic faith, no one can harm the nature of God; the nature of God cannot unjustly harm anything; nor does it permit anyone to harm unjustly." This is found in Cause 11, Question 3.

It is signified that the demon receives power especially over the lustful, whom it submerges headlong into vices.

A Canaanite woman also cried out for her demon-possessed daughter, saying: "Have mercy on me, Son of David; my daughter is grievously tormented by a demon." At first he showed himself harsh toward her. In the house where she approached him, he answered her nothing. On the road, when the disciples entreated him for her because she cried after them, he answered, "I was sent only to the sheep that have perished from the house of Israel."

When she herself approached, he said: "It is not good to take the children's bread and cast it to the dogs." She answered patiently: "Yes, Lord, for the little dogs also eat the crumbs that fall from their masters' table." At last he heard her, saying, "O woman, great is your faith; let it be done to you as you wish."

Her faith was great in the height of truth, because she confessed Christ as God and man when she said, "Have mercy on me," and so forth, although she had not seen signs or heard the Law. It was great in the breadth of charity, because she labored for her neighbor's deliverance, namely her daughter's, by coming to Christ and crying after him. It was great in the length of long-suffering, because she persevered when repulsed, even amid insults. Her daughter was healed in that hour.

He delayed hearing her so that he might more greatly arouse her affection, as frequently happens in all our affairs. The bread was the abundant refreshment of Christ's teaching and miracles, which, as to those more fit to receive it, was to be given first to the Jews, who honored the true God, rather than to the Gentiles as dogs made unclean through idolatry. Nevertheless, it was not unfitting to give at least crumbs--that is, a few miracles and some of his words--even to Gentiles such as this Canaanite woman.

As Chrysostom says, she did not go to diviners, seek amulets, or summon deceitful women, but abandoned every diabolical invention and came to Jesus.

For, as Gregory says in the seventh book, one must first flee to him who can heal the passions of our soul. Yet people, in a perverse order, first summon help from human beings, namely improperly; only when human aids have failed do they think that the grace of divine favor must be requested. This is found in *On Consecration*, Distinction 1, chapter *Omnis*.

To follow superstitions and incantations is not to go to Christ but to the devil, as Augustine shows in Cause 26, Question 2, chapter *Illud quidem*.

A certain man also brought Christ his son to be healed, who had a mute spirit and whom Matthew calls a lunatic. When the spirit seized him, it dashed him down, made him foam, grind his teeth, and grow rigid. The father had first brought him to the disciples, but they had not been able to cast this demon out as they had others.

Approaching Jesus for deliverance, the father heard him answer: "O unbelieving generation, how long shall I be with you? How long shall I endure you? Bring him to me." When the boy was brought before Jesus, the spirit dashed him down and made him roll about.

Jesus asked how long it had tormented him. The father said: "From infancy; and it has frequently cast him into fire and water to destroy him. But if you can do anything, help us." Jesus said to him, "If you can believe, all things are possible to one who believes." The boy's father said: "I believe, Lord; help my unbelief."

Jesus rebuked the demon and ordered it to depart. It came out, tearing the boy, so that people said he was dead. But Christ took him by the hand and raised him up healthy.

When the disciples went into the house and asked why they had been unable to cast out that demon, he answered: “This kind of demon is not cast out except by prayer and fasting.” Yet, as Matthew says, he first told them that they had been unable to cast it out because of their unbelief.

He said that if they possessed faith like a mustard seed--humble, constant, and fervent, qualities signified by a mustard seed’s being small, tenacious, and hot--they would say to this mountain, “Be removed,” that is, “Devil, depart,” and it would happen, and nothing would be impossible to one who believes.

Luke relates that when the disciples said to Christ, “Increase our faith,” Jesus answered: “If you had faith like a mustard seed, you would say to this mulberry tree, ‘Be uprooted and transplanted,’ and it would happen.”

Ambrose explains that the mulberry tree signifies the devil, because it first has white mulberries, but afterward they become black through heat. Likewise, the devil was created by God with innocent powers, but through the heat of pride they became black and vicious.

A person tells the mountain or mulberry tree to pass from here or to be transplanted when he resists the devil--called a mountain because of pride, or a mulberry tree because of wickedness--as the devil tempts him or another, commanding it to depart either from himself or from another who is tempted. Or when the devil has already taken root in someone through consent, it departs when that person returns to penance from humble and fervent faith, according to James’s words: “Resist the devil, and he will flee from you.”

The evangelists do not contradict each other because one speaks of a mountain and another of a mulberry tree, for Christ spoke many times about faith, once of a mountain and another time of a mulberry tree. It is also said that this was done literally by Alexander the Great.

From the fact that the father of this demoniac said, “I believe, Lord; help my unbelief,” that is, by increasing the smallness of my faith, Gregory argues in *On Penance*, Distinction 2, chapter *Cum sanctam*, that in faith, as in the other virtues, there are degrees of beginners, those advancing, and those completed or perfect, according to Job’s words, “Through each of my degrees I shall declare him.” He demonstrates this diffusely in many ways.

Matthew and Mark also relate, but Luke more fully: “Jesus was casting out a demon, and it was mute,” and so forth. In that Gospel are shown Christ’s kindness, the Jews’ wickedness, and a woman’s fervent faith.

Christ’s kindness is manifested in that he healed the mute demoniac, that is, the person whom the devil had made mute. Matthew adds that he was also blind. Hence Christ performed three miracles at once: he restored his speech and sight and freed him from the demon.

Christ performs this miracle daily in penitent sinners, restoring the lost light of the mind to them, restoring speech for a threefold confession--praises of God, admonitions to one’s neighbor, and confession of one’s own sins--and absolving the person detained by the devil from the devil’s works. The crowds of Jews rightly marveled at these things.

Their wickedness is shown because some of them said, “He casts out demons through belzebub [read: Beelzebub], prince of demons.” Others, for the sake of testing and calumny, sought a sign from heaven, such as making thunder roar, lightning flash, and the like. Christ did not do this, because they would not have believed on that account but would have made false accusations, attributing the signs either to natural causes or to invocations of demons.

Instead, by his knowledge of hidden things he indicates the truth of his divinity. He proves the falsity of their statement in many ways, amid their faithless obstinacy and most wicked perversity.

First he shows his divinity because he knew their thoughts. They said in their heart, or so quietly among themselves that he could not hear, that he cast out demons through belzebub [read: Beelzebub]. But it belongs to God to know the hidden things of hearts, according to Solomon’s words to God, “You alone know the hearts of the children of men,” and the Psalm, “God, who knows the hidden things of the heart.”

If demons sometimes appear to know such things, this is only conjecturally, insofar as from certain signs--not only words, but gestures too--they infer an interior disposition, as Augustine says in Cause 26, Question 4, chapter *Sciendum*. When Christ therefore showed through the words that follow that he knew their thoughts, he proved clearly that he was God. Hence the Evangelist says, “But when he knew their thoughts.”

Second, Christ refutes the falsity of the Jews’ statement in four ways. First, by reducing it to an impossible consequence: if Christ cast out a demon by the power of the prince of demons, it would follow that the devil’s kingdom and dominion, by which he ruled worldly people, was divided and therefore desolated and annihilated, because experience, the teacher of things, teaches that “every kingdom divided against itself shall be desolated,” and so forth.

But to say this is impossible, because the contrary clearly appeared: in Christ’s time the devil’s dominion in the world was neither desolated nor diminished, but reigned especially among the Gentiles through idolatry and among the Jews through disobedience to

the commandments and faithlessness. If the devil's kingdom was not desolated, therefore, it was not divided. If it was not divided, one demon did not expel another. And if one did not expel another, Christ did not cast out demons by belzebub [read: Beelzebub]'s power.

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter One (continued)

The second argument is from the lesser. Certain others who cast out demons, such as the apostles or exorcists, were lesser than Christ, for he had given them that power. He had also given Solomon the knowledge of exorcisms for adjuring and expelling demons, as is said in Distinction 21, section 1.

Yet the Jews did not say of the apostles or exorcists that they cast out demons by belzebub [i.e., Beelzebub]'s power. Much less, therefore, should they have said this of Christ, who was greater. This is what he means when he says: "If I cast out demons through belzebub [i.e., Beelzebub], through whom do your sons"--the apostles or exorcists descended from you--"cast them out? Therefore they shall be your judges," to convict you of your false estimation.

"But if I cast out demons by the finger of God," which Matthew expounds by saying, "If by the Spirit of God"--the Spirit who is called the finger, who proceeds from the Son called the hand of God, as a finger proceeds from a hand, and who has distinct gifts as a finger has several joints or distinct parts--"then certainly the kingdom of God has come upon you." You ought to enter that kingdom by believing and depart from the devil's kingdom, which is to be destroyed.

The third argument is from examples. We see that a victor in a battle against another certainly has no need of the help of one whom he has completely defeated. The devil, who is called strong in natural powers and armed in malice, guarded his court--that is, the world in which he dwelt--lest he lose it. All things were in carnal peace, because there was no one to resist the vices he suggested.

But the Son of God, stronger than he, came into the world and waged a mighty contest against him, because, as John 3 says, "The Son of God came to destroy the works of the devil." He conquered him, according to Augustine's saying: "With an unarmed hand fastened to the cross he vanquished the powers of the air."

He conquered him so completely that he took away the devil's arms, namely by exposing his malice through teaching and weakening it through the merit of the Passion. He distributed the spoils: that is, he removed from the devil the souls that the devil had taken away from God and subjected to himself, and by their conversion assigned them to the Church. Christ therefore needs no help from belzebub [i.e., Beelzebub], since belzebub [i.e., Beelzebub] has been utterly conquered by him.

The fourth argument is from contraries, for it is a rule of contraries that they mutually expel one another, not that one helps the other produce its effect. Health, for example, does not help sickness make the body sick, nor the reverse.

Christ and the devil are contraries in themselves and in their works. Christ is supremely good and full of all holiness; the devil is supremely evil and full of all wickedness. Christ desires and works for the salvation of people; the devil desires and labors for their destruction by inciting them to vices.

Therefore, when Christ procures people's deliverance from the devil by casting out demons, he does not use belzebub [i.e., Beelzebub]'s help, since the demons intend through the effect of malice to enter people, not to depart from them. This is what he means when he says: "He who is not with me"--that is, conformed to my will in procuring people's salvation, as the devil is not--"is against me; and he who does not gather with me" by cooperating to lead people to good "scatters," by separating people from unity as the devil does.

Third, as a principal point, Christ foretells the utmost wickedness into which the Jews would come through their faithlessness and obstinacy when he adds: "When an unclean spirit has gone out of a man, he walks through dry and waterless places," and so forth.

This spirit is the devil. He went out from the Jewish people when, after receiving the Law, they abandoned the rites of Egyptian idolatry. Cast out through the due worship of the true God, the devil approached the minds of the Gentiles, which were dry for want of the moisture of grace and waterless through privation of the water of true wisdom. There he rested for a time.

Later, disturbed by the apostles' preaching and driven from the Gentiles through their conversion, he found no rest there. He said in effect, "I shall return to my house from which I came out," that is, to the Jewish people. Finding it swept, ornamented, and empty, he took seven spirits more wicked than himself, and they entered the former house.

The devil found the Jewish people empty of faith and grace, swept as to the Law's outward uncleannesses, and ornamented with legal ceremonies. He entered that people with seven spirits, that is, with the wickedness of all vices. For the number seven signifies universality. Hence Christ concludes, "So shall it be with this most wicked generation."

Morally, the unclean spirit that dwells in a person before baptism, or in one who sins mortally after baptism, is cast out through baptism or through true penance. Once cast out, it runs about to deceive others, namely those who are dry of devotion and waterless, empty of the teaching of wisdom.

But when the devil perceives that the baptized or penitent person from whom it departed acts more sluggishly, is idle, and remains alone, it returns to him with seven demons, that is, with a plurality of vices, now tempting and overcoming through one and now through another. Hence that person's latter state becomes worse than the former because of ingratitude and negligence.

Therefore Bede, treating the words "I shall return to my house," and so forth, says: "This verse is to be feared, not expounded, lest the fault that we believed extinguished in us oppress us while we remain empty through carelessness." This is found in *On Penance*, Distinction 4, chapter *Revertar*.

In the following chapter he likewise says: "Whomever heretical perversity or worldly desire seizes after baptism, it immediately casts down into the depths of every vice."

Finally, a woman's great devotion and fervor are indicated. She is said to have been Martha's maidservant, named Marcella. Raising her voice from the crowd, she said, "Blessed is the womb that bore you," blessing not only Christ who was teaching but also his mother.

Other women are not blessed in conceiving, carrying children in the womb, and nourishing them, but are wretched because of the labor, pain, and lust they suffer in these things. The Virgin alone was blessed, because she lacked all these and bore one through whom all who believe in him are blessed.

Christ approved her statement as most true and added: "Indeed, blessed are those who hear," and so forth. It was as though he said: "Not only she who bore me is blessed, but all who hear God's word and keep it." Because the Virgin Mary heard and kept God's word above all others by observing it, she is therefore most blessed above all.

Each person conceives Christ through a good purpose of conversion, gives birth to him through the execution of a good work, and nourishes him through frequent prayer and Holy Communion. Hearing or reading the divine word is the beginning of this. "Blessed therefore are those who hear," and so forth.

From what was said above, that the unclean spirit takes with it seven spirits more wicked than itself, this can be understood of the seven kinds of sin against the Holy Spirit: presumption, despair, assault upon acknowledged truth, envy of a brother's grace, obstinacy, final impenitence, and contempt for the precepts of one's superiors. Concerning this last, see Cause 25, Question 1, chapter *Violatores*.

Matthew adds that after the discourse on blasphemy against the Holy Spirit, Pharisees approached Christ and said, "Master, we wish to see a sign from you." He answered them: "An evil and adulterous generation seeks a sign, and no sign shall be given it except the sign of Jonah," and so forth.

While he was saying these things, someone told him: "Behold, your mother and your brothers stand outside, wishing to speak with you." Extending his hand toward the disciples, he said: "This is my mother, and these are my brothers. For whoever does my Father's will is my brother, sister, and mother."

Matthew and Mark also add that, in the aforesaid refutation of the Jews, to aggravate the guilt of their false accusation or blasphemy from the gravity of blasphemy against the Holy Spirit into which they had fallen, Jesus said: "Whoever speaks a word against the Son of Man shall be forgiven; but whoever blasphemes against the Holy Spirit shall not be forgiven, either in this age or in the next."

According to Thomas in the *Secunda Secundae*, Question 14, blasphemy against the Holy Spirit is understood in three ways.

In one way, it means common blasphemy against God, which consists in attributing to God what does not belong to him or denying what does belong to God, insofar as each of the three divine persons is spirit and is holy. The Jews fell into this crime by attributing to the devil what belongs to God alone, namely the performance of miracles. They spoke a word against the Son of Man when they called him a glutton, a drinker, and the carpenter's son, statements contrary to the reverence due his humanity.

In the second way, blasphemy against the Holy Spirit arises from malice--not just any malice, but that which rejects the impediments to sin. It has six species, concerning which see Thomas in the place cited and the Master near the end of the second book of the *Sentences*. Among them are assault upon acknowledged truth and envy of a brother's grace increasing in the world. The Jews fell into sins of this kind when they attacked the truth of Christ's teaching and works out of envy.

In the third way, according to Augustine, blasphemy against the Holy Spirit is final impenitence. This does not mean the intention never to repent in the future, for in that sense it is one of the six species of blasphemy taken in the second way. Rather, it means remaining in any mortal sin continuously until death.

Hence Eusebius says: “The holy fathers have said that this is the unforgivable sin and blasphemy against the Holy Spirit: to persevere in crimes until the end of life.” This is found in *On Penance*, Distinction 3, the second chapter *Inter haec*. Christ foresaw and foretold that many of them would fall into this blasphemy.

It is called unforgivable because, in the first and second senses, it is forgiven rarely or with difficulty because of its gravity, since such people are converted only with difficulty. In the third sense it is simply not forgiven, because such a person never repents. This is found in *On Penance*, Distinction 1, in the section *Quod autem* after chapter *Importuna*.

From this statement Gregory also argues in Distinction 25, chapter *Qualis*, that some sins are forgiven in the other life. This is true of venial sins, which are expiated by punishments even in purgatory. For when Christ says that sin against the Holy Spirit is not forgiven even in the future, it is implied that some sins are forgiven there, although only venial ones, as Gregory exemplifies there. These things are treated diffusely in the second part.

That Christ also cast out other demons is evident from what was said above from Luke 4, that demons went out from many people, and so forth. When Mark says at the end that Christ had cast seven demons out of Mary Magdalene, to whom he first appeared after rising, this is understood of the seven kinds of vices by which the devil possessed her soul, not her body, and not of bodily torment.

Concerning another person who cast out demons but did not follow Christ, perhaps by the power of exorcisms: when the apostles told Christ that they had forbidden the man to do this, Jesus answered, “Do not forbid him. He who is not against you is for you.”

§ XVI. A Deaf and Mute Man Healed

Apart from the demoniacs who were freed, some of whom were also mute, Mark alone relates the healing of one man who was mute and deaf but not demon-possessed. He says that Jesus left the borders of Tyre, came through Sidon to the Sea of Galilee, and so forth.

Certain people brought him a deaf and mute man and entreated him on the man’s behalf. Jesus drew him apart from the crowd, put his fingers into his ears, touched his tongue with his own spittle, and said, “epheta [i.e., Ephpheta],” which is interpreted in Latin as “Be opened.” Immediately the man was freed from deafness and muteness and spoke correctly.

Although Jesus commanded them to tell no one, the more he commanded, the more widely they proclaimed it, saying, “He has done all things well,” and so forth.

In the statement that “they entreated him on the man’s behalf,” it must be noted, according to Gratian in *On Penance*, Distinction 1, section *Denique*, that all whom Christ healed are read to have been preceded by a request from their own voice or by the prayers of friends.

Christ’s drawing the man apart from the crowd indicates that if a sinner, deaf to hearing--that is, obeying--God’s law and mute in praising and confessing, is to be healed in mind, he must be separated from the crowd of vices as regards both the cessation of the act and the tumult of the passions. This accords with Ambrose’s words: “When wickedness is renounced, virtue immediately stands by, for the departure of malice effects the entrance of virtue.” This is found in Cause 27, Question 1.

In that what Christ did to this man when he said “epheta [i.e., Ephpheta]” is done in baptism, according to Rabanus it is given to be understood that, through the figurative saliva and the priest’s touch, divine wisdom and power work the salvation of that catechumen. Let his nostrils be opened to receive the fragrance of the knowledge of God, and let his ears be opened to hear God’s commandments. This is found in *On Consecration*, Distinction 4.

Christ afterward commanded that this be told to no one because the command referred to the mystery, not to the vocal sound, namely that no one should seek human praise in his own good and marvelous works, according to Ambrose’s saying: “It is a rule of truth that one do nothing for the sake of commending oneself.” This is found in Cause 11, Question 3, chapter *Si quis vero non obediat*.

Those who spread the report therefore did not act contrary to the command. Rather, it is noted there that the more a person truly flees human glory, the more glory follows him, as Tullius says of Cato [i.e., Cicero].

§ XVII. Concerning the Blind Illuminated by Christ

In addition to the mute demoniac who was also blind, Christ gave sight to four people in particular. Matthew relates of the first, after the raising of the synagogue ruler’s daughter, that two blind men followed Jesus as he traveled, crying, “Have mercy on us, Son of David.”

When they came to him in the house, he asked: “What do you wish me to do for you?” They answered, “That our eyes may be opened.” Jesus said, “Do you believe that I can do this for you?” They said, “Indeed, Lord.” He answered, “According to your faith let it be done to you,” and they immediately received sight.

Although he commanded that the deed be kept hidden, they spread it throughout that whole land.

Mark relates another blind man who was brought to Jesus at Bethsaida while others entreated on his behalf.

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter One (continued)

Jesus led him outside the village, spat upon his eyes, and touched them with his hand. When he asked whether the man saw anything, the man answered, “I see men like trees.” Jesus again laid his hand upon his eyes. The man began to see and was restored so that he saw everything clearly. Jesus commanded him to go home and tell no one.

The three Evangelists Matthew, Mark, and Luke relate the illumination by the Lord Jesus of a blind man at Jericho. Matthew, however, says that there were two, putting the plural for the singular on account of the mystery, to signify the blindness of the human race derived from our first parents in both sexes and in both peoples.

Mark and Luke speak of one man, whose name Mark also gives, saying: “batinnus [read: Bartimaeus], the son of Timaeus,” sat begging beside the road. Hearing that Jesus was passing by, he began to cry, “Son of David, have mercy on me.” When the crowds rebuked him and told him to be silent, he cried out much more, “Have mercy,” and so forth.

Jesus stopped and commanded him to come. Casting off his garment, he sprang up and came to him. When Jesus asked what he wanted, he answered, “Lord, that I may see.” Jesus said to him, “Look; your faith has saved you.” When he saw, he followed him, and all the crowd praised God for it. For it is said that he immediately saw and followed him, magnifying God.

Three things can be considered in true and perfect conversion: sudden illumination, because he immediately saw; devout thanksgiving, because he magnified God; and third, upright conduct, because he followed him.

This is the difference between God and nature in their works, although God himself, as the first agent, also moves nature to act. Nature does not work suddenly but successively, as is evident in the formation of the bodies of animals and plants. God, however, works in an instant in those things that he alone does directly, as in miracles and in the justification of a sinner. Hence it says that the man immediately saw. For, as Gregory says, “The grace of the Holy Spirit, which illuminates the mind, knows no slow exertions.”

Nevertheless, as Augustine says, “He who made you without you will not justify you without you,” that is, without your cooperation. Therefore, to receive illumination we ought on our part to do certain things that this blind man, illuminated by Christ, did.

Note in order seven things that concur in, or dispose one toward, the illumination of a sinner through grace.

First, if he is not on the road of the commandments, at least let him not sit outside the road through obstinacy, but beside the road through the exercise of works that belong to the class of good things.

Second, let him be a beggar by procuring the intercessions of others. Just as many have been healed by Christ and the saints from bodily infirmities through the prayers of others, so too have many been healed from spiritual infirmities, as is evident in the paralytic healed by Christ and in others.

Third, let him hear about Jesus the Savior, that is, about matters pertaining to salvation. Thus, while Peter was preaching, the Holy Spirit fell upon all who heard, and they were enlightened in mind, Acts 10.

Fourth, let him cry out by recognizing his misery through desire for pardon. Gregory says in the *Moralia*: “He cries loudly who loves greatly,” namely by ardently desiring what he asks.

Fifth, when the crowds of companions or passions make a din and wish to hinder him, let him not abandon perseverance in good, according to the saying: “If he continues knocking, the man will rise and give him as many as he needs,” Luke 11.

Sixth, let him cast away the garment of the body through mortification of it. Jerome says: “Let him who is a sinner and is stung by his own conscience be clothed in haircloth and bewail his own sins or those of the people. Let him enter the Church from which he had departed because of his sins and lie in sackcloth, so that by austerity of life he may compensate for the former pleasures through which he offended God.” This is in *On Penance*, Distinction 1, chapter *Qui sacerdos*.

Seventh, let him present himself to Jesus by expressing through confession the misery of the blindness of his sins. For the priest represents Christ. Hence Proverbs says: “He who hides his crimes shall not prosper; but he who confesses and forsakes them shall find grace,” and through grace the sinner is illuminated.

§ XVIII. The Man Blind from Birth Illuminated by Christ

John alone relates the healing of the man blind from birth. He says: “As Jesus passed by, he saw a man blind from birth,” and his disciples asked him: “Rabbi, who sinned, this man or his parents, that he was born blind?”

They erred in thinking that every infirmity proceeds from the person’s own actual sin or that of his parents. Christ excluded this opinion as untrue, showing that the man had not been born blind for that reason but “that the works of God might be made manifest in him,” that is, so that God’s glory might be obtained from his illumination.

Then Jesus made clay from the dust of the earth and spittle, anointed the man’s eyes with it, and said: “Go to the pool of Siloam and wash.” When he had done this, he received sight.

Spiritually, this intimates the mystery of Christ’s Incarnation, signified by the clay made from spittle and earth. The spittle signifies the eternal Word proceeding from the Father’s mouth; the dust signifies human nature made from dust. These were joined when the Word was made flesh.

This mystery, therefore, was placed upon the eyes of the human race, blind from birth through original sin--that is, it was received by the understanding through faith--and, with the subsequent washing of baptism, which has its power from Christ’s Passion, it illuminated that race.

Concerning this illumination, as regards the Gentile people, the nation of the Jews was divided. Some of them, believing devoutly that this had been done by God, were converted to Christ; others spoke against Christ, saying that he was not sent by God but was a sinner and a transgressor of the divine Law.

As to the history: when the man returned home, his neighbors who saw him began to dispute among themselves whether he was the blind man who had been accustomed to sit begging in a certain place. Some asserted that it was he; others contradicted them, saying that it was not he but someone like him. Hearing them, and grateful to confess the benefit, he said, “I am he.”

When asked how he had received his sight, he answered that it came from washing in the water of Siloam at Jesus’s command, after clay had first been placed upon his eyes.

They led him to the Pharisees in the synagogue. When these questioned him about the manner of his illumination, he told them what he had already declared to his neighbors. Because that day was the Sabbath, some of them began to say: “This man is not from God, because he does not keep the Sabbath,” although this deed was not in fact contrary to Sabbath observance. But others who were devout said: “How can a sinful man perform such signs?” Thus there was a schism among them, that is, a division of opinions about him.

Calling the blind man, they asked what he thought of Jesus. He answered, “He is a prophet.” Not believing him, they sent for his parents and asked whether he had been born blind and how he now saw. They said that he was indeed their son and had been born blind, but that they did not know how or by whom he had received sight; they should ask the man himself, for he was of age.

The parents said this because they feared displeasing the Pharisees, since it had already been agreed that whoever confessed Jesus to be the Christ should be cast out of the synagogue as excommunicate.

Questioning him again about the manner of the miracle, they sought a way to slander it. They said, “Give glory to God. We know that this man is a sinner”--as though to say: acknowledge that you were illuminated by God, not by this man.

He answered them, “Whether he is a sinner I do not know,” that is, “I do not know him to be a sinner, but rather just.” When they again asked, “What did he do to you?”--as though asking whether he had invoked bezebub [read: Beelzebub]--the man, indignant at their dullness, said: “I told you, as you heard. Why do you wish to hear it again? Do you too wish to become his disciples?” It was as though he said: “You do not ask so that you may know the truth and become his disciples, but so that you may slander the miracle. I therefore refuse to explain it further.”

Then they cursed him, saying: “You be his disciple; we are disciples of Moses. We know that God spoke to Moses, but we do not know where this man comes from.”

He said to them: “This is the marvelous thing: that you do not know where he comes from, and yet he opened my eyes. We know that God does not hear sinners,” namely by granting their prayer. Augustine says that he spoke this while his mind was not yet perfectly illuminated, for God does hear sinners even if they do not merit it. Or, according to Thomas, God does not hear sinners precisely insofar as they are sinners, that is, when they ask for unlawful things; it is otherwise when they ask for lawful or necessary things.

Celidonius then added: “If this man were not from God, he could do nothing.” Hearing this, the Pharisees cast him out of the synagogue as a blasphemer, saying: “You were born wholly in sins, and do you teach us?”

Christ found him in the temple and asked whether he believed in the Son of God. When the man asked who he was so that he might believe in him, Christ answered: “You have seen him, and he who speaks with you is he.” Falling down, the man worshiped him and said: “Lord, I believe.”

Then Christ said: “For judgment”--that is, for discernment--“I came into this world, that those who do not see”--the Gentiles who did not know God--“may see” by believing in Christ, as afterward happened; “and that those who see”--the Jews then worshiping the true God--“may become blind” by falling into unbelief.

This is understood consecutively, not causally, because Christ’s advent did not cause the blindness of the Jews; rather, through their own indisposition, blindness followed upon his advent.

When the Pharisees said, “Are we also blind?” he answered: “If you were blind, you would not have sin”--that is, if you understood yourselves to be ignorant of the truth and sought it, you would not have the sin of your unbelief. “But because you say, ‘We see,’” that is, because you suppose yourselves to know the truth, “your sin remains.”

Christ also restored sight to several other blind people, as is evident in Matthew 11: “The blind see,” namely those illuminated by him when John’s disciples came to him. Matthew 15 says that he healed the blind, the lame, and other sick people who were placed before him. After he cast the buyers and sellers out of the temple, blind and lame people came to him and he healed them, as Matthew 21 records.

§ XIX. The Dead Raised by Christ: First, the Synagogue Ruler’s Daughter

The raising of the synagogue ruler’s daughter occurred near the beginning of Christ’s preaching, as Matthew, Mark, and Luke relate--Matthew more briefly and the others more fully. Another miracle coincided with it, namely the healing of the woman with a flow of blood.

While Jesus was speaking to the crowds, a certain ruler of the synagogue, whose name according to Luke was yairus [read: Jairus], came to him and asked Jesus to come to his house to raise his daughter, who had by then died. The girl was not yet dead, but her father had left her laboring at the point of death, as Luke and Mark say. Matthew, abbreviating the account, said that she was already dead, because this happened very soon. She was her father’s only daughter and was twelve years old.

As Jesus went with the girl’s father to his house, a certain woman, whom Ambrose says was Martha, inserted herself into the crowd accompanying Jesus. She had suffered a flow of blood for twelve years and had spent all her substance upon physicians for remedies, yet she could not be healed and grew worse, as Mark and Luke say. Seeking to touch Christ’s garment and trusting that she would thereby be healed, she touched its fringe, that is, its lowest part toward his feet, and was immediately cured.

Jesus, who knew all hidden things and knew what had happened, said according to Luke and Mark: “Who touched me?” Peter, as though astonished, answered: “Master, the crowds press upon you, and you say, ‘Who touched me?’”--as though to say: not one person, but many, are doing this.

Jesus said, “Someone touched me, for I know that power has gone out from me.” Looking around over the crowd, as Mark relates, he saw the woman approach him with reverential fear, aware that she had been healed, and recount what had happened. Jesus comforted her, saying: “Your faith has saved you. Go in peace.”

As he continued on his way, a messenger came to the synagogue ruler and said: “Your daughter has just died. Why trouble the teacher?”--as though to say: he need not come to heal her, because she is already dead. The messenger did not believe that Jesus possessed power so great that he could raise her.

Jesus comforted yairus [read: Jairus] and encouraged him to faith, saying: “Do not fear. Only believe, and she shall be saved.” Entering the house where the dead girl lay, he found flute players, that is, people who sang a lament to incite those present to weeping. Christ said to them: “Depart. The girl is not dead but sleeps.” Because she was about to be raised immediately, as though she slept, and to be healed without any difficulty or delay, he said that she slept.

They thought that he spoke of ordinary sleep and mocked him; for this reason they did not merit to see the miracle. When they had been cast out, and only Peter, James, John, and the girl’s father and mother were present, Jesus took the girl’s hand and said: “Girl, arise.” She immediately arose. He ordered that food be given her, to show that she had truly, not phantasmatically, been raised. Although he commanded that this be kept secret, its fame went out through all that land.

Spiritually, this episode signifies the conversion through Christ’s advent first of the Gentile people and afterward of the Jewish people. The synagogue ruler’s daughter is the Jewish people, whose father was Moses the lawgiver. Moses, with the other patriarchs and prophets, understood that the synagogue was sick unto death and could not be healed from sins except by the laying of Christ’s hand upon it--that is, through the mystery of the Incarnation, in which the union of the two natures was made as though by a certain joining. This he prayed for and ardently desired.

When Christ came to heal the synagogue by example and teaching, the woman suffering the flow of blood--that is, the Gentile world--intervened. Her flow of blood was the continual commission of sin. David prayed to be healed from these flows of blood, namely from sins, saying:

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter One (continued)

“Deliver me from bloodguiltiness, O God, the God of my salvation.”

The Gentile world had fallen sick when that little girl was born. For the synagogue was in a certain way born into the light of the virtues when the Law was given to it through Moses. Then the Gentile world became visibly sick, because comparison with the virtues practiced under the commandments exposed the weakness and misery of its vices.

The physicians from whom it had sought healing were philosophers and poets. By their natural or moral teachings they could not heal the Gentile world from sins; instead, it grew worse by multiplying errors each day.

But when the Gentile world heard Christ and the crowd of apostles preaching his mighty works, it conceived the devotion of faith and believed that it would be healed if it touched his garment or its fringe--that is, if it imitated his manner of life, not in the working of miracles, but at least by following the footsteps of the humility with which he lived on earth. Doing this, it was healed by faith and dismissed in peace of mind.

Meanwhile, the girl dies, because the Jewish people, to whom Christ was first sent for healing, fell into the death of unbelief. Yet, once the Gentile world has been healed by conversion to the faith, it is foretold by the prophets that the Jewish people too will be saved, which will occur at the end of the age.

Then the flute players will be cast out--that is, the false teachers of the Jews will be rejected--as will the tumultuous crowd who believe that the synagogue is to be saved not through Christ but through Antichrist. At last Christ will hold its hand, that is, give life to its works through conversion to the faith; and he will command that it be given food, namely evangelical teaching and the Eucharist, which those now dead cannot eat.

Not everyone converted from the Gentiles is healed. Although many outwardly touch the Christian manner of worship, only the one woman who remains in the unity of the Church and of charity, and who imitates Christ’s way of life with faith and humility, is healed.

Hence Bede says: “Whoever in any way separates himself from the unity of the faith or the fellowship of Peter can neither be loosed from the bonds of sins nor enter the gate of the heavenly kingdom.” This is in Cause 24, Question 1. In the next chapter Jerome says that even if such people, namely the wicked, offer holocausts so that they appear to fast, give alms, and promise chastity, God does not accept the offering, since they are not in Christ’s charity.

§ XX. The Widow’s Young Son Raised by Christ

Luke alone relates the raising of the widow’s young son by Christ. He says: “Jesus went to the city of naym [read: Nain], and his disciples and a great crowd went with him. When he drew near the city gate, behold, a dead man was being carried out, the only son of his mother, and she was a widow; and a great crowd from the city was with her,” that is, they accompanied her, following, as was customary, the bier on which her dead son lay.

When Jesus saw her, he was moved with mercy toward her and said, “Do not weep.” When the bearers had stopped, Jesus came forward, touched the bier, and said: “Young man, I say to you, arise.” The dead man sat up and began to speak, and Jesus gave him to his mother. Seeing this, all magnified God, saying: “A great prophet has arisen among us,” and “God has visited his people.”

This resurrection signifies the enlivening of a sinner through grace. Augustine says in *On Penance*, Distinction 1: “One raised in the body lives while his raiser is absent; but it is not so with one raised in the soul.” Since God is the life of the soul and the soul is the life of the body, just as the body cannot live when the soul is absent, neither can the soul live through grace unless God is present.

The soul therefore dies through sin, according to Ezekiel 18: “The soul that sins shall die.” Augustine says in *On Penance*, Distinction 2: “Just as sin is reached through three stages--suggestion, pleasure, and consent--so there are three differences of sin: in the heart, in the deed, and in habit,” corresponding to three deaths.

The first is as though in the house, like the girl, when consent is given in the heart to desire, that is, to the pleasure of sin. The second is as though already carried outside the gate, like the young man, when consent proceeds into deed. The third is when the

mind is pressed down, as though by the mass of an evil habit, like Lazarus already stinking in the tomb. No one who reads the Gospel is unaware that the Lord raised these three kinds of dead people. Thus Augustine.

Likewise Gratian, in *On Penance*, Distinction 1, section *Et his*, says that Christ heard others praying for the three dead whom he restored to life. He heard of a fourth dead man when a certain disciple told him, "Lord, permit me to bury my father and then follow you," Matthew 9 [read: Matthew 8]. But because no living people prayed for him, he did not merit to be raised. This signifies sin through obstinacy, from which a person is not raised because he places an obstacle to grace.

This young man therefore signifies a person sinning in deed, and this is what it means to be carried outside the gate. The gates of the soul are the external senses, through which sins are committed in deed. Hence the prophet says: "Death has entered through our gates."

The bearers outside the gate are the four passions about which Virgil speaks, as Augustine relates in *The City of God*: "Hence they desire and fear, rejoice and grieve." These induce people to evil deeds, especially the young, for Genesis 6 says: "The sense of man and all his thought are prone to evil from his youth." And in Cause 12, Question 1, it is said: "Every age is prone to evil from its youth; nothing is more uncertain than the life of the young." This is also evident from the parable of the prodigal young man, who departed from his father and consumed all his substance by living wantonly, Luke 15.

Alternatively, the four bearers who carry the wicked to burial, that is, into habit, are these: first, the excuse or defense of sins--"Let not my heart incline to words of malice, to make excuses in sins"; second, the flattery of others--"Let not the oil of the sinner fatten my head," that is, let my mind not be fostered by flattery; third, the companionship of the wicked--"With the perverse you will be perverted"; fourth, avoidance of correction--Ecclesiasticus says, "A foolish man will avoid correction," and so forth.

If the young man is to rise to the life of grace, these passions directed toward evil, or these inducements, must cease. This is what it means for the bearers to stop, for Christ to address him with a word of inspiration, for Christ to touch the bier through affliction of the body, and for the Church to pray for him.

Hence Ambrose says: "Let Mother Church weep for you; let Christ see you weeping and say, 'Blessed are those who mourn.' He loves for many to pray on behalf of one. Finally, moved by the widow's tears, he raised her son." This is in *On Penance*, Distinction 1. Thus the sinner rises.

§ XXI. The Raising of Lazarus

The raising of Lazarus occurred near the time of the Passion and was more remarkable than the other miracles. John alone relates it, saying: "There was a certain sick man named Lazarus, of Bethany," and so forth.

Lazarus was the brother of Martha and Mary Magdalene, who were of noble Jewish ancestry and possessed great wealth. When their paternal inheritance was divided among them, the fortified town of Bethany was assigned to Martha as her share; to Mary, the town called magalon [read: Magdala], from which she was called Magdalene; and to Lazarus, many and large buildings in Jerusalem, for he pursued military service. Martha occupied herself with governing the household, while Mary, being most beautiful, occupied herself with vanities.

Christ loved them because they were devoted to him, and especially Mary, who became his disciple after washing the Lord's feet with her tears. He was frequently Martha's guest in her house at Bethany. Bethany was near Jerusalem, fifteen stadia, that is, about two miles away, for according to the doctors a stadium is the eighth part of a mile.

When Lazarus had fallen sick at Bethany, his sisters sent a messenger to Jesus, who was then in the province of Galilee, saying through him: "Lord, behold, he whom you love is sick." They did not go themselves, because it was not fitting for young women to travel about, and because they could not properly abandon their brother in his sickness but had to care for him. Nor did they say, "Come and heal him," but only made the sickness known, leaving the healing to Christ's will, for he knew better what was expedient. It is enough to tell a loving person of one's need; if he truly loves, he will provide.

On hearing this, Jesus said to the messenger: "This sickness is not unto death," that is, not such that Lazarus would be held by death. For although death followed, Lazarus was raised so quickly that he did not appear to remain dead. "But it is for the glory of God, that the Son of God may be glorified through it," by manifesting in this deed the power of his divinity. From this deed, utility accrued not to Christ but to human beings.

After the messenger's words, Jesus remained there for two days so that, from Lazarus's longer detention in death, the miracle might appear greater and more extraordinary. Lazarus died in the meantime.

After this Jesus said to his disciples, "Let us go into Judea again." He had withdrawn from there for a time, yielding to the malice and fury of the Jews, who had sought to stone him because he preached the truth to them and reproved their vices.

The disciples answered: “Rabbi”--that is, Master--“the Jews were just now seeking to stone you, and are you going there again?” It was as though they said: “Do not go, lest they kill you. Even if you have no care for yourself, do not choose to leave us orphans in this way.”

Jesus answered: “Are there not twelve hours in the day?” It was as though he said: the day varies through many hours, and in each part of it a person can change his purpose and will, so that at one hour he wants one thing and at another its contrary. So too with the Jews: although they wished to kill me, they could change their purpose.

Moreover, the day contains twelve hours, corresponding to the twelve parts into which the artificial day was then divided. Since I am the spiritual day, wholly luminous, and you twelve apostles are like the twelve hours, receiving light from me, you ought to follow me and my will, not I you.

“For he who walks in the day,” that is, he who works according to my illumination, “does not stumble”--that is, does not sin--because in what he does he is enlightened by the light of grace coming from me. “He who walks in the night,” namely in the absence of the light of grace, stumbles, that is, sins. For according to Thomas in the *Summa*, a sinner cannot long remain in mortal sin without falling into other sins. It was as though Christ said: “Follow me if you do not wish to err.”

If it is asked how Judas was then an illuminated hour, since Christ called him a devil, one may answer that Judas was good for a time and in the light of grace, although afterward he became evil; or that Christ was speaking of Matthias, who was to be substituted for Judas in the apostolate.

So that the apostles might not think that he wished to go to Judea lightly and without an urgent cause, he assigned the reason for his journey, saying: “Lazarus our friend sleeps, but I go to awaken him from sleep,” because he is our friend. He was speaking of Lazarus’s death.

Scripture calls bodily death “sleep,” according to the saying to the Thessalonians: “I do not wish you to be ignorant, brothers, concerning those who sleep,” as is also evident in the books of Kings. The reason is that, just as a sleeping person rises from sleep after a time and without difficulty, so all of us shall rise at the end, in which deed there will be no difficulty for God.

Moreover, in sleep one who is well disposed in body and mind has pleasant dreams and rises stronger and more beautiful. One who is badly disposed has terrible dreams that afflict him, and rises exhausted and ugly.

So it is spiritually. One who dies well disposed, namely in grace on earth, has in heaven beautiful visions of God and the saints, in which he rejoices, according to the saying: “Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord.” At last he rises stronger and more beautiful, glorified in soul and body. But one who dies badly, namely in mortal sin, thereafter has terrible visions of demons and other evils by which he is cruelly tormented. At the end he rises in a worse condition, because he is tormented in soul and body.

The apostles, being unlearned and understanding his words as bodily sleep, said: “Lord, if he sleeps, he shall be saved”--as though to say: sleep in a grave illness is a good sign of healing, and therefore you need not go.

Jesus then said openly to them: “Lazarus is dead, and I rejoice”--not over the evil of death, but “for your sake,” that is, because of the benefit to you that will follow. Since I was not bodily present when he died, yet now tell you what is hidden, you are to believe--that is, to be confirmed more and more in faith in my divinity. “Let us therefore go to raise him.”

Then Thomas said to his companions: “Let us also go and die with him.” It was as though he said: “Let us by no means abandon him, but expose ourselves with him to the danger of death by going. Why should we wish to outlive him if he dies?”

As Jesus went with his disciples and approached Bethany, Martha was told of it. She went out to meet him and said: “Lord, if you had been here, my brother would not have died.” For where the fountain of life is, death cannot draw near. “But even now I know that whatever you ask of God, God will give you.” She did not believe that he was God, for she thought that God had to ask another, but regarded him as a most holy man.

Jesus said to her, “Your brother shall rise.” Martha answered: “I know by faith that he shall rise on the last day”--as though to say: “I do not know whether you speak of that last resurrection or of a present one.”

Christ said: “I am the resurrection and the life,” namely causally. “He who believes in me,” that is, by loving, “even if he has previously died” in sins, “shall live” by receiving grace; “and everyone who lives and believes in me,” that is, perseveres in grace and love, “shall not die forever,” that is, shall not go to eternal death. “Do you believe this?”

She answered: “Yes, Lord, I have believed,” and so forth.

Martha returned home and told her sister Mary: “The Master is here and calls you.” It appears that Jesus had told her to say this. On hearing it, Mary immediately rose and went to Jesus. She had previously been sitting in the house mourning, accompanied by many who had come from Jerusalem to console the sisters for their brother’s death.

Those who were with Mary thought that she was going to Lazarus’s tomb to mourn there, moved by natural affection, and followed her. But she left the dead man and approached the fountain of life, the Lord Jesus, who was still outside the village where Martha

had met him. Falling at his feet, she said: “Lord, if you had been here, my brother would not have died.” When Jesus saw Mary weeping, and the others with her, he groaned in spirit and troubled himself--that is, he was saddened and outwardly showed his grief--saying: “Where have you laid him?”

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter One (continued)

He certainly knew the place, since he knows all things, but he asked in order to show that he did not thrust himself forward to work miracles but was asked by others. It also intimates that the sinner signified by the dead Lazarus is unknown to God, that is, rejected by him and not pleasing to him in his works.

They said: “Lord, come and see.” And Jesus wept, both out of compassion for Lazarus’s sisters, who grieved at being deprived of their brother--for it is human to weep with those who weep--and according to the Wise Man’s saying: “Weep a little over the dead, for his light has failed.”

Devout tears at the death of human beings, especially of the just, are not condemned. The women who followed Jesus to the cross did this. Ambrose too is read to have wept bitterly when he heard of the death of a certain just man, both because that man had preceded him to rest and because it is difficult to find others like such men.

Cyprian, however, inveighs fiercely against those who mourn immoderately or from despair, as though such persons were wholly lost, Cause 13, Question 2, chapter *Praeposterum*.

Christ wept no less from compassion for Lazarus, who was to be recalled from a safe place to the miseries and dangers of the world, as is said in Cause 13, Question 2, chapter *Qui divina*.

Some interpreted Christ’s weeping as proceeding from love; others, as pretense, said: “Could not this man, who opened the eyes of the man born blind, have caused Lazarus not to die?”

Jesus, showing sadness, came to the tomb made in a cave, where a stone had been placed at its mouth. Jesus said: “Take away the stone.” Certainly he who could raise Lazarus could also have brought him out of the tomb with the stone opened. But to remove the Jews’ slanders concerning the miracle he had the tomb opened. For if it had not been opened, perhaps they would have said that this was not the true Lazarus, but a phantasmal body produced by the devil’s work, and that Lazarus’s own body remained in the tomb. He therefore wished it opened so that they could see that the body had first been there in the tomb and had not remained there after the resurrection.

Martha then said: “Lord, by now he stinks, for he has been dead four days.” A sinner dead in sin can be called four-days-dead because he acts against four luminous laws: the natural law, the law of the Decalogue, the evangelical law, and human law. He stinks through the evil reputation of his wicked works.

Christ said to her: “Did I not tell you that, if you believe, you shall see the glory of God,” that is, the resurrection of your brother, from which the glory of God--the power of the divinity--will be manifested?

When the stone had therefore been removed, Jesus raised his eyes to heaven and said: “Father, I thank you,” and so forth. Afterward he cried with a loud voice: “Lazarus, come forth.” Jesus did many things in this resurrection: he was saddened, shed tears, gave thanks, and cried aloud, showing that many things must be done to rise from sin, especially from habitual sin, since, as the Philosopher says, habit is like a second nature.

Immediately the risen Lazarus came out, his hands and feet bound with grave-clothes, that is, with bands, and his face covered with a napkin. Christ said to the disciples: “Loose him and let him go.” Thus everyone could perceive from his walking that he had truly been raised.

Note what Gregory says in the *Register*: “The absolution of the one presiding is then true when it follows the judgment of the inner Judge.” The raising of the four-days-dead man aptly signifies this, because the Lord first raised and enlivened Lazarus, saying, “Lazarus, come forth,” and afterward Lazarus, now alive and having left the tomb, was loosed by the disciples. This is in Cause 11, Question 3.

Augustine likewise says: “He presented the risen Lazarus to the disciples to be loosed,” thereby showing that the power of loosing was granted to priests. This is in *On Penance*, Distinction 1, chapter *Quem poenitet*. Thus anyone who rises from sin through contrition is loosed through confession; once absolved, let him go forward through satisfaction.

§ XXII. Other Miracles of the Savior Related by the Evangelists

Other miracles of the Savior are related by the Evangelists, although they may seem lesser than those previously described.

Luke alone relates that, as Jesus entered a certain village, ten lepers met him and cried from afar: “Jesus, Master, have mercy on us.” When he saw them, he said: “Go and show yourselves to the priests.” While they were on their way, they were cleansed.

Only one of them, a Samaritan, returned after being cleansed and gave thanks with a loud voice. Jesus said: “Were not ten cleansed? Where are the nine? No one has been found to return and give glory to God except this foreigner.” He said to him: “Arise; your faith has saved you.”

The village is the world, into which the Son of God entered through the Incarnation. Ten leprous men meet him, that is, people infected with sins and errors. They are called ten because they transgress the Ten Commandments and contradict the truth of the faith.

Just as leprosy infects others, and the leper’s body has one part infected and another sound, so heresy, as Bede says, mingles true things with false and infects others. Therefore, just as lepers were separated from others under the Law, so heretics are separated from the Church and from the communion of the faithful, as are wicked people whose crimes are notorious.

But when they acknowledge their error and sins and ask for mercy, Christ teaches the manner of cleansing: they are to show themselves to priests and be reconciled to the Church, and sinners are to show themselves to priests through confession.

Hence Augustine, on the words “Go and show yourselves to the priests,” says: “Since you sinned in your own persons, be ashamed in your own persons by confessing your sins, not by indicating them through others or through letters.” This is in *On Penance*, Distinction 1, chapter *Quem poenitet*.

While a person purposes to do this, he is already cleansed before God from the leprosy of sin. But some, once they have received forgiveness, ungratefully pursue their own advantages and do not seek Jesus. The just and elect, however, are signified by the one man because they remain in the unity of faith and love; and by the Samaritan, a name interpreted “guardian,” because they guard themselves and God’s commandments. Acknowledging God’s grace, they seek Jesus and magnify him. This man is praised by Christ, while the others are declared ungrateful and condemned.

This is intimated when it is said, “Where are the nine?” as though they were unknown because they do not attain the number of the Decalogue through observing it.

Luke also writes of a certain woman who was bent over, or bowed down, so that she could not look upward. Jesus said to her: “Woman, you are released from your infirmity,” and, when he laid his hand upon her, she was immediately made upright.

When the ruler of the synagogue indignantly reproved this and said that people should come on other days, not the Sabbath, to obtain healing, Jesus refuted his rebuke as foolish, since on the Sabbaths they rescued their brute animals from dangers. How much more lawfully, therefore, could that woman be healed on the Sabbath from the bond of infirmity in which the devil had held her bound for eighteen years? From this it is inferred that her deformity had been induced by the devil’s work.

This woman signifies human nature, which the weight of earthly solicitude oppressed, so that it did not look toward heavenly things because it attended only to things below. This is in Distinction 49, chapter *Hinc etenim*. Or she signifies the sinful soul. She was healed by Christ’s hand, that is, by grace touching the mind and freeing it from this curvature produced by the devil’s instigation.

Matthew and Mark say that on the day following Palm Sunday, as Jesus came from Bethany to Jerusalem and was hungry, he approached a fig tree beside the road. It had only leaves, and he went to see whether he might find fruit there. Because he found none--for it was not the season for figs--he cursed it, saying: “May fruit never grow from you.” At this word it immediately withered.

When the disciples marveled, Jesus said: “If you have faith, whatever you ask shall be done for you.” This shows that Christ hungers, that is, desires the fruit of good works in us and in the Jewish people. His going to see whether the tree had fruit indicates free will; the fact that it was not the season of fruits intimates God’s infallible foreknowledge, which nevertheless does not take away our freedom.

Therefore, when Christ finds in us only the leaves of words and not the fruits of works, he finally curses us by condemning us, so that we wholly wither away from grace and can bear fruit no longer. He also condemned the Jewish people, who rested in the leaves of legal observances without the fruit of faith.

Gratian, Cause 23, Question 4, after chapter *Nabuchodonosor*, says of the Tyrians and Sidonians: “In all these things our vices are ascribed to the judgment of the human mind. Divine clemency mercifully turns this judgment toward good in the elect, but justly leaves it toward evil in the condemned.” Thus Gratian. The devotion of faith ought to believe this, not scrutinize it.

Luke relates of the man with dropsy that Jesus entered a certain Pharisee's house to eat on the Sabbath. When a man with dropsy had been brought before him, he asked those who were watching him whether it was lawful to heal on the Sabbath. When they remained silent, he took the man and healed him, declaring this to be lawful because they themselves rescued brute animals on the Sabbath. He reproved or admonished them to avoid ambition and pride, signified in that man with dropsy, and also avarice.

Matthew speaks of a stater, that is, a certain coin, perhaps a grosso or a bolognino, miraculously found by Peter in a fish's mouth. After Christ's Transfiguration, when he had come to Capernaum, those who collected the didrachma--that is, a certain sum for the toll on passage--approached Peter and said: "Does your master not pay the didrachma?" He answered, "Yes," that is, he does.

When Peter entered the house, Jesus anticipated him and said: "Simon, what do you think? From whom do earthly kings receive tribute or tax: from their sons or from strangers?" When Peter answered, "From strangers," Jesus said: "Then the sons are free. But lest we scandalize them, go to the sea and cast in a hook. Take the first fish that comes up, and when you open its mouth you shall find a stater. Take it and give it to them for me and for yourself."

Note what Ambrose says in Cause 11, Question 1: "This is a great and special lesson, by which Christian men are taught that they ought to be subject to higher powers, lest anyone suppose that a just ordinance of an earthly king is to be dissolved. For if the Son of God paid the tax, who are you, so great, that you suppose it should not be paid?"

The gloss there says that tribute or tax is a sign of subjection, but not a full proof of it. This is in the title *On Privileges*, chapter *Recepimus*. Because Christ was subject to no one, since he was without sin and supreme over all, he paid not from obligation but to remove scandal. Hence he said to Peter, "Lest we scandalize them, go," and so forth.

Gregory says in Cause 11, Question 3, chapter *Inter verba*: "Even detractors and those scandalized through ignorance are to be summoned and admonished calmly, and satisfaction ought to be made to them in every way, because the Lord says, 'Lest we scandalize them,'" and so forth, as was said. "But if they are unwilling to be satisfied by the truth, you have the consolation you behold in the Gospel," namely Matthew 15: "Leave them"--that is, leave them to be scandalized--"they are blind," and so forth.

It should also be noted, as is said in Cause 23, Question 8, chapter *Tributum*, that Peter was not ordered to give the whole fish or its head, because the Church ought not to be given to the emperor, nor can the pontifical summit, which presides like the head of the Church, be subjected to kings. He was ordered to give the stater found in the fish's mouth, because the Church pays tribute from those exterior goods of the Church that are evident to all. This was instituted of old for peace and quiet, because they ought to protect and defend us. Thus the text there.

As the gloss there says, the Church gives tribute to kings not as a sign of subjection, as happens with laypeople, since the Church is not subject to them, but as assistance and on account of protection. It is therefore not to be given to them if they do not defend. It says that it is to be given from exterior things, that is, not from the goods of the Church that are dedicated to the Lord, but from those that come to churchmen together with such an obligation, namely that tribute be paid.

The miracles Christ performed at the time of his Passion must not be omitted. When the crowds came to seize him, Jesus asked whom they sought. When they answered, "Jesus of Nazareth," and he said, "I am he," they all fell backward to the ground together with their leader Judas, and at his command they arose. This showed that he did not lack power to escape and destroy them, and intimated that through their unbelief they would be delivered into a reprobate sense.

He also restored to the head of the high priest's servant the right ear that Peter had cut off, as Luke writes.

Note here what Ambrose says in Cause 24, Question 1: "If Peter deliberately struck the ear, he taught that the Jews ought not to possess an ear in spirit, for they did not possess it in the mystery, namely faith. But the good Lord restored hearing even to that man in accordance with the prophetic sayings, showing that those who were wounded in Christ's Passion could themselves be healed if they were converted, since every sin is washed away in Christ's Passion."

"Peter therefore takes away the ear. Why Peter? Because he is the one who received the keys of the kingdom of heaven. He condemns and also absolves." And below: "Let us take care that no one's ear be taken away while Christ's Passion is read. If we refer the weakness of bodily suffering to his divinity, the ear is cut away; and it is cut away by Peter, who did not allow Christ to be regarded as a prophet but taught that he was the Son of God." Thus Ambrose.

At Christ's death, the sun was darkened, rocks were split, and the veil of the temple was divided. When the tombs were opened, many bodies arose at his Resurrection to announce the truth of the mystery to many.

For the sun of understanding is darkened at so great an indignity done to Christ; hard hearts, such as those of the centurion and others, were split open to compunction; the veil of ceremonies was removed so that hidden mysteries might be revealed; and innumerable people dead in sins rose to spiritual life.

To these we join the miracle that Christ suddenly gave unlearned fishermen skill in preaching and power to perform miracles, and what is greatest of all: at the Last Supper he gave himself as food in the sacrament.

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter One (conclusion)

The turning of water into wine at the wedding; the deliverance of the royal official's son and Peter's mother-in-law from fevers; the healing of the centurion's servant, the paralytic offered to Christ upon a bed, the sick man at the pool, and the man with the withered hand; the twice-calmed storm at sea; Christ's and Peter's walking upon the waters; and the two multiplications of the loaves with the fishes have been treated above.

It was not without a miracle that Christ emerged unharmed from the midst of those who wished to cast him down from a mountain and, on another occasion, to stone him. Nor was it without a miracle that he twice cast the sellers and buyers out of the temple with such authority that no one dared oppose him.

So much for the miracles individually related. For, as is said at the end of John: "Jesus performed many other signs that are not written." Chrysostom says that his miracles are an immeasurable sea.

Chapter Two: On Christ's Teaching through Parables

The Parables of Sown Fields and Vineyards

Matthew and Mark say that Jesus spoke many things to the crowds in parables and did not speak to them without parables. This appears to be understood as applying generally, and this was so that what had been said through the prophet David might be fulfilled: "I shall open my mouth in parables; I shall utter things hidden from the foundation of the world."

A parable means a likeness, the word Luke uses. A likeness is proposed of something that either happened or at least could have happened, according to the Philosopher's saying in the *Ethics*: "We set forth examples not because they are so, but so that learners may perceive," that is, understand through guidance by such examples and likenesses.

Jerome says that it is customary among the Palestinians--that is, in those parts where Jesus preached--to introduce a likeness into every discourse, so that what cannot be retained through a proposition may at least be retained through a likeness.

From this it is inferred that examples are to be used frequently when preaching to crowds so that they may understand, and that one should conform to the country's customs in matters conducive to usefulness.

As Matthew relates, Jesus spoke these things while remaining in a boat beside the seashore, where the crowds stood to hear. For the preacher ought to leave the land, that is, affection for earthly things, and be separated from the press of people rather than mingle among the crowds.

Jesus said: "The sower went out to sow his seed." Matthew, Mark, and Luke record this parable and agree substantially. The soil sown is presented under a fourfold difference: muddy, rocky, thorny, and fruitful. These can occur in one field in its different parts. Only in the fourth part did perfect fruit follow, with variation--thirtyfold, sixtyfold, and a hundredfold--according to the differing goodness of that soil's parts.

The one who went out from the heavenly house is principally the Son of God, who says in John 16: "I came forth from the Father and came into the world," namely through the Incarnation, without abandoning his union of substance with the Father.

He came to sow the word of truth. He himself says in John 18: "For this I came into the world, that I should bear witness to the truth." This is his seed, because he is truth itself. Whoever preached or preaches the truth in the Old or New Testament, Christ is the beginning or principal sower. Hence he says in Luke 10: "He who hears you hears me."

The preacher is like the basket or sack that the sower uses in sowing. Hence Augustine says: "What am I but the sower's basket? Christ himself deigned to place in me the seed that I scatter for you. Do not attend to the basket's low worth, but to the sower's nobility."

A prelate of the Church ought to observe the Apostle's command in 2 Timothy 4: "Preach the word; be urgent in season and out of season." Gregory says there: "Before saying 'out of season,' he first said 'in season,' because in the hearer's mind importunity destroys itself by its own disadvantage if it does not know how to preserve seasonableness." This is in Distinction 43, chapter *Sit rector*.

Pope Nicholas says: "The dispensation of heavenly seed has been entrusted to us. Woe to us if we do not scatter it; woe if we remain silent." This is in the same distinction.

Augustine shows the seed of God's word to be of such nobility and usefulness when he says in Cause 1, Question 1: "I ask you, brothers and sisters, which seems greater to you: the word of God or the body of Christ? If you truly wish to answer, you ought to say that the word of God is no less than Christ's body. Therefore, with as much care as we take when the body of Christ is ministered to us, lest any of it fall from our hands to the ground, let us take equal care lest, while we think or speak about something else, the word of Christ bestowed upon us perish from a pure heart."

As the gloss says, as regards its effect the word is not only no less but greater, because people are converted through the preached word, not through the Eucharist.

The sown field is the world, or the assembly of hearers, which falls under a fourfold difference.

Some are devoted to wantonness and curiosity, going to sermons to look at women or hear something curious. These are the muddy ground beside the road, which is trampled by passersby along the paths through fields in rainy weather. So their minds are trampled by frequent thoughts and various vanities.

When they hear, therefore, because their minds are directed elsewhere, the birds of heaven--that is, the demons ranging through the air--come and snatch the word from their hearts. Although they hear the word, the devil works so that it is not understood or retained in the mind.

The second are hard and dry through pride and insensibility, signified by rocky ground. Although they hear sermons, retain them in mind, and begin to proceed outwardly to good works, yet because they lack sufficient earth of humility and moisture of grace, when the heat of great tribulation or temptation comes they fail in their good purpose and perseverance in the virtues and wither away from grace. Hence they do not bear the fruit of eternal salvation, for Christ says: "Not he who begins, but he who perseveres to the end shall be saved."

The third are the covetous, signified by thorny ground. Although temporal goods seem to delight, they truly prick the mind like thorns with continual anxieties and cares unto the shedding of blood, that is, to the commission of sins. For because of avarice there arise thefts, frauds, usuries, and other evils.

When such people hear sermons, they are sometimes pierced with compunction and propose to produce fruits worthy of penance, beginning fasts, almsgiving, confessions, and the like. But the thorns of covetous desires spring up and grow so greatly that they choke the good purpose. They neither restore what they have wrongfully taken nor refrain from acquiring more wrongfully.

The fourth are well disposed. Hearing devoutly, they receive the seed--that is, a good purpose--with humility and retain it through meditation. With the rain of compunction falling and the solar ray of grace coming upon them, they truly bear fruit.

That they obtain the fruit of salvation appears as by a sign in the patience they possess in tribulations and temptations. According to the goodness of their disposition, however, they bear more or less fruit. Hence Matthew and Mark add what Luke omitted: that one bears thirtyfold, another sixtyfold, and another a hundredfold.

Here the threefold state of the good is designated. The married state is good when a person keeps what he hears and possesses patience; the thirtyfold fruit corresponds to it. When the number thirty is represented by the hands it shows the marital joining, since two fingers are joined in designating it. Because it is composed of three and ten, it intimates observance of the Ten Commandments in faith in the Trinity.

The second is the widowed state. One who lives continently and patiently, with more perfect observance of the commandments and faith, is better, other things being equal. This state therefore renders the sixtyfold fruit, which is twice as great as the first. When this number is represented by the hands, one finger presses upon another, signifying the oppression and affliction of such a state.

The third is the virginal state, which is most perfect. Hence, according to the system of finger-counting, this number is placed on the right hand rather than the left, where the other lower numbers are placed. For, as Jerome says, to live in the flesh beyond the flesh, which is the life of virgins, is angelic rather than human. The state of the angels, that is, of the heavenly homeland, is signified by the right hand. This state therefore renders a more abundant fruit of merit and reward, provided that it is maintained as it ought to be.

After Christ spoke the parable to the crowds, he cried out: "He who has ears to hear, let him hear." He cried out because sometimes the preacher must cry aloud with his voice according to the subject. He must always cry out in mind, that is, with a desire not for praise or gain but for the conversion of souls.

He means: "He who hears with the bodily ear should also hear with the ear of the heart," namely by understanding spiritually and acting.

As Matthew relates, the disciples asked him: "Why do you speak in parables," namely without explaining them? "Explain at least this parable to us." The twelve apostles said this when he was alone--that is, alone with them.

Assigning the reason, Christ said to them: "To you it is given to know the mystery of the kingdom of God," that is, the secrets of the Scriptures and the Church; "but to the others in parables," that is, only supernaturally, not with inward savor [read: superficially]--to the others, namely those separated from your unity and virtue--"so that seeing they may not see, and hearing they may not understand, lest at any time they be converted and their sins be healed," as Mark says.

This, like the earlier passage, is understood consecutively, not causally. Christ did not speak in parables in order to obscure their minds. Rather, because of their indisposition, this result followed from Christ's manner of speaking: hearing with the ear, they did not hear by performing the deed; seeing, that is, understanding superficially, they did not see spiritually.

Thus the prophecy of Isaiah, introduced by Matthew, is fulfilled: "Hearing you shall hear and shall not understand; seeing you shall see and shall not see," and so forth. The Apostle expounded the aforesaid parable.

Note here that not all things are to be preached to everyone. Cruder things are to be preached to the unlearned and more perfect spiritual things to the spiritually mature. Concerning this, see Cause 8, Question 1, chapter *Oportet eum*.

§ I. Another Parable, of the Good Seed and the Tares

Matthew alone relates that after the foregoing Christ presented another parable, saying: "The kingdom of heaven is like a man who was the father of a household and sowed good seed in his field. While the men slept, an enemy came and oversowed tares in the midst of the wheat. When the wheat had sprung up, the tares also appeared, growing with it.

"The servants asked their lord: 'Lord, did you not sow good seed in your field? Whence then does it have tares?' The lord answered: 'An enemy has done this.' The servants said: 'Do you wish us to go and gather them?' He answered: 'No, lest perhaps in uprooting the tares you uproot the wheat with them. Let both grow until the harvest. Then I shall say to the reapers: Gather the tares first into bundles to be burned, but gather the wheat into my barn.'"

Christ afterward expounded this parable to the disciples in the house. First, the statement "The kingdom of heaven is like a man who was the father of a household," and so forth, is understood in this way: what occurs in the Church, which is called the kingdom of heaven, is like what is related in this likeness.

This man is God, the father through creation of every family in heaven, on earth, and beneath the earth. His field, as Christ himself explained, is the world. His enemy is the devil, who is called a man because he is rational or intellectual, as a human being is. The father's servants, who dwell with him in the house of the Church, are holy men. The time of harvest is the end of the world.

It remains to consider the good seed. The good seed can be expounded in three ways, with three kinds of tares corresponding by opposition. There is good seed from the truth of doctrine, good seed from the virtue of law, and good seed from the holiness of the Church. Over the first are sown the tares of falsehood; over the second, the tares of vice; and over the third are scattered the tares of the whole multitude of the wicked. This accords with Romans.

Christ appears to expound the parable according to the last sense, yet with reference to the first and second as well. God placed good seed in the field of the world, namely good human beings--good according to nature and grace, which he infused into our first parents. Similarly, he placed good angels in the empyrean heaven.

Although through original sin the devil oversowed tares by tempting our first parents, God cleansed that sin through various remedies and placed within his Church people good through infused grace, as is evident in Abel and other holy men descended from him.

The devil, however, oversowed tares, that is, wicked people, by suggesting malice to some, not by compelling them to evil. These wicked people were among the good: Chaym [i.e., Cain] and his descendants, for example. Thus Ham was found like tares among Noah's good sons Shem and Japheth; in Abraham's house, Ishmael was found like tares alongside Isaac, the good seed; in Isaac's family, Jacob was the good seed and Esau the tares; among David's sons, Solomon and Nathan were good seed, while Amon [i.e., Amnon] and Absalom were tares.

After the Babylonian transmigration, Mattathias and his sons were good seed, while Menelaus, Jason, and others were tares. In Christ's school, the other apostles were good seed while Iudas Scharioth [i.e., Judas; Iscariot] was tares. In the primitive Church, the apostles' disciples and six of the deacons were good seed, while the seventh, Nicolas, was tares.

Sometimes this mixture occurs through the sleep of men, that is, the negligence of prelates and rulers who do not punish crimes. Thus the wheat, the good seed, and the tares, which are called darnel, arise and grow together--that is, the good together with the wicked.

For the householder's servants to ask whence the tares came into the field although he had sown good seed, and to ask whether he wishes the tares uprooted, is for good men in the Church to marvel at such a mixture in the Church, although God himself has prepared both all good people and all good things--sacraments, teachings, and the like--for the salvation of all, and to desire, if it pleased God, that the wicked be exterminated lest they harm the good.

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Two (continued)

But God does not will this; rather, he permits this mixture of the wicked with the good until the harvest, that is, the end of the world, lest the wheat be uprooted with the tares.

For some people are tares for a time who afterward become the finest wheat, as Saul afterward became Paul, a vessel of election. If such persons, while evil but destined afterward to become good, were called out of the world while they were tares, the wheat too--that is, what they would later become--would be uprooted with them.

The second reason is that such tares sometimes possess secular power and a following. If the Church wished to uproot them, that is, punish and separate them by sentences, the wheat too would be uprooted, because they would act maliciously against the good and could procure many evils of body and soul. Augustine notes this in Cause 23, Question 4, chapter *Non potest esse*, and in Distinction 50, chapter *Ut constitueretur*.

The third reason is that people wicked in their conduct serve to exercise the good, so that patience may be increased in them. Hence Gregory says in Cause 7, Question 1, in the penultimate section: "The iron of our mind cannot reach the sharp edge of virtue unless the file of another's wickedness wears against it. He who is not exercised by Cain's malice does not know how to be Abel." Thus, if the tares were removed, the wheat too would be uprooted as regards its advancement.

The fourth reason is that if the good wished to separate themselves from the tares--that is, from wicked people who are tolerated by the Church, beyond detestation of their vices--a schism would follow among them. In such a separation the wheat too would be uprooted, because the good themselves would become evil by being divided from the unity of the Church.

Augustine teaches this in Cause 23, Question 4, saying upon John: "Dearest brothers, what did our Lord Jesus Christ wish to admonish his Church when he willed to have one traitor among the twelve, except that we should tolerate the wicked lest we divide Christ's body?"

The Lord's words through the prophet to his servants, "Depart from there," namely from wicked people, "go out and do not touch the unclean," are not, as Augustine explains, to be understood as separation from communion with wicked people while they are tolerated and have not been cast out by censures.

Rather, as he explains in Cause 23, Question 4, "To depart and not touch the unclean is not to consent to the sins of others among whom we live. To go out from the midst of Babylon is to do what pertains to correcting them, so far as it can be done in peace according to each person's rank and condition."

Departure can also be understood as avoiding domestic association with such people when someone is weak in mind, according to the saying: "With the perverse you will be perverted."

This also accords with what Augustine says: "How great is the swelling of arrogance, how great the forgetfulness of humanity and frailty, and how great the boast of pride, that someone should believe himself able to do what the Lord did not grant even to the apostles: that he can distinguish the tares from the wheat." This is in Cause 23, Question 4, chapter *Quantus*.

Note that this does not prevent wicked members of the faithful from being excommunicated for just causes and thus separated from the faithful, because excommunication is not directed to the uprooting of salvation but to conversion.

Hence Pope Urban says beautifully: "It must be noted that some say we act against the Gospel parable, in which the Lord commanded that the tares not be uprooted, when we subject some who deserve excommunication to excommunication. They say that Saint Augustine too contradicts this in the place where he says that the tares are not to be cut off: the wicked are to be borne, not cast away.

"To these it must first be answered: if heretics and the wicked are not to be excommunicated, why did that same holy father Augustine, together with the legates of the Holy Roman Church and with his holy bishops, excommunicate Pelagius and Celestinum [i.e., Celestius], who were introducing a new heresy into the Church, and separate them from God's Church? He acted similarly against the Donatists.

"The Lord himself, who here speaks parabolically about the tares, elsewhere openly commands that excommunication be imposed: 'If he is corrected by the Church and does not obey, let him be to you as a heathen and a publican.' Hence it plainly appears that excommunication is one thing and uprooting another. A person is excommunicated so that his spirit may be saved. Thus excommunication is discipline, not uprooting." This is in Cause 24, Question 3, chapter *Notandum*.

He is not therefore uprooted, because the Church does not intend simply to separate him from the land of the living. Rather, through excommunication, when he is convicted and does not amend, he is in some measure cut off so that he may be amended and at least may not harm others by evil example.

Until the harvest, therefore--that is, death or the Last Judgment--God permissively wills the wicked to be mixed with the good. Then he says to the reapers, who shall gather the wheat, namely the good, and the tares, namely the wicked, by performing their ministry in preparing the remains of the dead, that they are to separate the wheat from the tares, one from another.

He says: "Gather the tares into bundles to be burned." First, their removal from earthly things is intimated, because "gather" means by separating them from the earth, according to Job's saying: "When the rich man dies, he shall take nothing with him."

Second, the gathering of the reprobate is intimated. The wicked are called tares because they are useless to themselves and harmful to others. Just as they were gathered here by living together in vices, so they will be placed together in bundles amid torments: the avaricious with the avaricious, the wanton with the wanton, and likewise the rest, as Gregory says in the *Moralia*.

Third, their torment is set forth, because they are gathered "to be burned."

"But gather the wheat into my barn." Here, first, the property of the elect is designated. Wheat falls to the earth through humility; if it dies through the extinction of vices, and if it shall have been consonant, as Jerome says, grain sprouts in the soil through moisture and warmth. Thus it bears much fruit. The moisture is devotion and the warmth is love.

Second, the angels' cooperation is intimated: "Gather," namely, you reapers--that is, all the angels--direct them into one place, "into my barn." There their happiness and security are signified, because they cannot lose these things.

Concerning the seed of truth, the Lord says: "I planted you, my vineyard, wholly true seed," namely, I placed all true seed in it through the patriarchs, the Law, the prophets, and the Gospel.

Hence Cyprian says: "Having abandoned error, let us follow truth, because in Esdras truth prevails, lives, and endures forever and ever." "Your word is truth," John 6, both concerning what is to be believed, what is to be done, and what is to be desired, as is evident in the Scriptures.

But the devil oversowed the tares of errors and falsehoods. This is no wonder, because he is a liar and their father and did not stand in the truth, John 8. He incited Ninus and other kings to invent false gods so that people would believe in them; philosophers, poets, and orators to treat many crimes as lawful acts; and heretics, Jews, and pagans to invent errors.

These tares are mixed with the wheat because, according to Bede, no doctrine is so false that it does not have some truth inserted into it. God does not permit the whole field of the Church to be cleansed of every tare. I call the Church the faithful in number, not in merit.

All heresies have arisen from wicked members of the faithful at the devil's instigation. Although many have failed, new ones nevertheless arise from time to time. God permits this so that the doctors who labor to refute them may be sharpened and better exercised in Sacred Scripture.

Many errors are also not known to the prelates, and they must therefore be left. Only at the end will all the truth of the faith be declared and falsehood condemned.

Concerning the second seed, that of virtuousness, Ecclesiastes says: "In the morning sow your seed, and in the evening let not your hand cease," that is, act virtuously in youth and old age.

Seneca says that seeds have been scattered within us, namely inclinations toward the virtues. Because, as the Philosopher says in the *Ethics*, a habit is generated from frequent acts, the seed of acquired virtues advances and grows from those acts.

If the infused virtues bestowed by God are added, then, as the Psalm says, "His seed shall be mighty upon the earth": the seed of one who fears God and ardently observes his commandments. Although all these virtues are in habit equally in the same degree, nevertheless one person shines forth more than another in their outward acts, according to the acts of the different virtues, as Thomas says in the *Summa*.

But when people sleep--that is, give themselves over to the body and negligence--the devil oversows the tares of vices, such as pride, envy, anger, and the like. The field of our mind, however greatly it abounds in the wheat of virtues, is never without the tares of vices, at least venial ones.

God permits this and does not allow them to be wholly uprooted because sometimes the wheat too would be uprooted through pride. Therefore, so that people may preserve themselves in humility, God permits these tares. At the harvest, that is, death, they are cast into the fire--namely, that of purgatory--if people die with them, while the wheat of the virtues is rewarded in heaven.

Mark alone sets down another parable spoken by Jesus about seed, saying: "The kingdom of God is as if a man should cast seed into the earth and sleep and rise night and day, and the seed should sprout and grow while he knows not how. For the earth bears fruit

of itself: first the blade, then the ear, and then the full grain in the ear. When it has produced fruit of itself, he immediately puts in the sickle, because the harvest has come."

Gregory expounds this likeness beautifully upon Ezekiel, in *On Penance*, Distinction 2, chapter *Dum sanctam*: "Every virtue is increased as though by certain stages and is led through increases of merits to the summit. The beginnings of virtue are one thing, its advancement another, and its perfection another. The Lord describes these stages under the name of the harvest, saying: 'So is the kingdom of God,'" and so forth.

"A man casts seed into the earth when he plants a good intention in his heart, namely when he resolves to live virtuously and love God above all things, which intention he received from God according to the Apostle's saying: 'God gives seed to the sower.' After casting the seed, he sleeps when he rests in the hope of a good work.

"He rises by night and by day because he advances amid adversity and prosperity. The seed sprouts and grows while he does not know it, because he cannot yet measure its increases. Virtue, once begun, is led onward to advancement.

"The earth bears fruit of itself because, when grace comes first, a person's mind rises spontaneously to the fruit of good work. But the earth first produces the blade, then the ear, and afterward the full grain. To produce the blade is to possess the tenderness of a good beginning. Virtue comes to the ear when it draws itself onward to advancement in good work. It is brought to full grain when virtue advances so far that it can belong to a robust and perfect work.

"God puts in the sickle and reaps the harvest when, after he has brought a person to perfect works according to his fixed appointment, he cuts off temporal life by a sentence sent forth, so that he may bring his grain to the heavenly barns." Thus Gregory, who also gives examples concerning Peter.

They add another parable spoken by Christ, about a grain of mustard seed, which is the least of all seeds but, once sown, grows so that it becomes greater than all garden plants, and the birds rest in its branches and beneath its shade. Christ compares the kingdom of God to this.

It is the humble, steadfast, and fervent faith of the Church. In the beginning it was least in the number of those who received it, since only Christ's disciples received it. All sects of doctrine had, as it were, more followers at their beginnings. But this faith, once sown--that is, preached--grew throughout the world above all sects.

Thus in its branches, that is, in princes, prelates, and doctors who are branches scattered through the different regions, the birds of heaven--angels or contemplatives--and other peoples rest in their exemplary lives and are protected by them.

Christ said to his disciples: "Fear not, little flock, for it has pleased your Father to give you the kingdom." But to hear how greatly it grew, listen to Jerome: "Gaul, Britain, Africa, Persia, the East, and India adore one Christ and follow one rule of truth." This is in Distinction 93, chapter *Legimus*.

Matthew adds another parable: "The kingdom of heaven is like leaven that a woman took and hid in three measures of meal until the whole was leavened." This leaven is evangelical teaching. Hence, when Christ said to the disciples, "Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees," they afterward understood that he was speaking of the Pharisees' teaching.

The woman, therefore, that is, the Church, put this leaven of doctrine into three measures, that is, among the people inhabiting Asia, Africa, and Europe. Thus the whole was leavened, because many from every part of the world received evangelical teaching.

§ II. The Parable of the Vineyard to Which Many Were Called at Different Hours

Matthew alone sets down this parable. The householder, the vineyard's owner, is God, who continually governs those whom he created. The Church is his vineyard, according to Isaiah's saying: "The vineyard of the Lord of hosts is the house of Israel." Nothing can be done virtuously except in the vineyard of the Church.

Hence Pope Lutius [i.e., Lucius] says: "Do not depart from the right faith of the Church and the apostolic path, that is, action according to the apostles' teaching, on account of any disturbance, knowing according to the Savior's saying that blessed are those who suffer persecution for righteousness," that is, for acting well, whether in themselves or in others. For righteousness is cultivated in this vineyard, and while cultivating it one suffers persecution from the flesh, the devil, and the world.

Pope Lutius [i.e., Lucius]'s authority continues: "This is the living tradition of the apostles; this is the true charity that is to be preached and especially loved and fostered, and confidently held by all. This holy apostolic Church, the mother of all Christ's churches, is shown by the grace of almighty God never to have strayed from the path of apostolic tradition nor to have succumbed to corruption by heretical novelties, but remains unblemished just as it received the faith from its first authors, Christ's apostles." This is in Cause 24, Question 1, chapter *A recta*.

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Two (continued)

The gloss there says that “the Church” here means the collection of good faithful people, which will always exist and cannot fail because Christ prayed for it.

Hence Pope Dyonisius [i.e., Dionysius] says: “Let each person remain content within his own bounds and so guard the church and people entrusted to him that he may render an account of all things before the tribunal of the eternal Judge and receive not judgment but glory for his deeds.” This is in Cause 13, Question 1, chapter *Ecclesias*.

This is to cultivate and guard: to instruct, correct, and provide examples. As Gregory says, “Because the Church has had righteous people from the beginning until now, it has produced as many shoots as it has had such people.”

The vineyard’s cultivators are those who have cultivated others, as though with an iron tool, by their teaching and example of life so that they might produce the fruit of good works. Or they are all the elect, who have cultivated themselves within this vineyard by pruning their lives and practicing virtues.

It is not incongruous for the same persons to be both the vineyard and its cultivators under different relations. Insofar as they receive such cultivation within themselves through good works, they are the vineyard; they are cultivators because they themselves act voluntarily.

The first hour was the world’s first age, in which God went out--not locally, but efficiently--to hire laborers into his vineyard, that is, people acting well and teaching others in the Church, such as Abel, Seth, Enoch, and others. He promised to give them the daily denarius in the evening, though only in the sixth age, not from condign merit, because, as the Apostle says in Romans 8, “The sufferings of this time are not worthy of the glory to come,” but from congruous merit. For it is fitting that one who labors faithfully for God be rewarded. No reward can quiet a human being except God.

The third hour was the second age, which extends from Noah to David. In it God sent Noah, Shem, arbaham [i.e., Abraham], Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph to instruct the world; they taught people to worship the true God and to govern themselves.

The sixth hour lasted from David until the transmigration, during which many prophets taught the Lord’s way. The ninth was from the Babylonian transmigration until Christ; during it the holy machabei [i.e., Maccabees] and the prophets aggeus [i.e., Haggai], Zechariah, Malachi, or Esdras instructed others.

The eleventh hour was and is the sixth age in which we live. In it God found many standing idle in the marketplace--that is, Gentiles performing no meritorious good--and reproved them. They excused themselves because no one had hired them, namely because they had no laws or prophets to instruct them in the worship of God and the governance of themselves. God sent these too into the vineyard when they were converted to the faith, so that they might work well.

Evening, which is the day’s end, is the end of the world, or the end of human life for each person, as Gregory says.

The laborers are summoned by the steward to receive their wage because, at the Lord God’s disposition, the eternal wage is given to us through Christ, who is called the steward. By the merit of his Passion he opened the gate of heaven to us.

The steward is commanded to begin paying the wage from the last because those who die under the New Testament, signified by those called at the eleventh hour, immediately fly upward and receive the wage of glory if no obstacle of sin is present in those faithful people. But those who died under the Old Testament, in the first, third, sixth, and ninth hours, did not fly upward but descended to limbo.

When the earlier laborers saw these last receive the denarius--that is, the vision of glory and complete repose--they thought that more would be given to them because they had labored more, that is, longer. But they received only the denarius, that is, the vision and enjoyment of God, which is the one essential reward of all the saints.

Yet within this reward, one who loved more perfectly in the world beholds more clearly and enjoys more delightfully. Thus star differs from star in brightness, although each person is most fully put at rest and made happy. According to the greater or lesser labors endured here for God, however, the accidental reward, a certain joy concerning a created thing, is greater or lesser, according to the Apostle’s saying: “Each shall receive his own wage according to his labor.”

The statement that the earlier cultivators of the vineyard murmured when they saw that they received no more than the last, as though a worthy wage were not paid to them although they had labored more than the others, is hypothetical speech, that is, it proceeds from a supposition, even of an impossible thing. As Gregory says, it is impossible for anyone in glory to murmur or for a murmurer to reach that place.

But if one supposes impossibly that the fathers of the Old Testament murmured because they thought themselves rewarded less than justly, it is shown that they cannot complain. What was promised to them is given: the denarius, that is, heavenly glory, which alone suffices for all things and is beyond condign merit.

If God wishes freely to give someone who labored little the same wage, or even more, he does no injury to the former laborer. The quantity of the wage of glory is given according to the quantity of a person's love, and it can happen that someone reaches greater charity in a very brief time after conversion than another does by laboring long in good works.

If someone from his own property and liberality gave one person a hundred florins and another of equal condition only ten, he would certainly not be said to injure the second, because he withholds nothing owed to him. Indeed, the ten that he did not owe the second man he gave freely; therefore that man has reason to love him and give thanks.

So too the Lord God, who is indebted to no one to give grace but gives from his goodness to whomever he gives, cannot be accused of respect of persons for giving to one and not another, or more to one than another. "Is it not lawful," it is said, "for me to do what I will" in conferring nature, grace, and glory? "Is your eye"--that is, your mind--"wicked" in murmuring against me "because I am good" by giving someone more than seems just to you? It is as though he said: "You have no just cause for complaint."

"Thus the last shall be first and the first last." This means that the fathers of the New Testament, who were called last to labor in the vineyard of the Church, will be first to receive the wage because, unless something else obstructs it, they can receive it when they die. The first, the fathers of the Old Testament, were last because they received the wage of glory later.

Or, to confound the hardness of the Jews, the last--that is, the Gentiles who were called to Christ's faith in the last age, from which the wage comes to us through the apostles' preaching--will be first to be converted and receive the wage. The first--that is, the Jews who had earlier been called through the prophets and patriarchs, and finally to faith through Christ's preaching--will generally be last among the Jews to be converted to the faith, according to the Psalm: "They shall be converted in the evening and shall suffer hunger like dogs," and so forth. Then those converted to the faith will receive the wage, which will occur at the end.

Therefore the text fittingly continues: "Many are called," namely to faith through preaching--Jews and Gentiles--"but few are chosen," because few Jews were converted, not all Gentiles were converted, and among those converted to the faith few labor as they ought in the Church's vineyard through works of righteousness. Therefore few are chosen to receive the wage.

The denarius signifies the essential heavenly reward: by reason of its material, because it is made of metal, which endures; by reason of its form, because its round or circular shape is the most capacious of all and that reward contains all good things; by reason of the figure visible upon it, namely the emperor's, for the whole wage is vision, and the better-disposed eye sees more subtly as that vision becomes clearer; and by reason of what it contains, because it holds the value of ten coins and is given to one who observes the Ten Commandments.

Concerning "Many are called," Cyprian says: "As the Lord finds you when he calls you," namely through death, "so he judges you." This is in *On Penance*, Distinction 1, chapter *Numquid*.

"Many are called, but few are chosen," because, as Gregory says in *On Penance*, Distinction 3, "many begin well who finish their lives in evil." Gratian says there that one who does not work in charity does not begin well.

Augustine says in his book *On Rebuke and Grace*: "Because of the hidden nature of this humility, we must believe that some of the children of perdition, without receiving the gift of perseverance to the end, begin to live in the faith that works through love and afterward fall." This is in *On Penance*, Distinction 3, chapter *Idem*.

"Can this man who still refuses to be corrected," namely from his vices, "say: 'What did I do, since I did not receive the gift of perseverance?' He is known to have received living faith, and through his own fault to have lost what he had received, because by his own will he relapsed from a good life into an evil one."

The chosen can therefore be called those who persevere, and these are few. The called are not only the wicked, but also the good who do not persevere.

Hence Gregory, speaking upon Ezekiel about the condition of the elect, says: "'They did not turn back when they went,' namely, those living creatures he had seen in the vision, which signify the righteous. For," Gregory says, "all the elect so tend toward good things that they do not return to perpetrating evil." "He who perseveres to the end shall be saved." This is in *On Penance*, Distinction 2, chapter *Pennata*.

This vineyard can also be expounded morally of each soul. Its vines are the powers of the soul and its fruits are works. God's call to act virtuously is his sending laborers into it at different hours to cultivate it: at the first hour in childhood, the third in adolescence, the sixth in youth, the ninth in mature age, and the eleventh in old age. Evening is the end of life, and the wage repaid for labor is the reward.

Sometimes those converted later die sooner. If they have labored perfectly during that short time, they are rewarded sooner than those called in childhood, and sometimes even more abundantly if they cultivated better. Those converted younger cannot complain, because everything comes from the Lord's liberality.

§ III. Another Parable of a Vineyard

Mark, Matthew, and Luke relate another parable preached by Christ concerning a vineyard, by which he reproves the hardness and ingratitude of the Jews and foretells their rejection. He spoke it near the time of his Passion.

“A certain man planted a vineyard, surrounded it with a hedge, dug a winepress in it”--which Mark calls a vat--“and built a tower in its midst. After leasing it to tenant farmers, he went abroad,” and so forth.

This man signifies God, who planted the vineyard--that is, the Jewish people--when he led it out of Egypt and chose it from all nations to become his peculiar people, according to the Psalm: “You transplanted a vineyard from Egypt; you cast out the nations,” namely from the promised land, “and planted it.”

The hedge with which he surrounded it was the guardianship of angels that defended that people. The winepress, which presses, was fear of the Law, through which they guarded themselves from evils lest they incur the Law’s penalties. The tower was the Lord’s most noble temple; through the prayers and sacrifices made there they were protected against their adversaries.

He leased it to tenant farmers when he ordained that this people be ruled and governed by priests and doctors of the Law. They were to procure for the Lord the fruit of good works that the people bore by their cultivation, not reserve it for themselves.

He went abroad, not by abandoning that people but by leaving both priests and people in the freedom of their choice.

The vineyard’s lord then sent his servants to the tenant farmer. Matthew speaks of servants in the plural, while Mark and Luke speak of a servant in the singular. There appears to be no contradiction, because as regards what they signified they were one through unity of purpose: the prophets sought one thing, namely that the vineyard--that people--should bear fruit for the Lord. Personally, however, they were many.

God therefore sent Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel to instruct that people and reprove its doctors and rulers, so that it might produce the fruits of good works to God’s honor. But they killed one with an iron saw, namely Isaiah; they stoned another, Jeremiah; and they killed another, Ezekiel.

Again he sent more servants, to whom they did similar things, neither receiving nor hearing them. Hence Stephen said to them in Acts 6: “You stiff-necked and uncircumcised in hearts and ears, you have always resisted the Holy Spirit. Which of the righteous did your fathers not persecute?”

At last, eager for the fruitfulness of his vineyard, that is, of that people, he says by way of the effect: “I shall send my beloved Son,” namely through the Incarnation, so that he may teach them the way of salvation and they may bear fruit for the Lord.

Note that Luke does not merely say, as Matthew does, “They will reverence my Son,” but also adds “perhaps”--as though to say: it will be in their freedom to hear and reverence him or not. He does not say “perhaps” as though he did not know what they would do or that they would not be converted by his words, but to show that God’s foreknowledge of the things that people were to do did not compel them to those deeds.

Hence Augustine says in Cause 23, Question 4, chapter *Nabuchddonosor [i.e., Nabuchodonosor]*: “It is most foolishly said that God’s predestination--that is, foreknowledge--works in all things, whether toward good or toward evil, so that some necessity seems to impel people to either. In good acts, the will is to be understood as not without grace; in evil acts, the will is to be understood as without grace: namely, as the cause of our good or evil work.”

“Having therefore one most beloved son,” Mark says, he sent nothing dearer or more precious than him to him, because he determined that he should be incarnate. Once incarnate and living among them, preaching and performing miracles, the Son admonished the people to bear fruit for the Lord. He reproved the vineyard’s tenants--the scribes and Pharisees--who sought for that people signified by the vineyard to bear fruit for themselves in tithes and offerings, but did not care that the people should bear fruit for God through good works.

When the vineyard’s tenants saw him--that is, when they perceived his works--they recognized him as the Son of God or the Messiah promised in the Law. This does not mean that they truly acknowledged him, but that they saw such works of his that, from those works and according to the prophecies given to them, they could have recognized him as the promised Messiah and the Son of God.

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Two (continued)

But their malice blinded them, as Wisdom 2 says. Hence ignorance did not and does not excuse them from the sin of unbelief, as is said in Cause 1, Question 4, in the last section.

The vineyard's tenants therefore said to one another: "Come, let us kill him, and we shall have this vineyard, which is his inheritance." Once this man was killed, who by his teaching turned the people toward bearing fruit, the vineyard would remain to them with its customary tithes, offerings, rites, and sacrifices.

They cast him outside the vineyard and killed him, because the Lord Jesus suffered outside the gate of Jerusalem, where this vineyard--the people--was.

Concluding the parable, Christ said: "When the lord of the vineyard comes, what will he do to those tenant farmers?" How will he treat them for such cruelty and ingratitude?

The simple people in the crowd answered this question as reason teaches should be done in such a case: "He will miserably destroy those wicked men and lease his vineyard to other tenant farmers." Matthew says that they told him this. But the scribes and Pharisees, maliciously understanding that he spoke against them, added what Luke reports, saying: "God forbid," namely, that he should miserably destroy them as the crowds had said.

Christ showed that those crowds had spoken truly. Confirming the point, he himself said: "He will miserably destroy those wicked men," and so forth. As Mark says, he miserably destroyed the obstinate wicked Jews temporally in Jerusalem's destruction by Titus and Vespasian, because through their unbelief they all descend to hell.

He leased the vineyard--that is, the Church, which once existed among that people because they alone worshiped the true God while all others declined into idolatry--to others. That is, he committed it to be ruled and cultivated by prelates converted from the Gentile world. By true admonitions and holy examples, they caused the peoples entrusted to them to bear fruit for the Lord.

Through the prophet David in the Psalm, Christ nevertheless shows himself over both the Jewish people and the Gentile people, to whom the vineyard was to be transferred in its cultivation as regards those converted to faith from both peoples.

Hence Jesus said: "Have you never read in the Scriptures, 'The stone that the builders rejected,'" and so forth? Because David lived before the building of the temple made by his son Solomon, he appears to have prophesied both the figure and the thing figured.

The Master of the *Scholastic History* says that while Solomon's temple was being built, a certain notable stone came to the builders' hands. Although they repeatedly tried to place it among the other stones in the walls, they could not, because it did not fit with the others. Sometimes it was found larger and sometimes smaller than was needed.

At last they placed it at the temple's summit, at the temple's corner, where and from which two walls were joined. It was so well desired there that all marveled as though this had been done by the Lord.

This stone is Christ, as the Apostle says. The builders of Solomon's temple are the same as the vineyard's tenants, namely the spiritual governors of the Jewish people. The stones were the people whom they instructed to observe God's Law.

The stone Christ came into their hands when he lived among them. They wished to build him in with the others, that is, to regard him as a mere man and subject him to the ceremonies of the Law that they taught to others. But he could not fit suitably, because he did things beyond the powers--that is, the manner--of human beings.

Hence the chief priests, who were the builders, rejected that stone and treated him as rejected. But God exalted him and gave him the name above every name, establishing him at the summit of the Church's temple as its head, in whom two walls are joined into one: the Jewish and Gentile peoples, as regards those converted in unity of faith and love.

"He who falls upon this stone shall be broken; but upon whomever it falls, it shall crush him." Christ speaks metaphorically of the differing falls of the Jews who stumble against this stone, Christ. The difference is that some fall upon the stone, while the stone falls upon others.

If an earthen vessel falls upon a stone, it is broken but only into large pieces and can be restored with iron. But if a great stone falls upon an earthen vessel, it is completely shattered and crushed so that it cannot be repaired.

One who gravely offends Christ falls upon the stone. Although such a person is broken from the integrity of a good life, he can nevertheless amend until the end of life and be restored by the iron of penance.

But if he waits until the stone falls upon him--that is, until the judgment of death is inflicted--he is then crushed so that he is irreparable. It is as though Christ wished to say: "And if you stumble against me by not believing, take care not to remain in unbelief until the end."

All three Evangelists say that when the chief priests recognized that this parable was directed against them, they sought to seize and kill him. But they omitted to do so because they feared the people, who were affectionate and devoted to him, lest they snatch him from their hands.

Morally, the vineyard is the soul; the vines are its powers and the fruits its works. God planted it when he created it. He places the hedge of angelic guardianship around it. The winepress is the remorse of conscience that presses it. The tower is reason, by which it can distinguish friends from enemies and good things from evil.

He leases it to cultivators when he infuses the soul into the body so that it may cultivate it. He goes abroad by leaving it in freedom of choice. The time for bearing fruit approaches when it is in the middle of childhood and begins to possess a spark of reason.

Then God sends his servants--whether people exhorting it to good, angels, or inspirations inciting it to good--so that it may render to God the fruit of good works. But some people despise these things and as though kill them by not following them. God sends further inspirations, exhortations, or tribulations, all of which they similarly despise.

Finally, he himself approaches by grace, inducing them to true conversion. But such a person sometimes becomes so ungrateful and wicked that he kills Christ himself by depriving himself of his grace. Of such people the Apostle says in Hebrews: “Crucifying again the Son of God within themselves and holding him up to contempt.” Therefore, when the Lord comes to such people in death, he will miserably destroy those wicked men, and so forth.

§ IV. Another Parable

Matthew alone relates this parable, which Christ pronounced immediately after the foregoing vineyard parable. A man who owned a vineyard told his elder son to go cultivate it. The son answered that he would, but did nothing. When the father commanded the other son to do the same, he refused to go but afterward went.

When Jesus asked which of them did the father’s will more fully, they answered: “The second,” because he went to cultivate even though at first he contradicted.

This vineyard is the Church, to cultivate which God sent two sons: the Jewish people and the Gentile people. He commanded each through the natural law that each possessed.

The elder, the Jewish people, promised God that it would go when, after the Law was given to it--which in its moral part was a certain explanation of the natural law--they said to Moses: “We shall do everything the Lord has commanded us, and we shall obey him.” Yet they did not cultivate this vineyard, that is, by observing the Law’s precepts.

Although the Lord commanded the other people, the Gentiles, through the implanted natural law to cultivate the vineyard, because they did not bind themselves to or receive the Law of the Decalogue they as though refused to go. Instructed by the apostles’ preaching, however, they entered the Church’s vineyard and cultivated it with great diligence. They therefore obey God the Father.

This can also be expounded morally of ecclesiastical persons--clerics and religious--who are called to labor in the Church and promise to do many things, such as observe chastity, poverty, and the like, but through negligence do not do them. Others of lesser condition, namely laypeople, do not promise these things but sometimes perform them. Thus these latter are obedient, not the former.

Hence Jerome says in Cause 8, Question 1: “I fear that, just as the queen of the south, coming from the ends of the earth, will judge the people of her time, and the Ninevites likewise,” and so forth, “so many among the peoples will judge bishops who do not perform what befits their office.”

Jerome therefore says: “Not only bishops, priests, and deacons ought to take great care that they excel in conduct and speech all the people over whom they preside, but also those of lower rank, because it greatly destroys God’s Church when laypeople are better than clerics.” This is in Cause 8, Question 1, chapter *Qualis*.

Luke alone relates another parable concerning a vineyard in which its lord planted a fig tree. When it bore no fruit after three years, the lord said to the vineyard’s cultivator: “Behold, for three years I have come seeking fruit on this fig tree and find none. Cut it down, therefore. Why does it also occupy the ground?”

The cultivator answered: “Lord, leave it for this year, until I dig around it and put manure about it. If it does not bear fruit in the future, you shall cut it down.”

This vineyard is the Church, in which different nations are planted like various trees. Among the rest, however, the Jewish people were planted like a sweeter tree. Although they were awaited for the fruit of full conversion for three years--the time of the Mosaic Law, the time of the prophets, and the time of grace--they have still not produced the fruit of true faith.

For this reason the Lord God as though showed that he wished to cut them down when he destroyed that people through Titus and Vespasian. Nevertheless, the vineyard’s cultivators, the prelates and doctors, considering that even within this third year, the time

of grace, its fruitfulness is foretold by the prophecies to occur at the end, say to the Lord in desire that it should still be awaited for fruit, by digging and applying manure.

§ V. Three Parables in Which the Kingdom of Heaven Is Compared to a Treasure, a Pearl, and a Net

Matthew alone relates these three parables spoken by Christ.

He says: “The kingdom of heaven is like a treasure hidden in a field,” and so forth. This treasure is knowledge of divine wisdom, namely of the supreme good, together with the savor of grace. Wisdom 7 says of it: “It is an infinite treasure to human beings,” namely wisdom, and so forth.

This treasure is hidden in the field of humility. Through humility a person humbles himself, taking his understanding captive in obedience to Christ in matters of faith, attributing no good to himself, unlike the philosophers, who said, “Our lips are our own,” and became fools. He subjects himself to obey God’s will and commandments.

The treasure is found there. Whoever finds it sells all things to buy the field itself: that is, he places everything second--substance, honor, knowledge, and life--to attain that humility and wisdom, and thus obtains the treasure.

Again, “The kingdom of heaven is like a man seeking fine pearls,” and so forth. These pearls are goods regarded as beautiful and precious and naturally desired and sought: riches, honors, powers, knowledge, pleasures of the flesh, a moral life, and the like.

While a person seeks these by desire, if he finds one pearl that he understands to be more precious than all because it contains the virtue and worth of all the others--true blessedness in the heavenly homeland--he surrenders all to attain it. He deprives himself of all those other goods in order to obtain it because he places affection for it before all the foregoing things and withdraws any one of them from himself whenever it would hinder him from attaining it.

Again, “The kingdom of heaven is like a net cast into the sea,” and so forth. What is related in this likeness resembles what occurs in the Church, which is called the kingdom of heaven.

This net is the Church’s preaching, woven from the authorities of the saints, which are bound to one another because of their agreement. The fishermen are the prelates and doctors who cast the nets of sermons into the sea of worldly life, where human beings are like fish, according to Abacuh [i.e., Habakkuk]: “You make human beings like the fishes of the sea.”

Not all fish but many are caught in these nets, namely those who receive the faith. Among them, some are good fish and some bad, all within the one net of the Church’s teaching. At last, when the net is drawn in at the end, the good faithful will be separated from the wicked by the angels’ ministry at the Last Judgment; the good will be taken into rest and the wicked cast outside.

Christ then adds: “Every scribe learned in the kingdom of heaven is like a householder who brings forth from his treasure new things and old” to govern his household. So too the prelate and doctor who casts the net must bring forth from the treasure of his wisdom, to catch many fish and lead them to faith--even though some will prove wicked--new things in his preaching, namely examples and sayings from the New Testament, and old things from the Old Testament.

Or the old things are those belonging to the old life, namely sins, which he preaches are to be avoided; the new are those belonging to newness of life, namely virtues, which he teaches are to be loved. Or sometimes he adduces old things from the Gentiles, and especially new things from the Church’s doctors.

Or from the treasure of his prudence he brings forth new things and old, namely deeds and words by which, so far as he can, he may meet the needs of both good and wicked people, not separating them from each other in the present, until the net is full--that is, until the number of faithful people foreknown and predestined by God, fixed and known to him alone, is complete.

Meanwhile, as Augustine says: “Not knowing who belongs to the number of the predestined and who does not, we ought to be so moved toward everyone by an affection of charity that we wish all to be saved.” This is in Cause 24, Question 3, chapter *Corripiantur*.

Therefore prelates, preachers, and other faithful people ought not to separate themselves from wicked people who are tolerated, because this is to be done at the end of the world, when the net is full. Hence Augustine says: “We commit a greater evil by separation from the good than we avoid by association with the wicked.”

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Two (continued)

God imputes to such a person neither his own sins, because he did not commit them, nor the sins of others, because he did not approve them; nor negligence, because he did not remain silent; nor pride, because he remained in unity.

Augustine likewise says upon the Psalm: "'Who will give me wings like a dove?' He does not say, 'like a raven.' Although the dove seeks to fly away from troubles, it does not abandon love but always begets [read: groans]." So a good person wishes to be separated in body, but not in love, from those whom he cannot benefit.

If he is sometimes bound to them not by the birdlime of desire but by care and duty, so that he cannot abandon them, let him then say with the Apostle: "I desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ, but it is necessary to remain in the flesh for your sake." Thus there is merit from the desire.

"Behold, I have gone far away in flight," says the Psalm. Augustine expounds this as flight not in place, lest the charity of the good be broken and the exercise supplied by the wicked be lost; God mingles the wicked among them, as he mingled Judas with the disciples. All these are Augustine's words in Cause 7, Question 1, in the section *Cum autem*, before the final chapter.

§ VI. Parables Showing God's Great Kindness and Mercy in Receiving Converted and Penitent Sinners

Luke successively sets down three parables of this kind: concerning the ninety-nine sheep left in the desert to seek the wandering one; concerning the woman's joy when she found ten drachmas [read: one of ten drachmas]; and concerning the prodigal who returned to his father and was immediately received.

The Evangelist says: "Publicans and sinners were drawing near to Jesus to hear him." The Psalm teaches: "Salvation"--which certainly comes from Jesus, whose name is also interpreted "Savior"--"is far from sinners." Jesus is not far in spatial distance, because he is everywhere according to his divinity, but in dissimilarity of virtue; the worse a sinner is, the farther away he is.

Likewise, according to the Psalm, "The Lord is near to all who act innocently toward him in truth [read: all who call upon him in truth]"; and the prophet Joel says: "Whoever calls upon the Lord's name shall be saved." This is not to be understood of outward or vocal invocation alone, but, as Augustine says, "of one who calls upon him by serving him, not contradicting him." This is in *On Penance*, Distinction 3, chapter *Adhuc*. For "lord" and "servant" are correlatives.

Such a person draws near to Jesus, desiring salvation and disposing himself to hear and obey.

The scribes and Pharisees murmured. The scribes were doctors of the Law; the Pharisees were a sect of Jews who lived more austerely and religiously than the rest, just as religious do now.

Murmuring is a certain complaint accompanied by impatience, especially against superiors, and is therefore called a sin. Distinction 90 says: "Let him who murmurs be a stranger to the unity of the brethren."

This murmuring was prefigured in the murmuring of Maria, Aaron's sister [i.e., Miriam], against Moses because of the Ethiopian wife he had taken. As Gratian says, Miriam signifies the synagogue, or others who murmur against Christ because he took as wife the Church from the Gentiles, previously blackened by vices; or because Christ and other prelates and doctors receive sinners into their familiarity in order to produce from them children of good works.

Because they murmur unjustly, they are therefore struck by God with the leprosy of unbelief or another sin. This is in Cause 2, Question 7, in the section before chapter *Paulus*.

The Evangelist expresses their murmuring by saying: "This man receives sinners and eats with them." It was as though they said: "This shows that he is a great sinner. For, as the Wise Man says, 'Every animal loves its own likeness' and inclines toward it," namely to associate with it.

"But this Jesus shows great affection for the greatest and most manifest sinners, because he receives them, speaks familiarly with them, and eats with them. Therefore he is a sinner like them, for if he were just, he would shrink from and avoid them."

They argued badly and falsely. Christ did not love them or show them familiarity insofar as they were sinners--that is, on account of their sins--but because they were disposing themselves toward amendment and works of virtue, and therefore approached him to hear the teaching of salvation. Christ received them as a physician frequents the sick, not because their sickness delights him but in order to expel it.

Hence Augustine says in his book *On Penance*: "From this it is evident that sins greatly displease him," namely God, "for he is always ready to destroy them. If he loved them, he would not always destroy but preserve them and cherish them as his own gifts. But he destroys the sins he finds, lest what he created be dissolved and what he loved be corrupted." This is in *On Penance*, Distinction 3, chapter *Adhuc*.

Their murmuring did not proceed from zeal for true justice because sin displeased them, but from the zeal of envy and pride. It came from envy because they begrudged Christ's growing fame, not only among the just but also among sinners who devoutly followed and heard him, and sought to diminish it by such disparagement.

It also came from pride because, being proud and considering themselves just, they did not deign to associate with sinners, as though the sinners were unworthy even of their speech. In this way they wished to accuse Christ of appearing unlike themselves.

Hence Gregory says in a homily: "True justice has compassion, but false justice has disdain. Although the just rightly tend to be indignant with sinners, what is done through the swelling of pride is one thing and what is done through zeal for discipline another. The just are indignant, yet do not disdain; they stir persecution, yet love.

"But, on the contrary, those of false justice tend to be proud, despise all others, show no merciful condescension to the weak, and become worse because they do not believe themselves sinners." This is in Distinction 45, chapter *Vera*.

Jerome says to the same effect upon Jeremiah: "Such people say, 'Depart,' namely, 'you polluted people. Depart, go away. Do not touch us. Do not communicate with us.' Such speech does not illuminate the eye, heal the sick, or cure the infirm; rather, it kills them and casts them into despair.

"Good rulers, considering the weakness of others from their own weakness, strive more through humility and meekness to rescue sinners from the snare of error than through austerity to drive them, swimming, into savage destruction." This is in the same distinction, chapter *Recedite*.

The Lord afterward showed with what affection, diligence, and joy a sinner should be received to penance and how one should work toward this, speaking this parable: "Who among you, if he has a hundred sheep and loses one," and so forth?

This man is God, both God and man, the creator of the world, feeding his sheep in heaven through enjoyment and on earth through interior consolation.

The hundred sheep are angels and innocent human beings created by him. The ninety-nine are the nine orders of angels. Ninety signifies their perfection because it results from nine multiplied ten times. Ten, because it is the first boundary of numbers, signifies perfection, while nine signifies the number of orders.

The hundredth sheep is human nature. It wandered, according to the Psalm: "I have wandered like a sheep that has perished," when our first parents transgressed God's command. Because all human beings existed within them according to seminal power, all sinned and perished in Adam.

Seeking this wandering sheep, namely the human race, the heavenly shepherd as though left the ninety-nine in the desert when God was made man--not in the desert, that is, heaven, which is called a desert because it had been abandoned by the evil angel and by man, but in the world. He did not abandon the angels according to his divinity, but differed from them in the humanity he assumed.

He sought it by laboring greatly in teaching, healing the sick, traveling about, suffering many things, and instituting sacraments for this sheep. At last, having found it, he placed it upon his shoulders when he himself bore our sins in his body--that is, the punishment for sins--upon the wood of the cross, "that, being dead to sins, we might live to righteousness," as Peter says in his canonical epistle.

He brought it back to the desert of heaven with the others when he ascended into heaven in our nature and opened heaven to others. With his friends, the holy souls, and his neighbors, the holy angels, he held great joy and festivity over repaired human nature.

He concludes concerning every sinner converted to penance: "So I say to you, there is joy in heaven over one sinner doing penance more than over ninety-nine just persons who need no penance."

This is understood in two ways. In one way, it refers to the falsely just who consider themselves just and not in need of penance, though they are not just. What is said is then clear. Cause 11, Question 3, chapter *Iniustum*, says: "Humble confession in evil deeds is better than proud glorying in good ones."

In another way, it can refer to people who are truly just but imperfect, and to a converted sinner who through fervor ascends to great perfection. Other things being equal, there should be greater joy over a just person remaining in innocence than over a penitent sinner.

Matthew adds: "It is not my Father's will that one of these little ones should perish." This is understood of the elect; or, if said of all, it is understood of the antecedent will, not the consequent will, which was treated above in the First Part under the title on eternal law.

This example shows that compassion and mercy are to be used toward sinners wishing to return to penance. Hence Cause 26, Question 7 says: “One who repents from the heart ought to be received as the Lord showed when he summoned his friends and neighbors, saying, ‘Rejoice with me, because I have found the sheep I had lost.’”

Ambrose likewise says in his book *On Paradise*: “The shepherd in the Gospel is read to have carried the loose sheep [read: the weary sheep], not cast it away.” Solomon says: “Do not be less just.” Moderation ought to temper justice. For how can a person be offered to you for healing if you regard with loathing the one who supposes that he will be an object not of compassion but of contempt to his physician?

Ambrose likewise speaks in the person of Christ: “I pardon willingly; for your sake I forgive. I prefer mercy to sacrifice, because by sacrifice the just person is commended, while by mercy the sinner is redeemed. I came not to call the just but sinners. In the Law there is sacrifice; in the Gospel, mercy. The Law was given through Moses; through me, grace.” Thus Ambrose, in *On Penance*, Distinction 1, chapter *Serpens*.

Christ adds another parable on the same subject, related by Luke alone: “What woman, having ten drachmas, if she loses one, does not light a lamp,” and so forth?

As Gregory explains, this woman is divine Wisdom, who possessed ten drachmas, that is, ten kinds of creatures marked with her image. Nine were the nine orders of angels. The tenth, lost through the sin of our first parents, was human nature, as though unknown--that is, deprived of the vision of divine Wisdom.

To find it, Wisdom lit a lamp when, by God’s operation, the Word became flesh. In Christ’s person, as in a lamp of the kind made both anciently and now for the poor, Christ’s flesh was the earth, assumed from our earthly flesh; his most pure soul, filled with the oil of grace, was like a white wick with oil; and his divinity was like the fire. For, as Deuteronomy says, “Our God is a consuming fire.”

When the lamp was lit through the Incarnation of the Son of God, Wisdom overturned the house of human conduct by changing morals through Christ’s teaching and examples. She sought diligently, working those things through which human nature would be found and seen approvingly by God through the infusion of grace.

When it was found, she summoned her neighbors and friends to rejoice with her, namely the angelic creatures and holy souls, by manifesting the deed to them through its effect and granting them joy over it.

She concludes: “So I say to you, there is joy before God’s angels over one sinner doing penance.”

Jerome says: “Because the divine nature is merciful and kind and more inclined to pardon than to vengeance, because it does not desire the sinner’s death but that he be converted and live, if anyone after a fall into sins is converted to true penance, he will quickly obtain pardon from the merciful Judge.” This is in *On Penance*, Distinction 1, chapter *Idem*.

Jerome continues: “It is possible that, just as the Church, which formerly had spot, wrinkle, and uncleanness, was afterward restored, so too the sinner should run to the physician, because the healthy have no need of a physician but those who are ill, so that he may heal his wounds, and he shall become part of the Church, which is the body.”

And again, lest perhaps those remembering their sin return more slowly, he says: “I shall cause you still to dwell in tabernacles as in the days of festivity, so that what baptism does, penance too may do, and they may dwell in the Savior’s tabernacles in the Church.” This is in *On Penance*, Distinction 1.

§ VII. The Prodigal Received Most Joyfully by His Father

Luke alone relates this most beautiful parable. “A certain man,” he says, “had two sons. The younger said: ‘Father, give me the portion of the substance that falls to me,’” and so forth.

It has two expositions. The first, which I shall touch upon very briefly, concerns two peoples: the Jewish people as elder because of their dignity, and the Gentile people as younger, under one common father, God, through creation and governance.

The younger, the Gentile people, departed from the Father through idolatry and fell into many crimes and a want of truth. Nor could the teachings of the philosophers and poets, signified by husks--as in Distinction 37, section *Hinc etiam*--satisfy the stomach of its mind. It was otherwise with the Jewish people, who remained with God the Father through knowledge and worship of the true God.

At last the Gentile people came to itself and recognized its misery from the teaching of the Gospel offered to it. It returned to the heavenly Father through conversion to the faith and was received with great joy and ornaments into grace.

Perceiving this, the elder son, the Jewish people, was indignant and would not enter the Father’s house, the Church. Although the heavenly Father exhorts it to do so through the Scriptures, it still remains outside in unbelief.

Morally, the parable signifies two states: that of the just but proud, and that of converted sinners. God is nevertheless the father and governor of both states.

Because every age is prone to evil from its youth, at the beginning of the use of reason, when carnal concupiscence incites a person toward pleasurable things, someone of that age desires liberty, so that he may be shaken free from the yoke of subjection to parents and teachers under whom he had previously been placed. This is the young man asking his father to give him a portion of the substance.

The heavenly Father's substance is whatever we possess of natural, spiritual, and temporal goods.

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Two (continued)

"For what do you have that you did not receive?" says the Apostle in Romans. The young man therefore asks--that is, longs and desires at that age--to use freedom of choice concerning the aforesaid goods, supposing that this will conduce to his good.

The heavenly Father divides the substance because he grants freedom of choice and the ability to use the goods bestowed either well or badly. Jerome says in his book *Against Jovinian*: "God created us with free choice. We are drawn by necessity neither to virtues nor to vices; otherwise, where there is necessity there is no crown." This is in *On Penance*, Distinction 2, chapter *Si enim*.

People commonly begin in adolescence to use freedom of choice badly, because "the number of fools is infinite," Ecclesiastes 1. Departing from the heavenly Father through the loss of grace, they travel into a distant country by entering the state of the wicked, which is unlike God's goodness.

From the Gospel text one can note the incursion of such a sinner into the seven capital sins.

When the young man asks his father for his portion of the substance, the pride of presumption is indicated, as though God were bound to him and he presumed that he could govern himself well by himself.

When he goes into a country distant from his father, envy is indicated. Nothing is so distant from God as envy, since God is goodness and charity itself, to which envy is contrary.

When he dissipates his substance by living wantonly, lust is plainly indicated, which rules adolescents before the other sins and more openly. Although the spiritual substance of virtues is dissipated in every mortal judgment, in lust not only grace but also temporal substance, reputation, and especially natural substance are dissipated.

When it is said that, after a famine arose in that country, he began to be in need, avarice is indicated. As Jerome says, "The unbeliever"--that is, the avaricious man, which according to the Apostle is the service of idols--"needs even a penny," because he seems to himself to need everything.

Note that a great famine arises in that country distant from the Father, that is, in the state of sin. Because rest of mind is found neither in lust nor in the other vices, there remains the desire for the true and supreme good implanted in human minds, as Boethius says. This is spiritual hunger.

When it is said that he went and attached himself to one of the citizens of that country, anger is signified. The citizens of that distant country are demons obstinate in malice. One of them is called Abador [i.e., Abaddon], a name interpreted "destroyer," who tempts concerning anger. One made like him adheres to him. Chrysostom says that an angry man resembles a demoniac who acts furiously, and the same writer says that there is nothing between anger and madness.

When it is said that this citizen sent him to the farm to feed swine, sloth is intimated. Commonly, citizens and nobles, as this man was, remain idle on a farm, and he was to feed swine because the slothful and idle person feeds and nourishes unclean and wanton thoughts, figured by swine.

Finally, when it is said that he desired to fill his stomach with husks, gluttony is intimated, which sins even in the vilest foods by desiring them too ardently or beyond measure.

Next is intimated the manner of his conversion to penance through contrition, confession, and satisfaction. Seneca says that the beginning of salvation is knowledge of oneself, which occurs through interior consideration. Hence the Evangelist says: "But returning to himself."

A person remains outside himself while he is wrapped in sins and does not use reason. But the Lord says through the prophet: "Return to the heart, O transgressors."

A person turns away from God in four ways and, while remaining outside himself, goes farther and farther away. The first, as Jerome says, is to have thought things that are evil; the second, to have acquiesced in perverse thoughts; the third, to have resolved in the mind to fulfill them in deed; the fourth, not to do penance but to take pleasure in one's sin. This is Jerome in *On Penance*, Distinction 1, chapter *Super tribus*.

At the first stage a mortal sin can also be noted, namely through lingering pleasure without consent to the deed. Therefore, inviting the soul to penance four times, God says in the Song: "Return, return, O Sunamitis [i.e., Shunammite]; return, return, that we may behold you." According to Jerome, "Sunamitis [i.e., Shunammite]" is interpreted "wretched," "captive," or "mortified," all of which suit the sinful soul.

Return, therefore, by departing from those four stages. Return within yourself by considering both the state of the good and the state of sinners. Hence the text says that, returning to himself, he said: "How many hired servants in my father's house abound in bread."

In the Father's house, which is the Church, the hired servants are those who serve God. Although they serve principally from love of the Father, they nevertheless hope without doubt to obtain the greatest reward from him. Even now, beyond their hoped-for wage, they abound in the bread of spiritual consolation within their very works. These consolations surpass every human consolation, and the things that could be related about them are omitted.

"But I perish here with hunger," namely in this state of sin. What refreshment is there in it, when even the Philosopher says that every wicked person is filled with regret and is drawn now this way and now that by his passions toward diverse and contrary things? Augustine says: "You commanded, Lord, and so it came to be, that every disordered mind should be its own punishment."

Here a person suffers a deficiency through hunger, deprived of spiritual goods; in the other life, deprived of heavenly goods. How many evils he endures and incurs through sin is not to be discussed here.

"I shall arise," by ceasing from the act of sinning, "and go to my father," directing myself toward God through fear and hope, and at every step recalling my sins and crushing myself with remorse. "I shall say to him: Father, I have sinned against heaven and before you."

In confession, this means disclosing to the priest both manifest sins, which are said to be before heaven, and hidden sins, which are said to be before God because he alone knows them. All this is to be done with humility, so that the penitent says it with feeling: "I am now unworthy to be called your son."

He should resolve to make satisfaction according to God's and the confessor's command, saying effectively: "Make me like one of your hired servants," that is: "Just as you command them to do what you will, so impose it upon me too, and I am ready. Just as you refresh them with spiritual foods, so console me too, though unworthy."

If a sinner is truly converted, he carries out in deed what he conceives in mind. "He arose," therefore, departing from the purpose of sinning. Pope Callistus says: "A man is changed from sin and rises by God's grace from his fall." This is in Distinction 50, chapter *Ponderet*.

"He came toward his father's house," the Church, grieving over the deeds he recalls. Ambrose says: "There is nothing of such great sorrow as when someone placed under the captivity of sin remembers from where he has slipped, from what state he has fallen, and that from the fair and beautiful appearance of the divine constitution he has flowed downward toward these earthly and bodily things." This is in *On Penance*, Distinction 1, chapter *Sunt qui arbitrantur*.

"While he was still far away," because, although worn down by imperfect sorrow, he was not yet contrite, "his father saw him" with the eye of mercy. With this eye the Lord looked upon Peter after he denied him and made him weep bitterly over his sin.

The Lord says through Malachi: "Be converted to me," by disposing and fitting yourselves for grace, "and I shall be converted to you" by conferring it.

Jerome says: "God's moderation and kindness seek only our return and desire to save us through his long-suffering goodness." This is in Distinction 93, chapter *Diaconi*.

Pope Leo says: "We cannot set a measure upon God's mercy or define times for it, for conversion suffers no delays with him." Hence the text continues: "Moved with mercy for him, he ran to meet him." The Psalm says: "His mercy shall come before me," by infusing first grace, which is called prevenient because it is bestowed without any preceding merit.

Jerome says: "That, though great, you may regard the little; that, though a rich shepherd, you may not despise the sick sheep: Christ took the thief from the cross into paradise. And lest anyone think conversion ever too late, he made the punishment for homicide into martyrdom. Christ, I say, joyfully embraces the returning prodigal and, leaving the ninety-nine sheep, carries upon the devout shepherd's shoulders the one little sheep that remained.

“Where the sinner recognizes his wound and brings himself to the physician for healing, there the rod is not needed, but the spirit of gentleness.” This is in *On Penance*, Distinction 1, chapter *Importuna*.

“He fell upon his neck,” embracing him, by which union through love is intimated. Love, according to Dionysius, has a unitive power. Hence the Apostle says in 1 Corinthians 6: “He who adheres to God” through charity “is one spirit with him.”

“He kissed him,” reconciling to himself the one who had formerly been his enemy. The Apostle says in Romans 5: “When we were enemies” through sins against God, “we were reconciled through the death of his Son,” from which penance and the other sacraments possess their power. A kiss is a sign of reconciliation and peace.

Having forgiven the offense, he restored the merits the man had acquired by bringing his mortified good works back to life. Hence Augustine says in *On Penance*, Distinction 3: “It is devout to believe, and faith demands, that when Christ’s grace has destroyed the former evils, it also rewards the good things. When it destroys what it did not find as its own, it loves and cherishes what it planted in the sinner.”

“The son spoke,” namely by confessing aloud. Hence Ambrose says in a sermon: “Behold, now the acceptable time is present, in which confession frees the soul from death. Confession opens paradise. Confession grants the hope of salvation. Hence Scripture says: ‘Declare your iniquities, that you may be justified.’” Thus Ambrose, in *On Penance*, Distinction 1.

“Father, I have sinned against heaven and before you.” The priest is called father. Gregory says in Distinction 96: “Who doubts that Christ’s priests are accounted the fathers and teachers of all the faithful?” Let the penitent therefore confess to him all sins committed against God--this is to sin against heaven--and those committed against people--this is to sin before you. Or “against heaven” means hidden sins, known in heaven, that is, to God; “before you” means manifest sins, known to people.

Pope Leo says: “God’s manifold mercy so aids human falls that hope of eternal life is restored not only through the mercy of baptism but also through the medicine of penance, so that those who have violated baptism’s gifts may, by condemning themselves through their own judgment”--namely by confessing to a priest--“come to forgiveness of their crimes.” This is in *On Penance*, Distinction 1.

“I am now unworthy to be called your son.” I do not ask to be treated indulgently as a son, but to be afflicted with penances. Augustine says that the penitent should place himself at the judge’s discretion in the priest’s judgment, reserving nothing of himself to himself, so that at the priest’s command he may do everything to recover the soul’s life that he would do to avoid bodily death--and this with joy, because he recovers an infinite life. Thus Augustine, in *On Penance*, Distinction 5, chapter 1.

The same Augustine says in a sermon on penitents: “It is not enough to change one’s conduct for the better and depart from former evils unless satisfaction is made for what has been done through the sorrow of penance, through the groaning of humility--that is, humble confession--through the sacrifice of a contrite heart, with alms and fasts cooperating.” This is in *On Penance*, Distinction 1. Understand this as applying, when the ability is present, to confession and satisfaction.

In Cause 26, Question 7 it is said: “Let the penitent receive within himself the disposition possessed by the man who said: ‘I have hated and abhorred iniquity.’” And the Apostle says of those who were made sorrowful according to God: “What great care it has worked in you, and what defense, zeal, and punishment; in all things you have shown yourselves careful in the matter.” Even in the very things in which he sinned, let the penitent do many contrary deeds, as Zache [i.e., Zacchaeus] did. Thus the canon.

The father said to the servants: these are either the angels who cooperate in bringing sinners back to God and procuring good things for them; or preachers, who in their sermons ought to give confidence of pardon to those converted to penance, for the Lord says in Ezekiel: “Is the death of the wicked my will, and not rather that he be converted and live?” And again: “If the wicked man turns away from his wickedness, I shall remember none of his iniquities.”

Or the servants are the ministers of the sacraments, who ought to be ready to minister penance to all penitents, especially at death. Hence Cause 26, Question 6 says: “If a priest denies penance to the dying,” when they do what they ought, “he is guilty of their souls, because the Lord says: ‘On whatever day the sinner is converted to penance, he shall live and shall not die.’ True confession can occur at the final moment, because the Lord examines not only time but also the heart, just as the thief merited to be in paradise through the penance of one moment.”

“Quickly bring forth the first robe,” that is, declare and by your ministry work to this end, that the purity lost through crimes may be restored. For true penance, Augustine says, strives to bring the confessor back to baptismal purity. This is in *On Penance*, Distinction 3, chapter *Sunt plures*.

John Chrysostom speaks most devoutly in his book *On the Restoration of the Fallen*: “Believe me, such is God’s mercy toward human beings. It never rejects a person’s penance if it is offered sincerely and simply. Even if someone has reached the summit of evils, nevertheless, if he wishes to return from there to the way of virtue, God receives him, willingly embraces him, and does everything to recall him to his former state.

"What is still more excellent and eminent, even if someone cannot fulfill the whole order of satisfaction, God does not reject whatever little penance he performs, even in however brief a time." Thus Chrysostom, in *On Penance*, Distinction 3. He gives the examples of Achab [i.e., Ahab], Manassen [i.e., Manasseh], and those in the *Lives of the Fathers*.

"Quickly bring forth the first robe and clothe him." As Ambrose says: "When wickedness is renounced, virtue immediately stands by, for the departure of malice effects the entrance of virtue."

This first robe, that is, the chief and principal virtue, can be understood as charity, which is the wedding garment. It is the first virtue restored through penance and it covers the multitude and ugliness of sins. Stripped of it by sin, our first parents recognized themselves to be naked, whereas they had previously been clothed in it.

"Clothe him," that is, teach the converted sinner to show this charity also in his outward conduct.

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Two (continued)

"Give a ring for his hand." The ring is faith, by which we are espoused to God. Hence the prophet Oseas [i.e., Hosea] says: "I shall espouse you to me in faith." Give it on his finger, not in his purse--that is, instruct him to show it by works.

Hence Augustine says: "In the body of the one and immaculate dove," namely the Church, "neither a heretic nor a wicked Christian is found. Just as if someone's hand were withered, it would indeed be a true member, although ineffective and dead for want of blood, so faith, although true, is dead without works." This is in Cause 1, Question 1, chapter *Sicut urgeri*.

"And shoes for his feet." Shoes, which are made from the skins of dead animals, are the examples of the saints, especially those whom the Lord made living from among the dead after they had been mortified through penance.

These examples should be proposed so that the feet of the affections may be shod: lest, if bare, they stumble against the stone of obstinacy and pride through despair; be wounded by the thorns of avarice; or be befouled by the mud of former lusts.

Instead, having conceived hope of pardon, let the penitent walk confidently in the house of the Church through the examples of the penitent sinful woman, the publican, the praying and persevering Canaanite woman, the persecuting Paul, and the confessing thief.

Ambrose says: "No one can worthily do penance who has not hoped for pardon." This is in *On Penance*, Distinction 1. Indeed, he should hope even for glory, since the penitent thief was told, "Today you shall be with me in paradise," and heavenly glory was shown to Paul after his conversion.

"Bring the fatted calf," that is, admit him to the sacrament of the Eucharist and set it before the penitent. In it is Christ, signified by the fatted calf that was offered under the Law.

Pope Leo says: "The mediator of God and human beings, the man Christ Jesus, delivered to the rulers of the Church this power: that they should give the satisfaction of penance to those confessing and, when they had been cleansed by that saving satisfaction, admit them to the communion of the sacraments through the gate of reconciliation." This is in *On Penance*, Distinction 1, chapter *Multiplex*.

"And kill it," that is, show that Christ, the calf, was killed for his sins, which is represented in the sacrament. Hence the book of Prosper's *Sentences* says: "Christ was sacrificed once in himself, and yet a representation of that sacrifice occurs daily in the sacrament. True God and true man, he hung only once upon the cross, offering himself to the Father as a living, passible, and mortal victim, efficacious for the redemption of the living and the dead"--namely, those whom the depth of divine counsel judged, foreknew, predestined, and called to be redeemed. This is in *On Consecration*, Distinction 2, chapter *Semel*.

"Let us eat and feast." Revelation 3 says: "If anyone opens the door to me," namely through confession, "I shall enter to him and sup with him, and he with me."

Priests cannot feast upon those who offer themselves deceitfully to penance. Their food, Origen says, is the remission of sins. Hence the true priest also says: "My food is to do my Father's will," that is, that converted and penitent sinners be saved. This is in *On Penance*, Distinction 3, chapter *Inter haec*, the first chapter.

"Because this son of mine was dead and has come to life again." Gratian says: "Obstinacy of mind and contempt for confession are a certain death of impiety and leprosy of pride. A person comes to life again from them when, through grace, sorrow for sin and the desire for confession are inspired in him." This is in *On Penance*, Distinction 1.

“He had perished and has been found.” The Psalm says: “I wandered like a sheep that has perished; seek your servant, Lord.” Above it was said: “I have found my sheep that I had lost.”

“And they began to feast,” because there is joy in the heaven of the Church--both militant and triumphant--over one sinner doing penance.

When the elder son heard these things, he was indignant, remained outside, and did not wish to rejoice with his father, brother, and the rest of the household. He signifies certain proud people who seem to themselves just and innocent because they have not withdrawn from the Church’s house through great and manifest crimes like great sinners, and who labor in the Father’s field through works belonging to the class of good things.

They are troubled and grow ill because God receives great sinners, if penitent, into pardon and bestows on them fervent and abundant gifts of grace, more than upon themselves, as is evident in Paul and many others.

Yet through the Scriptures the most merciful Father shows such people that his goodness speaks in this way and that nothing is thereby subtracted from their paternal inheritance. Even if the indignant person remains so, the best Father nevertheless does not desist from restoring the sinner.

This was also figured in the raising of the four-days-dead Lazarus. The chief priests and Pharisees, who appeared just and learned to themselves, were indignant against the Lord because of it and sought to kill Lazarus himself.

But Christ, invited with his disciples, came to a supper where Lazarus himself was a guest with others, and the whole house was filled with the fragrance of the poured-out ointment. Ambrose touches upon this mystery, saying: “However great the stench of the dead man, namely the sinner--that is, his infamy--may be, it is immediately wholly abolished when the sacred ointment of penance gives forth fragrance.

“The dead man rises through grace, and his bonds, namely those of sins, are commanded to be loosed by the Church’s ministers. The veil is taken from his face, because one whose sin has been forgiven has nothing for which he should blush.

“When everyone ought to rejoice in so great a grace of the Lord and so great a miracle of the divine gift, the wicked were disturbed and prepared a plan against Christ. Do you not recognize that you are deservedly their successors, whose hardness you have inherited?

“For if you are indignant and conceive a plan against the Church because you see the dead return to life in the Church and sinners be raised through pardon, then, insofar as it lies in you, through envy you wish to kill again those who have been raised.

“But Jesus does not revoke his favor; rather, he heaps up liberality. He carefully keeps those whom he raised alive, and, when the glory of the resurrection has been celebrated, he joyfully comes to the supper.” Thus Ambrose, in *On Penance*, Distinction 1, chapter *Quantulibet*.

There were certain heretics who said that sins could not be purged more than once through penance. Against them Augustine argues through reasons and examples in *On Penance*, Distinction 3, chapter *Adhuc isti perfidi*.

Because a preacher’s intention ought to be to lead sinners back to penance, this parable would be excellent material for preaching throughout Lent.

First, in one part of Lent, one could speak of the capital sins with their offspring, by which a person is estranged from God, as treated above. Second, in another part, one could speak of revelation unto penance [read: return], and there of contrition, confession, and satisfaction. Next, one could speak of the restoration of the virtues, hope, and charity, as has been noted. Finally, one could speak of Communion and the Passion, and at the end of the Resurrection, the banquet of heavenly glory, the resurrection, and so forth.

§ VIII. Parables by Which Christ Shows God’s Immense Kindness and Diligence in Calling People to the Banquet of the Church Militant and Triumphant

First, concerning the Church militant, Matthew alone relates the parable, saying: “The kingdom of heaven is like a man who was a king and made a wedding feast for his son,” and so forth.

That is, what occurs in the Church, which is called the kingdom of heaven, is like what is related in this likeness. The good faithful are called heavens because they are raised from the earth through contempt of temporal things; God reigns and dwells in them through grace.

Note that because all our cognition takes its origin from the senses, and spiritual and divine things cannot be understood by human beings--especially those devoted to sensible things, as commonly happens--unless they are eaten through examples and likenesses drawn from sensible things they know, Sacred Scripture in both the Old and New Testaments therefore speaks of spiritual and divine matters through likenesses of bodily things, so that they may be grasped more fittingly.

People are accustomed to rejoice and delight especially in banquets, foremost among which are those held at weddings, and at such events they desire to find themselves present. Therefore, to express in some small degree the spiritual joy and refreshment possessed by the elect not only in future glory but also here in the Church militant, Scripture speaks of it under the parable of a royal wedding banquet.

It does so to incite people to seek such spiritual refreshment, since all incline toward joys and delights, and spiritual delights incomparably surpass and are more perfect than all bodily ones. Hence Bernard says: “Once the sweetness of the spirit has been tasted, all flesh loses its savor.”

This man is God the Father. He is called a man because of intellect, although his intellect is otherwise and incomparably more excellent than that of a human being or angel. He “dwells in inaccessible light,” says the Apostle. He is a king because he continually governs those whom he created. The Psalm says: “The Lord is a great God and a great king above all gods.”

His Son is the Father’s only-begotten. Hence we first “saw his glory, as of the only-begotten of the Father.” The Father made a wedding feast for his Son when he decreed that he should become incarnate.

The Son took human nature as his bride, from which the Church comes, whose head he is. He united that nature to himself in the unity of the Word’s person: the Word was made flesh, a human being being assumed, not God consumed.

The Virgin’s womb was the bridal chamber of this union, according to the Psalm: “Like a bridegroom proceeding from his bridal chamber, he rejoiced like a most mighty giant,” from a twofold substance, divine and human, “to run his course,” that is, cheerfully and eagerly, as though he ran most swiftly. He made his way from heaven to earth.

Those in the heavenly homeland rejoice exceedingly over this mystery of the Incarnation, figured in the wedding of hester [i.e., Esther] and assueri [i.e., Ahasuerus], saying in Revelation: “Let us rejoice and exult, for the wedding of the Lamb has come.”

“He called many.” It does not say all, because little children of any nation, even Christian, who die uncleansed from original sin and without the use of reason are not called to the Church’s wedding feast.

All others are called, and these are many, because they come from every nation under heaven. Even before the wedding was celebrated in act--that is, before the mystery was accomplished through the act of the Incarnation--all were called at least through the natural law. By observing it, they were also called through hidden inspiration or revelation to believe at least that God exists and that he rewards those who seek him, namely through good works; that reward was procured in this wedding.

Such persons entered this wedding feast ecclesiastically as members of the Church, although they were very few, like Job, to whom this wedding mystery was also more fully revealed.

The Jewish people were called in a special way through the Mosaic Law, the prophets, and the examples of the saints of that time.

“He sent his servants to call those invited,” for the most part, when God willed certain holy men, his true servants who perfectly obeyed him, to exist in the world and solicit others by words and examples toward good conduct according to the natural or written Law, such as patriarchs, prophets, and Gentiles.

“They would not come,” because, as the Psalm says, “All turned aside” from the right way; “together they became useless; there is none who does good.” All the Gentiles had declined into idolatry, and the Jews into disobedience to the Law, according to Jeremiah: “From of old you broke the yoke” of the natural law; “you burst the bonds” of the commandments of the written Law; “you said, ‘I will not serve,’” namely by obeying God.

“Again he sent other servants,” namely his apostles, disciples, and martyrs, and even the Church’s bridegroom himself, their teacher in his humanity, teaching and inviting people to the wedding feast, that is, to the faith.

“The Lord sent me,” he himself says through Isaiah, “and his Spirit, to evangelize the poor,” to preach an acceptable year of the Lord and a day of repayment of good things for evils.

Through these servants he said: “Tell those invited: Behold, I have prepared my banquet.” The banquet of spiritual refreshment had been promised in the Old Testament, according to Isaiah: “The Lord shall make on this mountain a banquet of fat things, a banquet of marrow, a banquet of purified vintage, and shall cast death down forever.” Christ and the apostles announced that it had been prepared.

Jesus says: “Come to me, all you who labor and are burdened, and I shall refresh you,” Matthew 11. Again he says: “I appoint to you that you may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom,” Luke 22.

The Psalm shows how much strength the food of this royal wedding table grants, saying: “You have prepared a table before me against those who trouble me,” a table refreshing and strengthening me against the devil, the flesh, and the world.

The Apostle intimates how exquisite these feasts are in 1 Corinthians 2: “Eye has not seen, nor ear heard, nor has it entered into the human heart, what God has prepared for those who love him.”

The prince of the apostles says: “God has regenerated us into a living hope, into an incorruptible, undefiled, and unfading inheritance, preserved in heaven in us who are guarded by God’s power through faith for a salvation prepared to be revealed in the last time.” And below: “Believing in him, you shall exult with unutterable and glorified joy,” 1 Peter 1.

Faith in this mystery already accomplished, namely the Incarnation, and hope of reaching the glory thereby prepared for us are the spiritual refreshment of this banquet of the Church.

“Behold,” he says of the present, “I have prepared my banquet; my oxen and fatlings are killed.” The oxen signify the fathers of the Old Testament and the fatlings the saints of the New Testament. The examples of those already dead are set before us for imitation and refresh us at the banquet of the Church militant.

Hence Gregory says in a homily: “What is signified by the oxen except the fathers of the Old Testament? For when, by permission, they had received leave to strike their adversaries by repaying hatred, what else, so to speak, were they but oxen who struck their enemies with the horn of bodily power?

“What is figured by the fatlings except the fathers of the New Testament, who, while receiving the richness of inward grace and separating themselves from earthly desires, raise themselves to the heights as though by the wing of contemplation?”

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Two (continued)

This is in Cause 23, Question 4, canon *Cum in lege*.

It is to be noted, Gregory says, that in the first invitation nothing is said about oxen and fatlings, but in the second the oxen and fatlings are now recalled as slaughtered. For when we refuse to hear his words, almighty God adds examples, so that everything we believe impossible may become easier for us to hope for, insofar as we hear that others have passed through these things.

Or, according to Origen, the banquet is God’s discourse. The oxen are the strong teachings there; the fatlings are the sweet and delightful ones.

“And all things are ready”: namely, all that pertains to the mystery of the Lord’s Passion and our redemption, according to Chrysostom.

Or, according to the Gloss, all things are ready in that the entrance to the kingdom, formerly closed, has been opened through faith in my Incarnation.

Or, according to Chrysostom, all things are ready because whatever is required for salvation has already been fulfilled in the Scriptures. One who is ignorant finds there what he may learn; one who is stubborn finds there what he may fear; and one who labors finds there promises by which he may be stirred to work.

Or all things are ready because nothing necessary or conducive to salvation and spiritual refreshment is lacking from the Church’s banquet. There are the sacraments, which purge sins, increase virtues, and cause spiritual joys. There is the food of angels, bread from heaven possessing every savor of sweetness; and what is better than the Lord’s body and blood? Jerome says this in Cause 1, Question 1, canon *Multi*.

There too, namely in the Church, are the teachings of the Scriptures, of which the Psalm says: “How sweet are your words to my palate, sweeter than honey to my mouth.” There are the divine offices, the chants and instruments of the sweetly sounding Church.

“Come therefore to the wedding,” namely the Church’s wedding, the apostles said as they traveled throughout the world, for “their sound has gone forth into all the earth.” What they sounded forth in their preaching follows: “He has placed his tabernacle in the sun,” that is, the mystery of the Incarnation. They taught how people might come to the wedding through the law, namely the spotless law of the Lord, concerning which it follows: “The law of the Lord is spotless”--by receiving the law and evangelical doctrine and observing the law of charity.

“But they neglected it,” for the most part. For only a few were converted to the faith by Christ, the apostles, and the first preachers of the Gospel, in comparison with those who remained in unbelief. Those who did not believe therefore did not come to the wedding, although invited by the preachers.

The cause of this neglect was either a disordered affection for bodily pleasures, an excessive appetite for temporal riches, or a faithless contempt for divine things. These are indicated when it says: “One went away to his farm,” and so forth.

Citizens go to a farm for bodily recreation, which is not in itself unlawful. But when someone seeks bodily pleasures and recreations in such a way that on their account he neglects to approach the Church's banquet by the way of the virtues, he is deprived both of it and of his own salvation.

Those therefore who, lest he admit the pleasures of the flesh [read: lest they lose the pleasures of the flesh], did not wish to receive the apostles' teaching, which opposed them. Peter says: "I beseech you, as strangers and pilgrims, to abstain from carnal desires, which wage war against the soul." So too now there are many whose god is their belly, giving themselves to lust like the horse and mule. These neglected to approach the wedding.

"Another went to his business." Business properly occurs when a thing is bought so that, without being changed in substance or quality, it may be sold more dearly at another time or place, as Chrysostom says in Distinction 88, canon *Eiciens*.

Although this can be made honorable by its purpose when it is conducted for a good end--such as the support of oneself and one's household, provision for the commonwealth, or assistance to the poor--and in the proper manner, nevertheless of itself it appears to serve greed, because it knows no limit when it is conducted for profit. Avarice, to which merchants commonly devote themselves, is therefore signified by it.

We cannot adhere to the author of good things through living faith unless we utterly cast out greed, which is the root of all evils, Gregory says in Distinction 47, canon *Bonorum*, "Insofar as the love of temporal substance is preferred to God."

Many therefore did not hear by assenting to the preaching of the Lord's disciples, because they were devoted to avarice. Hence Paul also said in 1 Timothy 6: "Charge the rich not to be high-minded, nor to hope in the uncertainty of their riches," and so forth.

Alternatively, according to Hilary, the one man's farm and the other's business are explained thus: by worldly ambition people occupy themselves as though with a farm, since a man has lordship over and possession of his farm; but more people are detained in business by desire for money.

Or, according to Gregory, the farm signifies the exercise of earthly labor and business signifies other worldly activities. Therefore, whoever is intent upon earthly labor or devoted to worldly activities, and neglects to ponder the mystery of the Lord's Incarnation and to live according to it, refuses to come to the wedding, as though going to his farm or business.

"But the rest abused and killed" the servants who invited them. These were the malicious and very wicked men who killed Christ, the apostles, and other martyrs who preached the truth. The first among them were the Jews who persecuted the Church, and afterward other Gentile tyrants, Roman emperors, and other unbelieving princes of the world.

"When the king heard this, he was angry." Anger is not said to be in God properly, but figuratively, after the likeness of people who are called angry when they punish. Hence Augustine says: "God's anger is not, as man's is, a disturbance of an agitated mind, but the tranquil establishment of a just punishment." This is in *On Penance*, Distinction 3, canon *Productior*.

"And sending his armies, he destroyed those murderers." According to Gregory, the armies of the heavenly king are the ranks of angels. Among human beings, every judgment of his is carried out through angels. Through their ministry, therefore, God destroyed the persecutors of the Church who had killed the apostles and martyrs in order to extinguish evangelical doctrine: temporally, by ending badly, and eternally, by consigning them to damnation.

"And he burned their city with fire," because, according to Gregory, not only their souls but also the bodies in which they had dwelt will be tormented in the fire of Gehenna.

Or, according to Origen, the city of these impious men is the perverse and manifold doctrine of unbelievers, which is consumed and eradicated by fire.

It should be noted, however, that according to certain doctors the first and second call of the servants to the wedding are explained with reference to the Jewish people. Thus the first call began with Abraham, to whom the special promise of the Incarnation was made: "In your seed all nations shall be blessed," and it continued through the other patriarchs.

The invitation preceding this call seems to mean the implanted natural law, which urges one toward the good and naturally seeks happiness. The second call is understood to have begun with the law given through Moses and to have continued through the prophets who followed, down to Christ and the apostles preaching in Judea.

By those who neglected the invitation and went to their farm, Chrysostom understands the common people among the Jews, whom delight in the world separated from Christ. By those who went to their business he understands the priests of that people and the other ministers of the Temple, who were devoted to avarice. Christ said to them: "Do not make my Father's house a house of business." Thus they were separated from the true faith.

Those who, out of the hatred and envy of malice, killed Christ and the apostles are signified by the murderers. Against them the heavenly king, angry at their obstinacy in unbelief, sent his armies: according to Jerome, the Romans under the rulers Titus and Vespasian. He destroyed them, scattered the remnants who survived, burned their chief city Jerusalem, and reduced it to nothing.

The Romans and their rulers are called God's armies, although they were unbelievers, because they were stirred up to punish the Jews by God's command and disposition, as is said in Cause 23, Question 5, the final section and what follows.

What follows--"Then the king said: Go to the ends of the roads, and call everyone," and so forth--is explained of the call made when the Jews drove the apostles from their territories, and the apostles dispersed throughout the world to preach to the Gentiles.

The second call can nevertheless be explained more generally, as has been said: it is called one that began with Christ and the apostles and ended with the peace granted to the Church when Constantine was converted to the faith.

God's purpose and predestination cannot fail or be frustrated, because he has his appointed number of the elect in the Church militant and afterward in the Church triumphant. Hence the king said to his ministers--that is, to the Church's prelates or to the angels set over the calling of the Gentiles, to whom he reveals his secrets and ordinances. This is what it means to tell them: "My wedding is ready, but those who were invited were not worthy." It is as though he said: spiritual and eternal refreshment has been prepared through the mystery of the Incarnation, and many had been invited and called, especially the Jews, through preachers, examples, and displayed miracles. But they made themselves unworthy through either their negligence or their malice, not through anything on God's part, for "God wills all men to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth," says the Apostle.

"Go therefore to the ends of the roads," you preachers--that is, according to Remigius, to the Gentiles, who were at the ends of the roads, namely in errors lying outside the way of truth.

Or, according to Chrysostom, go to all sinners of whatever condition, who are outside the way of the virtues that leads to God and are in various vices that lead to the devil.

Or, according to Gregory, since actions of human beings are called "ways" in Sacred Scripture, the ends of the roads can be understood as failures of action. Those whom no earthly success accompanies in their activities come more readily to God.

"And call to the wedding all whom you find." Ambrose says: "God excludes no crime, since he has forgiven all sins," in *On Penance*, Distinction 1, canon *Nemo*: that is, no one who comes to this wedding through baptism and penance. One comes not on foot, but by faith and conduct.

"The servants went out": either the apostles, going from Judea to the city of the Gentiles, are understood; or the angels, going from the inner places of divine counsel--where they comprehend the mysteries to be performed--to the ends of the roads, that is, to people living according to diverse rites outside the true worship of God.

"They gathered all whom they found, good and bad." According to Jerome, there was infinite diversity among the Gentiles. Some were devoted to honorable and moral life, although they were unbelievers, and these are called good. Others were devoted to crimes, and these are called bad. Yet people from both classes were converted to the faith and gathered into the Church's wedding.

Or the "good" are those truly converted to the faith, and the "bad" those who approached deceitfully, like Simon Magus. Nevertheless, the Church's prelates--the ministers of this king--admitted both together to the sacraments, because the bad displayed themselves as good and their deceit was unknown.

Or the good and bad are the elect and the reprobate. Even if the latter were truly converted, they afterward entangled themselves in vices, as did Nicholas, one of the seven deacons.

"And the wedding was filled with guests," because the Church was filled with those converted to the faith. This occurred especially when peace had been granted to the Church after the persecutions of the unbelieving emperors, and Constantine granted the faculty and freedom to build churches, celebrate the offices publicly, destroy idols, assemble councils, and preach publicly. The house of the Church was filled, yet with good and evil intermingled.

Hence Gregory says in a homily: "This life, which is situated between heaven and hell, just as it subsists in the middle, commonly receives citizens from both sides. Holy Church now receives them indiscriminately, but afterward distinguishes them at their departure. Therefore, if you are good, tolerate the wicked with equanimity for as long as you subsist here, because whoever does not tolerate the wicked bears witness against himself through his intolerance that he is not good." This is in Cause 23, Question 4, canon *Haec vita*.

Gregory likewise says: "That bridegroom who was going to call good and evil people to the wedding, wished to be born from both good and evil people. By his example they may learn that the iniquity of their parents cannot harm them." This is in Distinction 56, canon *Impletae sunt nuptiae*.

According to Origen, the wedding was filled with good and bad because both good and bad had to be called--not so that the bad should remain bad, but so that they might put off garments contrary to the wedding and put on wedding garments, concerning which the Apostle says: "Clothe yourselves with heartfelt mercy and kindness," and so forth.

"But the king entered to see the guests." Chrysostom says that this is not said because God is not somewhere, but because wherever he wishes to look through judgment, there he is said to be present; and wherever he does not wish to look through judgment, there

he is said to be absent, namely for that time. The day of inspection, therefore, is the day of judgment, when he will visit the Christians who now recline at the tables of the Scriptures or the sacraments.

He is said there to have "seen a man," because at the final universal judgment he makes everyone see the wicked together with their acts of malice. Hence it follows: "not clothed in a wedding garment." It says "a man" in the singular because, according to Origen, all who preserve malice after the faith they had possessed belong to one class.

According to Gregory, the wedding garment means charity, because the Lord possessed it when he came to unite the Church to himself. Therefore, one who has faith in the Church but does not have charity enters the wedding without a wedding garment. Concerning this garment of charity the Psalm says of the Church: "The queen stood at your right hand in gilded clothing," through which, namely, she is joined to the good.

Or, according to Augustine, one comes to the wedding without a wedding garment when he seeks there not the Bridegroom's glory but his own.

Or, according to Hilary, the wedding garment is the grace of the Holy Spirit and the splendor of a heavenly habit, that is, purity, concerning which Ecclesiastes says: "Let your garments always be white," that is, let your conduct be clean.

Or, according to Jerome, the wedding garment is observance of the Law and the Gospel, as though it were the garment of the new man. Whoever under the Christian name does not possess it on the day of judgment will be rebuked.

Hence it follows: "And he said to him: Friend, how did you enter here without having a wedding garment?" He calls him a friend because he was invited to the wedding as a friend through faith. He enters and remains there because he is numbered with the other Christians and admitted to the sacraments. But he is charged with shamelessness, because with a filthy garment he pollutes the wedding purity.

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Two (continued)

For just as God is honored and the Church adorned through the good, so through evil believers the Lord is blasphemed because of their sins, as the Apostle says, and the Church is disfigured.

"But he was speechless." Origen says that one who sins and has not put on the Lord Jesus by receiving faith and baptism appears to have some excuse of ignorance or the like. But a Christian has none, since he knew how he ought to conduct himself, and therefore he is struck speechless.

The unbeliever also, because he has already been judged and his condemnation is known, is neither arraigned at judgment nor his life examined, but is only condemned. The wicked Christian, however, is examined and questioned about how he entered without a wedding garment. He is nevertheless speechless because his conscience points out his evil works to him and that he is justly to be condemned.

Because it is no longer the time for repenting or changing the will, the king therefore says to his ministers: "Bind his hands and feet." The hands are works and the feet are affections. They are then said to be bound because the ability to do or will meritorious good is taken away.

His ministers are the angels, concerning whom Matthew 13 says: "The angels shall go out and separate the wicked from among the just, and shall cast them into the furnace of fire."

"Cast him into the exterior darkness," that is, into hell, a land of gloom covered by the shadow of death. For although tormenting fire is there, it does not shine for them, but is dark, as though smoky and somewhat old.

Or, according to Gregory, the feet and hands are then bound by the rigor of the sentence, since the wicked were unwilling now to bind them from depraved works through the amendment of life. Or punishment then binds those whom guilt now bound from good works. We call blindness of mind "interior darkness," but eternal damnation "exterior darkness."

"There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth." Jerome says that the magnitude of the torments is shown through a metaphor from bodily members. Or the members are also described to prove the truth of the resurrection of bodies.

Thus, according to Gregory, teeth of the body shall gnash there which delighted here in gluttony. Eyes shall weep there which there [read: here] were occupied with unlawful desires, so that the individual members may be subjected to punishment there, since here they served in subjection to the corresponding individual vices.

Because at the wedding banquet it is not the beginning but the end that is sought, it therefore follows: “Many are called, but few are chosen.” Hilary says: “To have been invited without exception is the public kindness of humanity, but from among the invited and called, election on account of the judgment of meritorious uprightness.”

Some, Gregory says, do not even begin good things, while others by no means persevere in the good things they began. Therefore, let each person fear and humble himself all the more, insofar as he does not know whether he is chosen.

“He chose us,” says the Apostle, “before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy and immaculate”: that is, without the stain of mortal sin, and holy--that is, firm and persevering. Because this is proper to the elect, and because many enter the Church’s wedding through faith when called, but few are without mortal sin and persevering in good, therefore many are called and few are chosen.

§ IX. The Parable of the Talents Granted by the Lord in Different Numbers to His Servants

Matthew alone relates this parable, which Christ preached to the Jews near the time of his Passion, saying: “A man setting out for a distant country called his servants,” and so forth.

Here the rigor of justice is shown in demanding an account of the goods granted to us, whether in the particular judgment through death or in the universal judgment at the end of the world. First, therefore, the various bestowal of goods by God is set out; second, the diverse employment by man of what has been bestowed; third, the fitting recompense of what has been employed.

It says: “A certain man setting out for a distant country.” According to Gregory, this man is our Redeemer, who in the flesh he had assumed went away into heaven. For the proper place of flesh is earth, and it is said to go, as it were, into a distant country when it is placed in heaven by our Redeemer.

Or, according to Origen, it can be said that God travels abroad in us who walk by faith and not by sight. For “while we are in this body,” says the Apostle, “we are absent from the Lord.”

“He called his servants”: whether the apostles, all believers, or all human beings, who in different ways are called his servants--either through obedience to his commandments, the service of *latria*, or universal providence.

“He delivered his goods to them.” All the goods we possess are the Lord’s. “For what do you have that you did not receive?” says the Apostle.

“To one he gave five talents, to another two, and to another one.” Hilary understands the diverse graces delivered to each person in the five, two, and one talents.

These talents, however, are explained more particularly by different authors in different ways. Some explain them only as the doctrine delivered to the apostles and to others to be communicated to the peoples. Origen, for example, says that some received from Christ a greater dispensation of God’s utterances, others less--as it were, not understanding the affairs of the world even by half in comparison with their betters--and still others less, as though one talent.

One receives five talents when he can lead all the sensible things of the Scriptures to more divine senses. One receives two when he has been instructed in bodily doctrine, that is, in the literal sense. For two appears to be a carnal number, namely in the married state. If one has still less ability, the master of the household gave him one talent.

Gregory explains it otherwise in a homily: “To one he gave five talents,” and so forth. By five talents is expressed the gift of knowledge through the five exterior senses: a great knowledge and administration of temporal things, which are apprehended through the senses. By two talents understanding and action are designated. By the name of one talent understanding alone is expressed.

The one who had received five talents doubles them by trading. Jerome says that one who received the earthly senses doubled for himself the knowledge of heavenly things, understanding the Creator from creatures and incorporeal things from corporeal things.

Or, according to Gregory, he is one who rises through knowledge of temporal things more perfectly into knowledge of divine things, using and directing them to the contemplation and love of God; or one who duly exercises the administration of temporal things.

According to Gregory, one receives and multiplies two talents when, although unable to penetrate mystical and sublime things, he nevertheless teaches whatever he can from what he has received, for the aim of the heavenly homeland; and when he keeps himself from pleasures and other vices, he restrains others from them also by admonishing them.

Or one receives two talents when he receives both the virtue of acting well and understanding of heavenly things, according to Gregory.

Hilary explains it otherwise. “To one he gave five talents.” The one who received five talents is the people of those believing from the Law, that is, the Jewish people; progressing from the Law, they doubled its very fear by fulfilling it [read: measure] in the operation of evangelical faith. For there are five books of the Mosaic Law.

The people of the Gentiles is the one who received two talents, justified by faith and by confession of the Son and of the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ; they confessed our Lord Jesus Christ as God and man, from spirit and flesh. Just as the Jewish people doubled through faith in the Gospel the entire mystery that they had known in the five talents, that is, in the Law, so the Gentile people merited understanding and action through the increase of the two talents.

The one who received one talent and hid it in the ground is the people persisting in the Law, who because of envy at the salvation of the Gentiles hid the talent received in the earth. To hide a talent in the earth is to conceal the glory of the new preaching under detraction concerning the Passion of the body.

It may also be explained otherwise: “To one he gave five talents,” and so forth. By the five talents can be understood five kinds of goods that God bestows on some of his servants.

The first is a good of nature, namely body and soul with their powers. The second is a good of fortune, such as riches, power, glory, and the like. The third is the good of sanctifying grace, with the virtues and gifts. The fourth is the good of grace gratuitously given, such as prophecy, the working of miracles, and the like. The fifth is the good of glory, that is, the Eucharist, where God himself is truly present, which is the consummation and end of all the sacraments--that is, the faculty of confecting and administering it, as in priests.

God gave these five kinds of goods to some. They multiplied them insofar as, by duly exercising themselves in them, they increased their merit of grace and glory.

One receives two talents when he receives both the goods of nature and the goods of sanctifying grace, even if the others are lacking, or little of those goods common to all in baptism and afterward once more in true penance. They double them when they use them rightly or refer them to the love of God and neighbor.

One talent, namely the good of nature, is received by all and denied to none. One hides even this when he does not follow the judgment of reason, but hides it in the earth when he obscures reason, entangling himself in earthly things.

“He gave to each according to his own ability.” As regards talents of doctrine and knowledge, God gives according to the ability to comprehend; as regards talents of grace and virtues, he gives according to the strength of one’s endeavor to receive them.

“And he immediately set out.” The Gloss says that he did not change place, but permitted them free power to act and left them to their own choice.

“Therefore, the one who had received five talents worked with them and gained another five.” He does so when, by exercising himself in the goods received--in teaching; in the bodily senses and powers of the soul; in temporal goods; in the virtues and graces gratuitously given; and in the sacraments--he multiplies his merits. Likewise, the one with two gains the same amount. One who does not exercise the one talent is a person who wastes away in idleness and omission.

“But after a long time.” Jerome says that this is stated because a great span of time lies between the Savior’s Ascension and his second coming. “Here too,” Chrysostom says, “see that the Lord does not everywhere demand an account at once, so that you may learn his patience.”

Or, according to Origen, “after a long time” means after he had sent away those fit to trade for the salvation of souls. And perhaps for this reason one does not easily find anyone among those fit for such a work who passes swiftly from this life, as is evident from the fact that the apostles grew old, as is clear of Peter and Paul.

“The lord of those servants came.” Origen says: “Observe in this place that the servants do not go to the lord to be judged, but the lord comes to them when the time--namely the foreordained time--has been fulfilled.”

“And he settled accounts with them.” Jerome says: “In the settling of accounts there is the examination of judgment.” Augustine says: “Animals,” namely brutes, “will render no account of their deeds, because they do not possess reason. Human beings, however, because they were made rational, will render an account to God concerning themselves and all the things they received for the use of the present life, and according to the quality of their acts they shall receive either punishment or glory.” This is in Cause 15, Question 1, section *Ex eo*.

Gregory says in a homily: “This reading admonishes us to consider lest those who are seen to have received more than others in this world be judged more severely by the author of the world. For when gifts are increased, accounts for the gifts also grow. Therefore, each person ought to be the humbler because of the gift, the more he perceives himself obligated in rendering an account.”

“And the one who had received five talents approached.” Origen says: “Confidence made him dare to approach the Lord first.” This servant, who returned the talents doubled, is praised by the Lord and brought to eternal reward. Hence it follows: “Well done, good and faithful servant.”

Rabanus says: “Well done” is an interjection of rejoicing, through which the Lord expresses his joy and invites the servant who has labored well to eternal joy, concerning which the prophet says: “You shall gladden us with joy before your face.”

“Good servant.” Chrysostom says: “One who speaks of the good that pertains to his neighbor.” “Faithful,” because he appropriated to himself none of the things that belong to God.

“Because you were faithful over a few things.” Jerome says this is because everything we possess in the present, although it appears great and abundant, is nevertheless small and little in comparison with future things.

“I shall place you over many things.” According to Gregory, one is then placed over many things when, every distress of corruption having been conquered, he glories in eternal joys in that heavenly dwelling. He is then also perfectly admitted into his Lord’s joy when, taken up into that eternal homeland and into the companies of the angels, he rejoices so inwardly in the gift that nothing remains outside to grieve him through corruption.

Jerome says: “What greater thing can be given to a faithful servant than to be with the Lord and to see his Lord’s joy?” Chrysostom says that through this word he shows every beatitude. Augustine says: “This shall be our full joy, than which there is no greater: to enjoy God the Trinity, in whose image we were made.”

“The one who had received two also approached,” and so forth. Origen says: “Understand this approach as the passage from this world to the other.” Jerome says that the same speech of the master of the household caresses both servants--the one who had made ten from five talents and the one who had made four from two--and receives both with similar joy, considering not the magnitude of the gain but the will shown in their diligence.

Hence Origen says that because the same things were said to both--namely, “Enter into joy”--perhaps one who had lesser ability but exercised the whole of what he had as he ought will possess nothing less before God than the one who had greater ability. For this alone is sought: that a person use for God’s glory everything he has from God.

This, however, must be understood so that all who act virtuously, although one does so more abundantly and perfectly than another, enjoy a similar joy in kind, because all enjoy God and are altogether at rest in the vision of God. Yet in particular, those who loved God more ardently here see him more clearly and enjoy him more fully; and those who labored more for God here receive more accidental joy.

“But the one who had received one talent also approached.” Jerome says: “What is written is indeed true: in excusing sins, this servant too incurs the sin of pride together with sloth and negligence.”

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Two (continued)

For he ought simply to have confessed his inactivity and begged the master of the household. Instead, he slanders him and says that he acted with prudent counsel, lest, while seeking gains on the money, he put even the principal at risk. Hence he says: “Lord, I know that you are a hard man,” and so forth.

Origen says: “The Lord is truly hard toward those who abuse his mercy for negligence and not for conversion.” Jerome says: “If we are not converted, if we are stiff-necked, if we persevere in evils continually to the end, God does not have mercy on those continually sinning.” This is in Distinction 93, canon *Diaconi*.

“You reap where you have not sown and gather where you have not scattered.” Origen says: “We understand that our Lord truly reaps where he has not sown, because the just person sows in the spirit, from which the Lord reaps eternal life. He also gathers where he has not scattered, because he accounts as bestowed upon himself whatever has been sown among the poor.”

Or, according to Jerome, through this we also understand the good life of the Gentiles and philosophers, which the Lord receives, namely in order to lead them to faith.

“For I feared you.” Gregory says: “There are many within the Church, whose image this servant bears, who fear to enter upon the ways of a better life, yet do not fear to lie idle in the sloth of their body. Although they consider themselves sinners, they tremble to take up the ways of holiness.”

Or, according to Hilary, by this servant is understood the Jewish people persisting in the Law, saying, “I feared you,” as though through fear of the ancient precepts it abstained from the use of evangelical liberty and said: “Behold what is yours,” namely the talent, as though it had remained among the things commanded by the Lord. Yet it knew that the fruits of justice were to be reaped where the Law had not been sown, and that those from the Gentiles who were not dispersed from Abraham’s stock were to be gathered.

But what he thought he had said as an excuse, Jerome says, is turned into his own fault. Hence it follows: “His lord answered him: Wicked and slothful servant.” Jerome says that he is called a wicked servant because he slandered his lord, and slothful because he was unwilling to double the talent, so that he is condemned for pride in the one and negligence in the other.

“You ought therefore to have entrusted my money to the money changers.” Jerome says: “If you knew me to be hard and cruel and to pursue such things--that is, if you ought to have known that I would seek my own more diligently--you should have given my money to the money changers.”

The money is the preaching of the Gospel and the divine word, which ought to have been given to money changers--that is, to other teachers, as the apostles did when they ordained priests and bishops throughout the individual provinces--or to all believers, who can double the money and return it with interest by fulfilling in deed what they learned in speech.

Hence it is said: “And upon coming I would have exacted what was mine with interest.” Gregory says: “Just as the peril of teachers is considered if they retain the Lord’s money, that is, his doctrine, so too is that of their hearers, because what they heard is required from them with interest: from what they hear they are to strive also to understand what they have not heard.” Add also that they are to put it into practice.

Hence Pope Nicholas says: “Just as no slight danger lies upon bishops for having kept silent about what is fitting, so too--and may it not be--is there no middling danger for those who disdain to obey when they ought.” This is in Distinction 43, canon *Dispensatio*.

“I would have exacted it with interest”: he calls the spiritual multiplication of the goods granted “interest.” Concerning this spiritual interest Pope Leo says: “We ought to practice lending at interest through the ground and to look: that what we mercifully bestow here, we may be able to receive from the Lord, who gives increase both manifold and everlasting.” This is in Distinction 46, canon *Sicut non suo*.

Let us hear with what sentence the Lord strikes the slothful servant. The Lord says: “Take the talent away from him and give it to the one who has ten talents.” Gregory says: “It seemed fitting that it should be given to the one who had received two talents rather than to the one who had received five, for it ought to have been given to the one who had less. But since knowledge of exterior things is designated by the five talents, while understanding and action are designated by two, the one who received two had more than the one who received five. For the one who merited the administration of exterior things through the five talents was still empty of the understanding of eternal things. Therefore, the one talent, by which we said understanding was signified, ought to be given to the one who had administered well the exterior things he had received. We see this daily in Holy Church, so that those who faithfully administer exterior things also become powerful in inward understanding.”

Or, according to Jerome, the talent is given to the one who had made ten so that we may understand that, although the joy is equal in the labor of each--the one who doubled five talents and the one who doubled two--a greater reward is nevertheless owed to those who labor more with the Lord’s money. It is understood as equal in kind, as was said above.

“For to everyone who has, it shall be given,” and so forth. Chrysostom says: “The person who has the grace of speech and teaching for making progress, but does not use it, loses the grace. But one who applies effort draws a greater gift to himself; and from one who does not have, even what he has shall be taken away.”

Jerome says: “Many who are naturally wise and possess sharpness of intellect corrupt this good of nature if they are negligent and idle, and the reward promised to them appears to pass to others.”

It can also be understood thus: one who has faith and a good will in the Lord shall receive from the good judge, even if he has something less in deed, as a human being. But one who does not have faith shall lose even the other virtues that he appeared naturally to possess.

Or again, according to Gregory, one who does not possess charity loses even those things he appeared to have received.

Chrysostom says that the wicked servant is punished not only by loss but also by unbearable punishment. Hence it follows: “Cast the useless servant into the exterior darkness.” Origen says: “Perhaps there is no illumination there, not even bodily illumination; nor is there any regard from God there, as toward those unworthy of contemplating God.”

Hence Chrysostom says that not only one who seizes another’s property or acts wickedly is punished, but also one who does not do good things.

§ X. The Parable of the Ten Virgins, Five Wise and Five Foolish

Matthew alone relates this parable. From it is shown that it is not enough to perform things that belong to the class of good works unless they are done in the proper manner: in charity; or with spiritual joy, which proceeds from purity of intention in good works; or with mercy and the other virtues, each of which is signified by the oil.

Therefore Jesus says: “Then”--namely at the future judgment of which he was speaking--“the kingdom of heaven,” that is, the present Church according to Gregory, “shall be like ten virgins who went out to meet the bridegroom and the bride,” and so forth.

This is explained in many ways by different authors. According to Chrysostom, the Lord places the parable in the persons of virgins to show that, although virginity is a great thing--for it is the highest degree in the chastity that ought to be in the faithful, whether conjugal, widowed, or virginal--nevertheless, if it is destitute of works of mercy, it will be cast outside with adulterers.

Hence Jerome also says: “One who does not possess clemency and is not clothed with heartfelt mercy and tears has not yet fulfilled the law of Christ, however spiritual he may appear.” This is in Distinction 86.

They are called ten, of whom five are wise and five foolish, because, according to Gregory, each person subsists through the five bodily senses. Five doubled makes ten, which number is the first limit of numbers and therefore signifies universality. Because the multitude of the faithful is gathered from both sexes, Holy Church is declared like ten virgins. Since the good are mingled there with the wicked and the elect with the reprobate, five of these ten virgins are called wise and five foolish.

Or, according to Origen, all who have received the word of God, that is, the faith, are called virgins. Since God’s word is supreme purity--that is, without falsity--it imparts of its purity to those who receive it, that is, believe, so that they may be free from the worship of idols and other errors.

Or, according to Jerome, five are called wise and five foolish. The wise are those who possess the five senses while hastening toward heavenly things and desiring those above. For John spoke of spiritual sight, hearing, and touch: “What we have seen, what we have heard, what we have beheld with our eyes, and what our hands have touched, concerning the Word of life.” Of taste the Psalm says: “Taste and see that the Lord is sweet.” Of smell it is said in the Song of Songs: “We run in the fragrance of your ointments.”

Others gape after earthly fruits: thinking earthly things in their minds, which is to see; loving them, which is to touch; receiving them from others, which is to hear; inclining themselves toward the stench of evil examples, which is to smell; and delighting in vices, which is to taste. These are signified by the five foolish virgins.

Or, according to Augustine in a homily, the five wise and five foolish virgins signify the fivefold continence from the allurements of the body. The soul’s appetite must be restrained from the pleasure of the eyes, ears, smell, taste, and touch. But this continence can be found in both the good and the wicked.

In part it is practiced before God by those who restrain themselves from these things so that they may please him in the inward joy of conscience, which arises from a pure intention--namely, of pleasing God and the like. These are the wise virgins. For prudence especially regards the proper end, according to the saying: “Act prudently and consider the end.”

In part, however, this continence called virginity is observed before human beings alone, because one abstains from pleasures of the senses in this way for the sake of human glory. These are the five foolish virgins, who do not judge the end rightly.

Yet both groups are virgins; just as one who possesses one form of this continence possesses them all, so all the senses mutually follow one another. Therefore, all five senses must be either wise or all foolish.

Or, according to Hilary, the discourse--that is, the statement without qualification--is framed in the five wise and five foolish virgins concerning believers and unbelievers. According to this interpretation, the oil in the vessel is faith with works in the conscience, which unbelievers do not possess.

Thus the five wise virgins took oil in their vessels with their lamps, but the foolish took no oil. This oil is understood differently according to the different interpretations proposed.

According to the first, it signifies charity, or mercy according to its effect, following the saying of Ecclesiastes: “Let oil not fail from your head,” that is, your mind. According to the second, it signifies devotion, following Matthew 5 [read: Matthew 6]: “Anoint your head.” According to the third, which is Augustine’s, it signifies spiritual joy proceeding from pure intention, following the Psalm: “God has anointed you with the oil of gladness.” According to the fourth, Hilary’s, it signifies faith together with its work.

The vessels signify hearts or conscience. A lamp, from which light appears, signifies works. Oil is put from the vessel into the lamp to nourish the light, because from charity, devotion, spiritual joy, or true faith habituated in the mind, one proceeds to a good act so that they may shine for others through example. The good do this, but the wicked do not, because their oil fails.

Or again, according to Chrysostom, the oil signifies the word of teaching by which the vessels of souls are filled, for nothing strengthens as does moral discourse. It preserves the light of faith and the fire of charity.

The wise virgins therefore receive enough oil for the delay of their departure, that is, death. Although the foolish received lamps that were lit at first, nevertheless, because they did not receive enough oil to last them to the end--being negligent about the continued teaching that strengthens faith and the light of good deeds--their lamps were therefore extinguished.

It is said of both groups: “They went out to meet the bridegroom and the bride.” According to Hilary, the bridegroom and bride can be called the two natures in Christ: one person, namely the Word, as bridegroom, and the human nature united to him as bride.

Or the bridegroom is Christ and the bride the Church triumphant. The Apocalypse says: “I saw the holy city Jerusalem descending from heaven as a bride.” They go out to meet Christ at his coming because we are continually tending toward death, through which some of us are admitted to the heavenly wedding and others excluded.

“But while the bridegroom delayed, they all became drowsy and slept.” This delay is the time by which the end of human life, or the end of the world, is deferred. According to Gregory, to sleep is to die. To become drowsy before sleep is to languish from health before death, because one comes through the weight of sickness to the sleep of death.

Or, with respect to each person’s particular end, to sleep and become drowsy is to rest in expectation of reward. This happens in greater or lesser degree.

Or, according to Origen, while the bridegroom delays until the consummation of life, some senses suffer drowsiness, behaving as though in the night of the world; and they sleep, acting more remissly, as it were, from that vital sense. Yet the wise virgins did not lose their lamps or despair of preserving their oil.

Hence it follows: “But at midnight a cry was made.” Jerome says: “It is a tradition of the Jews that Christ will come at midnight, in likeness to the time in Egypt when the Passover was celebrated and the destroyer came. Hence I also think that the apostolic tradition remained that on the day of the Easter vigil it was not permissible to dismiss the people before midnight, while they awaited Christ’s coming.”

Or “at midnight” means when no one hopes for or knows it. Hence Jerome says: “Suddenly, therefore, as though in the dead of night when all are secure and sleep is deepest, Christ’s coming shall resound through the cry of the angels and the trumpets of the powers going before him. ‘Behold, the bridegroom comes.’”

Hilary says: “When the trumpet awakens them, that is, by divine power, they proceed to meet the bridegroom alone. For bridegroom and bride will then already be one--that is, flesh and God--because the humility of the flesh will have been transformed into spiritual glory.”

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Two (continued)

Or, according to Augustine, where it says that the virgins come to meet the bridegroom--“Go out to meet him”--I think it should be understood so that the one called the bride is constituted from the virgins themselves. It is as though, when all Christians in the Church run together, the children were said to run to their mother, although the one called the mother is constituted from the children themselves gathered together. For now the Church is betrothed and is a virgin who is to be led to the wedding. At that time, when all mortality in her has passed away, she shall be held in a mortal union [read: an immortal union].

Or, according to Origen, “at midnight,” that is, at the height of remiss negligence, “a cry was made,” that is, the prompting of angels and a good thing crying out among the senses of those who were sleeping, namely the negligent. Everyone hears this prompting and rises, but not everyone fittingly places adornment upon the lamps--only the wise.

Hence it is said: “Then all the virgins arose.” Gregory says: “All the virgins arise because all, both elect and reprobate, are awakened from the sleep of their death. They trim their lamps because they count with themselves the works for which they expect eternal beatitude.”

Or, according to Augustine, “they trimmed them” because they prepared the accounts to be rendered for their works.

Or, according to Hilary, taking up the lamps is the return of souls into bodies, and their light is the shining forth of the conscience of a good work, which is contained in the vessels of the bodies.

“But the foolish said to the wise,” and so forth, “because our lamps are going out.” The foolish virgins’ lamps go out because their works, which had appeared bright outwardly to human beings, are darkened within at the coming of the judge.

“Give us some of your oil.” Gregory says: “What does it mean that they ask the wise for oil, except that at the coming of the judge, when they find themselves empty within, they seek testimony from without? As though, deceived by their own confidence, they were to say to their neighbors: ‘Because you see us rejected as though without works, say of our works what you saw.’”

Augustine says: “Those whose deeds are supported by another’s praise fail when that praise is withdrawn.” Hence, from the fact that they complain their lamps are going out, they show that these lamps shine in part, yet they do not have unfailing light or enduring works.

Therefore, if anyone has a virginal soul and is a lover of chastity, he ought not to be content in a middling fashion with those things that grow quickly and quickly wither in the heat, but should pursue perfect virtues so that he may have everlasting light.

These foolish virgins were foolish not only when they departed from here lacking mercy, but also when they thought that they would receive it there, where they asked at an inopportune time. Although nothing is more merciful than those wise virgins, who were approved because of mercy, nevertheless they were not foolishly petitioned in their request.

Hence it follows: “The wise answered, saying: Lest perhaps there not be enough,” and so forth. From this we learn that none of us will be able to add anything there to the works with which we shall be found.

According to Jerome, this reply of the wise is not from avarice but from fear, nor can the virtues of some support the vices of others on the day of judgment. They nevertheless give counsel that the others ought not to meet the bridegroom without oil.

Jerome says: “This oil is sold and is bought at a great price and acquired by difficult labor.” We understand this not only of alms, but of all the virtues and the counsels of teachers.

The wise say: “Lest perhaps there not be enough for us and for you,” because, according to Augustine, no one is aided before God by another’s testimony, since the secrets of the heart are manifest to him. Each person’s own conscience bears witness to him, and scarcely suffices for him.

“Go rather to those who sell,” that is, according to Origen, to the teachers, “and buy for yourselves,” that is, receive from them; its price is perseverance, love of learning, and the diligence and labor of those who desire to speak.

Or, according to Augustine, “Go rather,” and so forth. From this statement they should not be thought to have given counsel, but indirectly to have recalled the others’ crime. For flatterers sell oil: whether praising false things or things unknown, they lead souls into errors and, by counseling vain joys to those foolish souls, receive from them some reward of temporal advantage. Therefore it is said: “Go to those who sell and buy for yourselves,” that is: Let us now see how those accustomed to sell you praises may assist you.

But because, as Jerome says, the time for buying had already passed, when the day of judgment arrived there was no place for penance or for performing new works; rather, they were compelled to settle the account of their former works. Hence it follows: “While they went to buy, the bridegroom came.”

Here, according to Chrysostom, it is shown that even if we become merciful after death, we shall gain nothing from it toward escaping punishment. Thus it did not benefit the rich man that after death he became merciful and concerned for those who belonged to him.

Or, according to Origen, “While they went to buy,” and so forth. One can find certain people who neglected to learn something useful when they ought to have done so. At the very departure from their life, while they arrange to learn, they are overtaken by death.

Or, according to Augustine, “While they went to buy,” and so forth--that is, while they inclined themselves toward things outside and sought to rejoice in accustomed things because they had not known inward joys--the one who judges came.

“And those who were ready entered with him into the wedding,” that is, according to Augustine, those for whom conscience bore testimony before God. They entered with him into the wedding, where the pure soul is joined fruitfully to the pure and perfect Word of God.

“And the door was shut,” because, according to Jerome, after the day of judgment no opportunity for good works and justice remains. For, Augustine says, once those numbered among the angelic life have been received, the entrance to the kingdom of heaven is closed.

“At last the remaining virgins also came.” Augustine says: “It is not said that they had bought oil.” They are therefore to be understood, when no joy from others’ praises now remains, as returning amid distress and great afflictions to implore God. But great is his severity after judgment, whose ineffable mercy was extended before judgment.

They therefore say: “Lord, Lord, open to us.” Jerome says: “This excellent naming of the Lord is a confession and judgment of faith. But what does it profit to invoke with the voice the one whom you deny by works?”

Or, according to the Gloss, compelled by the grief of exclusion they repeat the name of dominion, not calling him Father, whose mercy they despised during their life.

“And he answered: Amen I say to you, I do not know you.” Augustine explains this from the rule that God’s art, that is, his wisdom, does not admit into joy those who endeavored to perform something according to his commandments not before God, but in order to please human beings.

Jerome says: “The Lord knows those who are his,” that is, he approves the good; and one who does not know, namely necessary things, will be unknown--that is, rejected. According to the Philosopher, every wicked person is ignorant, namely in the act of choosing sin. Although they are virgins either through bodily purity or confession of the true faith, nevertheless, because they do not have oil--namely charity or spiritual joy from a pure intention--they are unknown to the bridegroom.

He concludes: “Watch therefore, because you know neither the day nor the hour.” Jerome says: “All the things said before are understood by this: because we do not know the day of judgment, let us solicitously prepare good works for ourselves.”

Augustine says: “Each person knows not only the day and hour of that final time when the bridegroom will come, but also the day and hour of his own falling asleep. Whoever is ready for that will also be ready when the voice sounds by which all shall be awakened.”

The petition of the foolish virgins to the wise and afterward to God can also be understood hypothetically, that is, by supposition. For since all the reprobate know on the day of judgment that there is no place for repenting or means of obtaining anything, they will not ask. Nevertheless, on the supposition that they were to seek the saints’ suffrages or God’s mercy for deliverance, they would receive nothing.

Hence Jerome says: “In the present age we know that we can assist one another either with prayers or counsels. But when we come before Christ’s tribunal, neither Job nor Daniel nor Noah will be able to pray for anyone; rather, each person shall carry his own burden.” This is in Cause 13, Question 2, canon *In praesenti*.

§ XI. The Lord Exhorts to Watchfulness by the Examples of the Householder and the Servant-Steward

The Lord also exhorted to this watchfulness in Matthew 24, saying: “Watch, because you do not know at what hour your Lord will come.”

Augustine says that he told not only the apostles to watch, but their successors also, and everyone until his final coming. That final day of judgment about which Christ spoke will come for each person when the day of his death comes, so that he departs from here in the state in which he is to be judged at that judgment. Thus every Christian ought to watch, lest the Lord’s coming find him unprepared. For that day of the final judgment will find unprepared the person whom the last day of his life finds unprepared.

“You do not know at what hour.” Origen says: “All are vain who either profess to know when the consummation of the world will occur or boast that they know the end of their own life, which no one can know unless illuminated by the Holy Spirit,” namely in such matters.

“Watch,” Gregory says. “One watches who keeps the eyes open to the hope of the true light. One watches who preserves in action what he believes. One watches who repels from himself the darkness of torpor and negligence.”

Christ introduces an example for these things, saying: “Know this, that if the householder knew at what hour the thief was to come, he certainly would not allow his house to be broken into.”

Origen says: “The householder is the sense of a human being, that is, reason; his house is the soul; the thief is the devil.” Every contrary discourse that enters the soul of the negligent not by a natural entrance is like a burglar of the house: first destroying, as it were, the soul’s natural structures, namely natural understandings, and entering through that breach, it plunders the soul like a house.

Sometimes, however, someone finds the thief in the very act of breaking in and, apprehending him, kills him by thrusting in a word that strikes him. That is, perceiving the impulse of temptation, he conquers the temptation with the sword of God’s word prohibiting that evil, and so, as it were, kills the devil.

The thief does not come in the day, namely when the soul of a diligent person is illuminated by the sun of justice, but in the night, namely when one remains in malice or negligence, or in a time of temptations or tribulations. Although in that night one does not possess the sun’s light, if he has at least the lamp of the word, namely of God--that is, divine discourse--a resolution toward better things and watchfulness, his resolution will not be broken through and he will not be plundered, but will drive the thief away.

Or, according to Gregory, the thief is death. When it finds the householder, that is, the spirit, sleeping and unprepared, it destroys the house of the body by killing it and snatches the unwitting soul away to punishments.

Therefore he says: “Be ready, because you know neither the day nor the hour.” Our Lord wished the final hour to be unknown so that it could always be suspected, and so that, since we cannot foresee it at all, we may prepare ourselves for it without interruption.

Christ also adds the example of the faithful servant, saying: “Who, do you think, is the faithful and prudent servant whom his lord appointed over his household to give them food at the proper time?”

Hilary says that above the Lord had exhorted every heart to the unwearied care of watchfulness, but now he especially commands the rulers of the people to be solicitous in expectation of his coming. For he signifies the faithful and prudent servant appointed over the household when he says: “Who, do you think,” and so forth.

This does not imply ignorance in the Lord, nor, according to Remigius, the impossibility of attaining virtue, but difficulty or rarity, according to Gratian in *On Penance*, Distinction 1, section *Quod autem omni*.

According to the Gloss, three good qualities of prelates are noted in these words. The first is fidelity, when he says, “Faithful.” A servant is faithful to the Lord when he serves for the Lord’s sake and feeds Christ’s sheep not for profit but for love of Christ. He is faithful who makes nothing belonging to his lord his own and wastes nothing of his lord’s goods vainly or uselessly.

The second is discretion, when it says, “Prudent.” A prudent servant examines the capacity, life, and conduct of his subjects. He is prudent who knows the reason according to which the things given ought to be dispensed. Origen says: “To give food at the proper time requires prudence; not to take away the food of the needy requires fidelity.”

The third is avoidance of ambition, when it says, “Whom his lord appointed”: namely one who, according to the Gloss, was called by God, not one who intruded himself.

Pope Leo says: “A principate that fear extorted or ambition seized, even if it does not offend by its acts or conduct, is nevertheless pernicious by the example of its beginning. And it is difficult for things begun from a bad origin to be brought to a good end.” This is in Cause 1, Question 1, canon *Principatus*.

According to Origen, an ecclesiastical prelate is also called faithful and prudent concerning the Church’s revenues: so that he does not devour what belongs to widows, remembers the poor, and retains no more for himself than those who suffer need.

He is understood as prudent when he understands the circumstances of the needy on account of which they are needy. For one who wishes to dispense ecclesiastical revenues needs great wisdom; and what is found in Distinction 86, canon *Non satis*, directs one toward this manner and consideration.

What Jerome says in Cause 12, Question 2, canon *Gloria episcopi*, and in Cause 16, Question 1, also pertains to fidelity: whatever clerics possess belongs to the poor.

Again, according to Origen, he is called faithful and prudent so that he does not pour out rational and spiritual food upon those for whom it is not fitting, wishing to show himself prudent. Instead, to those who have greater need of a word that may edify their conduct and order their life than of one that illuminates with the light of knowledge, he gives the former; nor does he shrink from expounding higher things to those able to hear more acutely, lest those naturally gifted in intellect or sharpened through practice in secular wisdom despise one who expounds trivial things.

What is said in Distinction 43, canon *In mandatis*; in canon *Sit rector*, the final section; and in Cause 8, Question 1, canon *Oportet*, also pertains to this.

Chrysostom says that this parable also applies to secular princes. Each person ought to use what he possesses for the common benefit, not for the injury of servants or his own destruction, whether he possesses wisdom, a principate, or anything else.

Although, Basil says, it is difficult to find fidelity and prudence in one person, it is nevertheless not impossible.

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Two (continued)

For the Lord would not call a servant blessed who could not be found. For he says: “Blessed is that servant whom, when he comes,” and so forth.

“He shall appoint him over all his goods”: according to Origen, so that he may reign together with Christ, to whom the Father delivered all his goods, and so that they too may be stewards over every creature.

Or, according to Hilary, “over all his goods” means that he shall be placed in God’s glory, because beyond it there is nothing better.

According to Rabanus, this is not so that they alone, but so that they more than others, may have eternal rewards--that is, greater ones--both for their own life and for keeping watch over the flock.

“But if that wicked servant shall say,” and so forth. Chrysostom says that the Lord teaches his hearer not only by the honor that awaits the good, but also by the punishment with which he threatens the wicked, when he says: “If he shall say,” and so forth.

“My lord delays his coming.” First he describes this servant’s conduct by his vain confidence in a long life. As Jerome says: “Security begets negligence, and negligence offense.” This is in *On Penance*, Distinction 1, canon *Praedixerat*.

“And he began to strike his fellow servants.” Here note pride, for he strikes them so that he may be feared and may show that he rules among the clergy. What is found in Distinction 45, canon *Licet*, together with the following canon, pertains excellently to this.

Or, according to Rabanus, to strike one’s fellow servants is to corrupt the consciences of the weak by word or example. In the final canon of Distinction 45 it is also said: “A teacher who strikes the consciences of the weak with useless speech is a striker.”

“And to eat and drink with drunkards.” According to Augustine, lust and pleasure are noted here. Jerome says: “To you, O priest, it is permitted to live from the altar, not to live luxuriously.”

“The lord will come on a day he does not expect.” Augustine says to Hesychius that of three servants of God preparing themselves for Christ’s coming--one saying that he will come sooner, the second later, and the third that he does not know either alternative, namely whether he will come sooner or later--the third is more consonant with the Gospel. He hopes for what the first says, endures what the second thinks, and errs in neither, because he affirms or denies none of them.

For if the Lord does not come as the first says or believes, that servant not only erred but also falls into danger of believing that he will never come, because he did not come when the servant said. The second also can err if the Lord comes soon and also appears to give an occasion for negligence.

“The lord will divide him.” Jerome says that this is not to be understood as though he cuts him apart with a sword, but that he separates him from the fellowship of the saints.

Or, according to Origen, he divides him when he takes away from him his spirit--that is, the spiritual gift of power or knowledge bestowed on him--and sends his knowledge with his body into Gehenna.

The same Lord shows how such servants ought to be prepared in different watches, saying to the disciples, as Luke 12 relates: “Watch.” Mark too relates that the Lord said: “Watch, for you do not know when the lord comes: in the evening, at midnight, at cockcrow, or in the morning, lest when he comes suddenly he find you sleeping.”

Jerome says: “One who sleeps attends not to true bodies but to phantasms, and upon waking is empty of the things he had seen. Such indeed are those whom the love of the world carries away during life: they leave behind at death the life they dreamed to be real.”

Theophilus says: “He concealed from us the time of his coming because this was expedient for us. For if we do not take care now when we do not know our end, what would we do if we knew it? We would defer our acts of malice to the very end.”

One departs in the evening when he dies in old age, at midnight when he dies in the middle of youth, and at cockcrow when reason is completed in us. For when a child begins to live according to reason, then the cock cries out in him--the instinct of reason awakening him from the sleep of sensuality. Morning is childhood.

§ XII. The Parable of the Unforgiving Servant

Matthew alone relates the parable of the servant whose lord, when the servant humbled himself, forgave him ten thousand talents, but who afterward refused to grant his fellow servant, who owed him one hundred denarii, a delay in which to pay. The lord, angry against him, demanded the whole debt he had remitted and delivered him to the torturers for this reason.

Here are shown the fullness of divine clemency, the magnitude of fraternal hatred, and the punitude of gratitude [read: the punishment of ingratitude].

First is shown God’s immense clemency in forgiving the sins of penitents. For immediately before this, Peter asked whether he ought to forgive a brother who sinned against him as many as seven times, and Christ answered: “I do not say to you seven times, but as many as seventy-seven times,” that is, all transgressions.

Augustine derives this meaning as follows. The Law is signified by the number ten because it is commended in the Ten Commandments, while sin is signified by eleven because it transgresses ten. Seven signifies universality because time unfolds in seven days. Seven multiplied by eleven--that is, seven times eleven--makes seventy-seven. Therefore Christ wished all sins to be forgiven to one who truly repents.

He introduces the parable for this purpose, saying: “The kingdom of heaven is like a man who was a king and wished to settle accounts with his servants.”

Origen says that just as the Son of God is wisdom, justice, and truth, so he himself is the kingdom--not of any of those who are below, but of all those who are above, in whose senses justice and the other virtues reign. They have been made heavens because they bear the image of the heavenly Christ. Thus this kingdom of heaven, that is, the Son of God, when made in the likeness of sinful flesh, was then made like a man who was a king, joining human beings to himself.

Or, according to Remigius, the Church is called the kingdom of heaven, because in it the Lord works what is described in this parable. This king, therefore, is God, ruling and governing everything he created. By the servants are designated all human beings, whom he created to praise him and to whom he gave the law of nature. He wishes to settle accounts with them when he examines the life, conduct, and acts of each.

Origen says: “At the end of our life an account is to be settled before the king. Nor do we say this so that there should be a suspicion that such a necessary matter might require a long time. For when God wishes to examine the minds of all, by some ineffable power he will quickly cause everything done by all at every time to come into the mind of each individual.”

“And when he began to settle accounts, one was brought to him who owed ten thousand talents.” Augustine says this is because the Law commends obligation in the Ten Commandments: the debt of ten thousand talents is the complete transgression of all the commandments.

“And since he had nothing with which to repay,” a person who sins voluntarily and of his own accord cannot rise again in any way by his own effort. He has nothing from which to repay because he finds nothing within himself by which he may free himself from sins.

“Therefore his lord commanded that he, his wife, his children, and everything he possessed be sold, and payment made.” The sinner’s wife is folly and the pleasure or desire of the flesh. According to Augustine, therefore, through this it is signified that the transgressor of the Decalogue ought to pay penalties because of desire and wicked works, as though through wife and children. This is his price, for the price of the person sold is the punishment of the person condemned.

Chrysostom says that he ordered this not out of cruelty but out of ineffable affection.

For he wishes to frighten him by these threats so that the servant may supplicate and not be sold. This occurred, and therefore it follows: “But that servant, falling down,” and so forth.

Here it should be noted that this king, God, wishes to settle accounts and begins to settle them with his servants in this life, at the future particular judgment in death, and afterward at the universal judgment in the final resurrection.

In the future, indeed, there is no place there for penance or mercy. As Cyprian says: “As the Lord finds you when he calls you,” namely through death, “so also he judges you.” This is in *On Penance*, Distinction 1, canon *Numquid*.

Of those who die impenitent Gratian says that the Psalm’s words are to be understood: “He shall not give God his appeasement, and he shall labor forever for the price of his soul’s redemption.” This is in Cause 13, Question 2, section *Verum*.

In the present, this king now begins to settle accounts with the servant liable for a great debt when, by infusing compunction into the transgressor of all the commandments, he shows him the multitude and gravity of his sins. Because of them, as is clear in the Scriptures, he commands that the sinner be sold together with his wife, his evil will; his children, namely his works; and all his powers, and that payment be made--that is, that at the demand of divine justice he be tormented in Gehenna for his demerits.

Understanding this, the sinner knows that he is justly to be condemned. Yet, trusting in the king’s clemency in this life, this servant falls prostrate upon the earth, humbling himself and recognizing that he is earth and has been given like earth as food to the serpent. He does not excuse himself concerning his demerit, but asks that mercy be shown him, promising with a purpose for the future that he will make satisfaction.

Hence he says: “Have patience with me,” namely by waiting, “and I shall repay you everything,” namely by making satisfaction. According to Anselm, to make satisfaction is to repay the honor owed to God which one took away by sinning, namely by withdrawing through evil living the time in which he ought continually to have served God. By afterward doing works of satisfaction to which he was not otherwise bound, he compensates, as it were, for what was taken away.

Jerome says: “Whoever you are who are conscious of some error, for as long as you know that you erred, for as long as you sinned, humble yourself for no less time and make satisfaction to him in the confession of penance. For if you amend yourself, if you correct yourself, the Lord is kind and merciful, and he tempers vengeance for one who anticipates it by repenting.” This is in *On Penance*, Distinction 1.

Hence Augustine says: “Great is God’s mercy, that he forgives sins upon the promise alone,” that is, upon the purpose of confessing and making satisfaction. This is in *On Penance*, Distinction 1.

Remigius says that God's kindness and clemency toward converted sinners are generous, because he is always ready to forgive sins through baptism or penance. Hence it follows: "But his lord, taking pity on him, released him and forgave him the debt."

Chrysostom says: "See the superabundance of divine love. The servant asks only for a delay of time, but the king gave him more than he asks: his release and the remission of the entire loan." The king did not forgive the debt before the servant rendered an account because he wished to teach him from how great a debt he was freed, so that at least in this way he might become gentler toward his fellow servants. But what he afterward did was unworthy of what had gone before.

For it follows: "That servant went out." Chrysostom says that by the word "went out" it is shown that not much time passed, but immediately, while the benefit was still in his ears, he wickedly abused the liberation to what had not been given to him.

"For he found one of his fellow servants who owed him one hundred denarii." Augustine says that sin is found in each debt: in the one liable for ten thousand talents and in the one obligated for ten denarii [read: one hundred denarii]. For the denarius is the number of the Law, and ten times ten times one hundred makes ten thousand. Therefore each is a debtor and each a petitioner for pardon. For every human being is both a debtor to God and has his neighbor as a debtor.

Chrysostom says: "The difference between sins committed against a human being and sins committed against God is as great as the difference between ten denarii [read: one hundred denarii] and ten thousand talents--indeed, also much less, which is evident from the difference between the persons and from the fewness of those sinning. For when a human being sees us, we cease and are reluctant to sin; but although God sees us, we do not cease on any day, but do and speak everything without fear.

"Sins against God appear graver not only from this, but also from the benefit we have obtained from him. For he caused us to exist and worked all things for our sake. He breathed a rational soul into us, sent his Son, opened heaven to us, and made us his sons. Therefore, even if we died for him every day, would we repay him anything worthy? By no means; indeed, this too would again conduce to our benefit. But we, on the contrary, transgress his laws."

Thus, according to Remigius, the debtor of ten thousand talents signifies one who commits greater sins against God, while the debtor of one hundred denarii signifies one who commits lesser sins against his neighbor.

But that ungrateful servant, Augustine says, was unwilling to show to the other what had been shown to him, though unworthy. For it follows: "And seizing him, he choked him, saying: Repay what you owe." Remigius explains: that is, he pressed him more harshly, so as to exact vengeance from him.

Origen says: "I think he choked him because he had departed from the king. For he would not have choked his fellow servant if he had not departed from the king."

"And his fellow servant, falling down, begged him, saying: Have patience with me, and I shall repay you everything." Augustine says: "What is owed, even if it is kindly forgiven, is nevertheless not unjustly demanded. But one who exacts the debt beyond measure sins," as this servant did when he inflicted violence upon one who was then unable to pay. This is in Cause 14, Question 1.

"But he would not," that is, he persisted against him. He maintained the intention that the other should suffer punishments. "But he went and cast him into prison": that is, according to Remigius, he burned with great anger so that he might exact vengeance from the one from whom he had received an injury, which is the debt of ten denarii [read: one hundred denarii].

"Until he should repay the debt": that is, according to Remigius, once his brother had been seized, he exacted vengeance from him for the injury.

Chrysostom says: "See the Lord's charity and the servant's cruelty. Here the servant receives total release from the Lord; there his fellow servant asked only for delay from a servant, yet he did not grant even this."

It follows: "But his fellow servants, seeing what was done, were exceedingly grieved." Augustine understands the Church by the fellow servants, for it looses and binds him.

Or, according to Remigius, perhaps the angels, the preachers of the Church, or any believers are to be understood by the fellow servants. When they see that some brother who has obtained remission of sins is unwilling to have mercy on his fellow servant, they are grieved at his perdition.

"And they came and told their lord." According to Remigius, to tell this to their lord is to show the sorrows and contrition in their affection.

"Then his lord called him," namely through the sentence of death, commanded him to depart from this world, and said to him: "Wicked servant, I forgave you all the debt," and so forth.

Chrysostom says: "When he owed his lord ten thousand talents, the lord did not call him wicked or revile him, but had pity. But when he became ungrateful toward his fellow servant, then he calls him wicked."

"Should you not also have had mercy on your fellow servant, just as I had mercy on you?"

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Two (continued)

Augustine says: “Forgive, and it shall be forgiven you. I forgave first; forgive at least afterward. For if you do not forgive, I shall recall you and lay again upon you whatever I had forgiven.” This is in *On Penance*, Distinction 4.

Here it should also be noted that the servant gave no answer, because immediately after this life the argument of excuse will cease. Since he was not made better by the benefit, it remains that he be corrected by punishment.

“And being angry, he delivered him to the torturers.” It was not said that he was angry when he ordered him to be sold, because that was not an act of anger but rather of love directed toward correction. Now, however, it is a sentence of torment and punishment.

The torturers are said to be demons, because they are always prepared to receive lost souls and torture them in the punishment of eternal damnation.

“Until he should repay the whole debt”: Remigius says that the finite is placed for the infinite, and the meaning is that he will always pay and never finish paying; therefore, he will always suffer punishment.

Christ concludes: “So also shall my heavenly Father do to you,” namely just as this servant’s lord did to him.

Hence Augustine says: “One who, forgetful of the divine benefit, wishes to avenge his own injuries will not only fail to merit pardon for future sins, but the sins he rejoiced had been forgiven him will be imputed to him for punishment.” This is in *On Penance*, Distinction 4.

Gregory likewise says in that distinction: “It is clear from the Gospel sayings that if we do not forgive from the heart what is committed against us, then what we rejoiced had been forgiven us through penance is required from us again.” Hence Christ says: “Unless each one of you forgives his brother from your hearts.”

According to Peter, three things commonly arise from an injury inflicted upon someone. The first is rancor in the heart, that is, hatred, and this must be forgiven immediately--that is, it must never be held.

The second is a sign of rancor, such as avoidance of speech, greeting, and the like. This must be remitted especially when the one who inflicted the injury seeks pardon.

The third is prosecution of the injuries, and one is not bound to abandon this unless due satisfaction has been made.

From this parable a question is raised by the theologians in Book Four, Distinction 22, and by the canonists throughout *On Penance*, Distinction 4: whether sins forgiven through penance return to the soul through a subsequent mortal sin. Many opinions are set out both in the text and in the Gloss.

But blessed Thomas answers more perfectly on Book Four at the stated distinction and determines simply that they return neither as regards guilt nor as regards punishment, but as regards a certain effect of ingratitude. Through that ingratitude for the pardon already received for sins, the subsequent sin is graver and must be punished with a more severe penalty than if that circumstance of ingratitude were absent. According to this effect, sins are said to return in the cited canons.

§ XIII. Christ Shows the Magnitude of His Mercy toward Penitent Sinners by Examples in Both Sexes

He shows this not only through parables, but through examples. First he shows it in the sinful woman, of whom Luke alone says: “A certain Pharisee asked Jesus to eat with him.”

First it should be noted that the Apostle says: “God, though rich in his mercy, became poor for our sake, so that he might enrich us by his poverty.” For although he was Lord of all, the Son of Man had nowhere to lay his head: neither house nor field, but he retained for his own necessities and those of his companions the few alms offered to him.

Hence, when invited by this Pharisee, he came as a poor man to the meal, not unaware that the sinful woman would come and offer him a better banquet of penance. “And entering the Pharisee’s house, he reclined at table.”

Gregory of Nyssa says: “Luke, more a physician of souls than of bodies, shows God himself and our most merciful Savior visiting others, not so that he may obtain something from their riches, but so that he may impart of his own justice.”

Below it is said that he went about, traveling from place to place. Hence Gregory Nazianzen says: “He goes from place to place not only to gain more people, but also to dedicate many places. He sleeps and labors so that he may sanctify sleep and labor. He weeps so that he may give value to tears. He preaches heavenly things so that he may exalt his hearers.”

“And behold, a woman who was a sinner in the city.” Cyril says: “A woman of a dishonorable life, displaying nevertheless a faithful affection, comes to Christ as though asking that pardon for what she had committed be generously granted.”

A Greek author says: “The four evangelists say that Christ was anointed with ointment by a woman. I think that there were three women, because of the character of the persons, their manner of acting, and the difference in times. John relates of Mary, Lazarus’s sister, that six days before Passover she anointed Jesus’s feet in her own home. But Matthew, after saying, ‘You know that after two days the Passover will occur,’ adds that in Bethany, in the house of Simon the leper, a woman poured ointment over the Lord’s head; she did not anoint his feet as Mary did. Mark speaks similarly to Matthew. Luke, however, relates this not near the time of the Passion, but in the middle of his Gospel.”

Chrysostom asserts that there were two such women: one contained in John, and the other presented by the other three evangelists.

Ambrose leaves it doubtful, saying that the woman who anointed the feet may not be the same as the one who afterward anointed the head, lest the evangelists appear to have contradicted one another. It can also be resolved through a difference in merit and time: then she was still a sinner, but later she was more perfect.

Augustine, in *On the Harmony of the Evangelists*, says: “I think it must be understood that the same Mary did this twice. Once was what Luke related, when on first approaching with humility and tears she merited remission of sins. Hence John too, when he began to speak of Lazarus being raised, said: ‘Mary was the one who had anointed the Lord with ointment and wiped his feet with her hair, whose brother Lazarus was sick.’ But what she did again in Bethany, near the time of the Passion, is something else that does not pertain to Luke’s narrative, but is related by the other three.”

Gregory, in a homily, supposes that she was the same woman and one Mary, namely Mary Magdalene: first the sinner of whom Luke speaks here, then converted and perfectly anointing Christ’s head and feet in Bethany, and the one to whom, according to Luke, Mark, and John, he first appeared after rising.

Hence Luke himself, immediately after the account of this event--the conversion of the sinful woman who washed Jesus’s feet with her tears--states that as Jesus traveled to preach, several women followed him, among whom was Mary Magdalene, from whom seven demons had gone out. Mark too writes this in his final chapter.

Bede says on Luke that this Magdalene is the same sinful woman whose penance Luke had related immediately before. Gregory says in a homily that Mary had possessed seven demons because she was full of every vice, for the number seven signifies universality.

Thomas, in his postil on John, says that Jerome, Chrysostom, and Origen hold that this sinful woman of whom Luke speaks here was not Mary Magdalene, Lazarus’s sister, who afterward anointed Jesus’s feet with ointment in Bethany, but another woman whose name is not given. Gregory, Augustine, and Bede say she was one and the same person: the sinful woman Mary Magdalene, Lazarus’s sister, who anointed his feet now and again in Bethany. Ambrose reports both opinions and prefers neither. Nevertheless, the common opinion is the one just stated of Gregory, Augustine, and Bede, and Thomas appears to incline to it in the stated postil, chapter 12.

“Who was a sinner in the city.” Here a question arises: on the supposition that this woman was Mary Magdalene, Lazarus’s sister, was she a public prostitute? It appears so, both because prostitutes are commonly called sinful women and because certain holy doctors say this.

Chrysostom says: “The prostitute was made more honorable than virgins. For after she was inflamed by penance, she burned with love of Christ.” Pope Leo says: “When this woman went out from the brothel, the disciple,” namely Judas, “entered Gehenna.”

Others have thought that she was a virgin in body, although not in mind, according to John Damascene, and that Christ cast seven demons from her--that is, one capital vice together with the other six: lust as regards thought. Through assent to this thought she was ruled by it, but not through the deed.

A middle way appears more reasonable: she was neither a public prostitute nor a virgin in body, but was dishonorable in mind and body within her own house, as happens among many noble and wealthy women.

That she was a public prostitute does not appear likely: both because she was the wealthy lady of the castle of Magdala, and because it was expressly contrary to the law of Moses, where it is commanded: “There shall be no prostitute among the daughters of Israel,” of which people she was a member. Moreover, she had Lazarus, a most noble citizen, as her own brother and Martha as her honorable sister. They would never have endured such great infamy in their own city, Jerusalem.

In answer to the position of the doctors who call her a prostitute, it can be said that they speak by exaggeration. It is also often said of a dishonorable woman that she is a prostitute, even if she does not dwell in a public place.

Properly speaking, however, “sinful woman” does not signify this. It is a verbal noun conveying a habit or frequency of sin. Just as a male is called a sinner not only when lustful, but when entangled in other vices, so a woman devoted to various vices is called a sinful woman.

That she was a virgin in body does not appear likely either. Hence it is said of her in the hymn: “Mary, sister of Lazarus, who committed so many crimes,” and afterward: “After the scandals of wanton flesh, from a cauldron she is made a daughter [read: chalice],” and so forth.

Nor in her offices is the versicle said that is used of virgins--“Virgins shall be brought to the king after her”--but in its place: “Her many sins are forgiven.” Nevertheless, none of these matters has been determined by the Church.

“When she knew that Jesus had reclined at table in the Pharisee’s house.” Although the Gospel does not state how Mary was induced to penance, it can piously be believed that it was from hearing Christ’s preaching. For when a very great multitude from every class of people, even young people, gathered for his sermons, Mary--who was beautiful, vain, and curious, desiring to be seen and loved by worldly people--went to places where people gathered so that she might be seen.

Therefore, when she went to hear Christ preach, Jesus saw her and, foreknowing her future conversion, began to speak against the vanities of the world and about the punishments that would follow. Mary was thereby moved to compunction, and when the sermon ended and she heard where he was going to dine, she brought an alabaster vessel of ointment.

Bede says: “Alabaster is a kind of white marble interspersed with various colors, which is customarily suitable for ointment vessels because it is said to preserve ointments very well.” Supply: she entered the house where Jesus was.

Gregory says: “Because this woman saw the stains of her shame, she ran to wash them at the fountain of mercy. She was not ashamed of the guests, for because she was gravely ashamed of herself within, she believed there was nothing that should shame her without. Learn with what grief she burned, since she was not ashamed to weep amid a feast.”

“And standing behind him beside his feet.” Gregory of Nyssa says: “Showing her unworthiness, she stood behind his back and before him with downcast eyes and loosened hair, embracing his feet and pouring tears over them. Through these things she showed her sorrowful soul while imploring pardon.”

“She began to water his feet with tears and wiped them with her hair; she kissed his feet and anointed them with ointment.” Gregory says in a homily: “As many delights as she had possessed in herself, so many holocausts she found from herself. She converted the number of her crimes into the number of virtues, so that everything in her by which she had despised God in sin might now serve him anew in penance.

“She had desired earthly things with her eyes and gazed vainly, but now, wearing them down through penance, she wept. She had displayed her hair for the adornment of her face, but now she wiped away tears with that hair. She had spoken proud and perhaps shameful things with her mouth, but now, kissing the Lord’s feet, she fixed it upon the footprints of her Redeemer. She had employed ointment for herself for the shameful fragrance of the flesh, but now she offered it laudably to God.”

The Pharisee, seeing these things, despises not only the sinful woman coming to the Lord, but also rebukes the Lord who receives her. Hence it follows: “But the Pharisee who had invited him, seeing this, said within himself: If this man were a prophet, he would surely know who and what sort of woman is touching him, for she is a sinner.”

Gregory says: “Behold, the Pharisee, truly proud within himself and falsely just, rebukes the sick woman for her sickness and the physician for giving assistance. If that woman had come to the Pharisee’s feet, she would assuredly have departed driven away with kicks. For he would have believed himself defiled by another’s sin, because true justice did not fill his own footsteps.

“Thus too certain men placed in priestly office, if perhaps they have acted justly in exterior things or in small matters, despise their neighbors and subjects and disdain whatever sinners are placed among the people. It is necessary, however, that when we behold any sinners, he will not permit them. First let us mourn ourselves in their calamity, because perhaps we have either fallen into similar things or can fall.”

The physician Christ therefore stood among two sick people, namely Mary and Simon. One was held by a fever in his senses; the other had lost the sense of his mind.

The Lord, Titus says, heard not his words but beheld his thoughts, and showed himself the Lord of the prophets. Hence it follows: “And Jesus, answering”--namely Simon’s thought--“said: Simon, I have something to say to you.” Made more attentive by these words, Simon says: “Master, speak.”

But Jesus proposes an illustration concerning two debtors, saying: “Two debtors owed a certain moneylender,” and so forth. Titus says, as though Christ said: Neither are you without debt. Why, therefore, do you grow proud even if you are held for fewer things? For you too need pardon.

Hence he adds concerning pardon: “When they had nothing with which to repay, he forgave them both.” The Gloss says: “No one can be freed from the debt of sin unless he obtains divine grace.”

He is then asked which one loves the giver who forgave the debt more: the one to whom five hundred were forgiven, or the one to whom fifty were forgiven. The Pharisee at once replies: “I suppose that it is the one to whom he forgave more.” Here it should be noted that while the Pharisee is convicted by his own sentence, he is like a madman carrying the rope by which he is bound.

But Jesus says: “You have judged rightly.” Turning toward the woman, he said: “Do you see this woman?” and so forth. The good deeds of the sinful woman, which she had performed toward him from love, and the evil deeds of the falsely just man, which he had committed from neglect, are enumerated.

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Two (continued)

“I entered your house,” and so forth. Titus says, as though Christ said: The use of water is easy, but the outpouring of tears is not easy. You did not use what was readily available, while she poured out what was not readily available, washing my feet with tears.

Chrysostom says: “Just as serenity comes when a violent storm has broken forth, so when tears have been poured out, tranquility appears and the darkness of guilt passes away. And just as through water and the Spirit, so through tears and confession we are made new again.”

Hence it follows: “Her many sins are forgiven, because she loved much.” Gregory says: “The rust of sin is consumed all the more, the more the sinner’s heart burns in the great fire of charity.”

Titus says: “It happens more often that one who has sinned greatly is purified through confession, while one who sins little does not come to the remedy of confession because of arrogance.”

“But one to whom less is forgiven loves less.” Chrysostom says: “Therefore we need a fervent soul, because nothing prevents a person from becoming great. Let no one among the fallen despair, therefore, and let no virtuous person sleep or trust in what he has, for often a prostitute precedes him.”

Hence it follows: “But he said to her: Your sins are forgiven you.” Behold, the sick woman who had come to the physician has been healed. Yet others are still sick because of her salvation. Hence it follows: “And those who reclined at table with him began to say within themselves: Who is this who even forgives sins?”

Gregory says: “But the heavenly physician pays no regard to the sick people whom he saw becoming even worse because of the medicine. He confirms the woman he had healed by a sentence of his kindness, saying: ‘Your faith has saved you.’” Gregory adds: because she did not doubt that she could receive what she sought.

Theophilus says that the one through whom Christ forgave sins does not stop at the remission of sin, but adds the performance of good. Hence it follows: “Go in peace,” that is, in justice. For justice is the peace of the human being with God, just as sin is enmity between the human being and God. It is as though he said: Perform everything that leads you toward peace.

Mystically, this woman signifies the Gentile world devoted to every vice. When it heard that Christ had reclined through the Incarnation in the house of Simon the leper, that is, among the Jewish people, it was converted through preaching and approached the Lord Jesus through faith: weeping for its sins, anointing him through devotion, and venerating the feet, that is, Christ’s humanity. On a second occasion it also anointed the head, that is, adored his divinity, now better taught and advancing in virtue.

But the Pharisee, that is, the Jewish people, murmurs at such a conversion and reception. Christ, however, shows that after its conversion the Gentile people displayed greater signs of love toward him than did the Jewish people, and therefore its sins were forgiven. The comparison introduced concerning the two debtors pertains to this.

For the Jewish people was a debtor to God, who is called a moneylender because he wishes the goods bestowed upon us as though by a loan to be repaid to him by our acknowledging that they come from him, using them for his honor, and multiplying merits.

The Jewish people was a debtor for fifty, which is the number of the Jubilee, in which there occurred remission of debts, liberation from servitude, and rest from cultivating the land. Even as regards its elect, that people was a debtor to God through the debt of original sin, its nature not yet purified; through the debt of servitude to the devil; and through the debt of eternal rest, which it could not possess although it was created for it. All these things were forgiven it by Christ through his Passion, as regards those converted to the faith, or virtually.

The Gentile people was a debtor for five hundred, a number resulting from fifty multiplied by ten, because it was liable to God not only through original sin, served the devil, and was estranged from the rest of heavenly beatitude, but was also a debtor through actual sins committed against the Ten Commandments.

Each people was forgiven as regards the elect. But where transgression abounded, says the Apostle, there the grace of remission will also abound [read: also abounded], devotion, and love, namely among the converted Gentile people.

A notable example of his mercy also appears in the adulterous woman, to whom he said: "Neither do I condemn you. Go, and now sin no more."

It must nevertheless be observed that Christ possessed absolute power over even the greatest criminals in both forums. Hence he could simply remit the penalty of death owed for adultery in the contentious forum without imposing another punishment, and in the penitential forum could forgive guilt and punishment without any confession or satisfaction, because he possessed the power of excellence in the sacraments.

It must nevertheless be believed that he then infused such great contrition into the adulterous woman that it sufficed for the destruction of all guilt and punishment, just as he had done for Magdalene.

Therefore, since human beings do not possess such absolute power either in the forum of causes or in the forum of souls, a judge could not and ought not absolve the guilty person without imposing some punishment, whether in the contentious forum or the penitential forum. For, as Ambrose says, "A good judge pronounces according to the laws and rights." This is in Cause 3, Question 7, canon *Iudicet*.

§ XIV. His Immense Clemency Is Also Manifested toward Sinful Men

This appears not only in Peter when he denied Christ and in all the apostles when they withdrew from faith in his divinity at the time of the Passion, but also in Zacchaeus, who was a chief of the publicans.

For Luke relates: "When Jesus was walking through Jericho." Jericho is interpreted as "moon" and signifies the world, full of changes like the moon. Jesus's walking through it is his Incarnation. There, just as the blind man was illuminated, so Zacchaeus was separated from an immoderate affection for earthly things, because through Christ's Incarnation the world--which had been blind, darkened by many errors, and wholly devoted to the love of earthly things--was illuminated and freed from desires by God's grace and teaching.

It follows: "Behold, a man named Zacchaeus." His name is expressed so that the account may be understood as true history and not a parable.

"A chief of the publicans." Cyril says: "A publican is a greedy man, unrestrained toward another's *supnum*, a lover, for this is the publicans' office." Or "publican" means a public sinner. He was chief of such people, as though worse than the others.

Who, therefore, should despair of himself when this man comes to Christ--a man whose wealth, Alcuin says, arose from fraud, although he nevertheless made restitution for that fraud, as is clear below?

"And he was rich," so that you may understand that all rich people are commonly avaricious. Jerome says: "Every rich person is either unjust or heir to an unjust person."

"And he sought to see who Jesus was." Titus says: "The seed of salvation had sprouted in him because he desired to see Jesus. Since he had not yet seen him, when he had seen him he departed, as it were, from the madness of the publican. For one who sees Jesus cannot persist in wicked deeds."

"And he could not because of the crowd, since he was small in stature." Titus says that there were two impediments to this vision. The people hindered him--not so much a crowd of men as one of sins--and he was small in stature.

Ambrose explains him as small in malice, that is, through a defect of the goodness which is greatness of soul; or small in faith.

"And running ahead, he climbed a sycamore tree so that he might see him." Cyril says: "The crowd is the confusion of an unskilled multitude, which cannot see the summit of wisdom. Therefore, as long as Zacchaeus is in the crowd he does not see Christ; but when he has passed beyond the people he merits the justice he desired to behold in the sycamore tree."

Bede says: "The sycamore is a tree like the mulberry in its leaves, but surpassing it in height, whence it is called *celsa* by the Latins. It is called the foolish fig tree and signifies the cross. For the Lord's cross nourishes believers like a fig tree, but is mocked as foolish by unbelievers. Zacchaeus, small in stature, climbs this tree so that he may be exalted together with it, when each humble person, conscious of his own weakness, cries: 'Far be it from me to glory except in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ.'"

“Because Jesus was to pass that way.” Ambrose says: “The evangelist beautifully adds that Jesus was to pass that way--either where the sycamore stood, or where Zacchaeus would believe--so that he might preserve the mystery and sow grace. For he had come in such a way that he would pass from the Jews to the Gentiles.”

“And when he came to the place, Jesus looked up and saw him.” Cyril says: “He saw the man’s soul striving most readily toward holy living and converted him to rest.”

Bede says: “The Lord walking through the city comes to the place where Zacchaeus had climbed the sycamore, because, when preachers in whom he himself both spoke and journeyed had been sent throughout the world, he came to the people of the nations, who were already exalted by faith in his Passion. Looking up, he saw them because he chose them through grace.”

Or, according to Ambrose, Zacchaeus is above the tree because he is above the Law.

“And Jesus said to him.” Ambrose says: “He takes him and, though not himself invited, invites himself. For he knew that his host’s reward would be abundant. Although he had not heard the voice of one inviting him, he had nevertheless heard his affection.”

Therefore he said: “Zacchaeus, make haste and come down, because today I must remain in your house.” Titus says: “He desired only to see him, but the one who knows how to do more than we ask gave him beyond what he expected, namely that he should receive him in his house.”

Bede says: “Behold, the camel, having laid aside the burden of its hump, passed through the eye of the needle. That is, the rich man and publican, abandoning the love of riches and despising the wealth of this age, received the blessing of the Lord’s reception.”

Hence it follows: “And he made haste and came down.” Bede says: “He who is ordered to come down from the sycamore and thus prepare a dwelling in his house--this is what the Apostle says: ‘Even if we have known Christ according to the flesh, yet now we know him no longer.’ And: ‘Although he was crucified through weakness, yet he lives by the power of God.’”

“And he received him rejoicing.” Chrysostom says: “Consider the Savior’s exceeding goodness. The innocent one associates with the guilty; the fountain of justice with avarice, which is the material of wickedness. Entering the publican’s house, he suffers no injury from the cloud of avarice, but by the brilliance of justice destroys avarice.”

But biting accusers and lovers of recrimination attempt to inveigh against the things he did. For it follows: “And when all saw it, they murmured, saying that he had turned aside to a sinful man.”

Chrysostom says: “Although accused as a glutton and friend of publicans, he scorned it in order to complete his purpose. For even a physician, unless he endures the pus of the sick, does not free them from disease.” This also occurred then, because the publican was converted and made better.

For it follows: “Zacchaeus stood and said to Jesus.” Chrysostom says: “Hear a wonder: he has not yet learned, and he obeys. Just as the sun, pouring its rays into a house, illuminates not by word but by deed, so the Savior, by the rays of justice, drove away the darkness of wickedness.”

“Behold,” he says, “I give half of my goods to the poor.” Chrysostom says that it must be considered more carefully that Zacchaeus’s wealth was not only unjust, acquired through frauds and robberies, but had also been gathered in part from his patrimony. Otherwise, how could he restore fourfold what had been unjustly extorted? He knew the Law commanding fourfold restitution.

Therefore he adds: “If I have defrauded anyone, I restore fourfold.” Augustine says: “Whatever anyone has taken against the right of human fellowship by thefts, robberies, calumnies, oppressions, or invasions, we judge ought to be restored rather than given away, according to the example of Zacchaeus the publican.” This is in Cause 14, Question 5, canon *Non sane*.

That he restored to those defrauded what he had defrauded was required by the debt of justice; that he restored it fourfold was supererogation; that he gave half of his goods to the poor was perfection. Once what had been wrongly taken was restored, he distributed to the poor what remained there.

According to Theophilus, it should be noted that he does not say, “I shall give” and “I shall restore,” promising to do so in the future, but “I give half” and “I restore fourfold,” doing so in the present. This is against those who resolve and do not act.

“And Jesus answered him: Today salvation has been made for this house.” By this he signified that Zacchaeus himself attained salvation through the good inhabitant.

“Because he too is a son of Abraham.” Bede says: “He is called a son of Abraham not because he was born from Abraham’s stock, but because he imitated his faith. Just as Abraham left his paternal land and household, so Zacchaeus left his goods to be divided among the poor.”

He beautifully says “he too,” so that he might show that not only those who had lived justly, but also those who recover their senses after injustice, belong to the children of promise.

“For the Son of Man came to seek and save what had perished.” Since some murmured because he stayed with a sinful man, he said this to restrain them: “The Son of Man came,” and so forth. According to Chrysostom, it is as though he said: “Why do you accuse me if I set sinners right? So far am I from hatred of sinners that I came for their sake. For I came as a physician, not as a judge. For this reason I endure the reproaches of the sick and their stench, so that I may offer remedies.”

Someone asks here how Paul commands that if a brother is insolent, avaricious, or the like, one should not even take food with such people, while Christ was a table companion of publicans. The answer is that by then these publicans had advanced so as to become brothers. Yet the Apostle commanded avoidance of brothers only while they persisted in evil; these men, however, had already changed. This is Chrysostom’s explanation.

Mystically, Bede says, Zacchaeus--whose name is interpreted “justified”--signifies the believing people from the Gentiles, depressed and made small through preoccupation with temporal things, but sanctified by the Lord. When the Lord entered Jericho, they wished to see the Savior, seeking to participate in the faith he brought to the world.

§ XV. “Let Your Loins Be Girded and Your Lamps Burning”

Theophilus says: “Loins,” that is, always ready to perform the works of our Lord. “Burning lamps,” that is, do not lead your life in darkness. But let the light of reason be with us, showing us the things to be done and avoided.

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Two (continued)

For the world is night. Those who carry out practical activity have their loins girded, for such is the habit of ministers, who must also possess burning lamps, that is, the gift of discretion. Thus the practical person may know not only what he ought to do, but also how; otherwise, people are on a precipice.

Theophilus speaks of lamps in the plural: “Let us have two burning lamps: the conception of the mind continually shining in the soul, by which we are illuminated, and the teaching by which we illuminate others.”

Or, according to Gregory, we gird our loins when we restrain the flesh from lust. For lust is in the loins of men, since seed descends from there. We have lamps in our hands when we show shining examples in our works.

Or, according to Augustine, he teaches us to gird our loins through continence from the love of earthly things, and to have burning lamps so that we may do this itself for a true end and with right intention. But if both these things are done, it remains that we place our whole hope in the Redeemer’s coming.

Hence it follows: “And you, be like men waiting for their lord when he returns from the wedding.” The Lord went to the wedding because, ascending into heaven as a new man, he joined to himself the heavenly multitude of angels.

Theophilus says: “The Lord also daily administers in heaven the souls of the saints, whom Paul or another like him offers to him as a chaste virgin.” He returns from the wedding celebrated in heaven, perhaps universally at the consummation of the entire Church when he will come from heaven in the Father’s glory, or perhaps at individual hours as he stands by the unexpected consummation of each person.

“So that when he comes and knocks,” and so forth. Gregory says: “The Lord comes when he hastens to judgment; he knocks when through sickness he now announces that death is near. We open to him at once when we receive him with love. For one who fears to depart from the body does not wish to open to the judge when he knocks and dreads seeing as his judge the one whom he despised. One opens at once when, having recognized the time of approaching death, he grows cheerful from hope, based on good deeds performed, concerning the glory of recompense.”

“Blessed are those servants whom, when the Lord comes, he finds watching.” Gregory says: “One watches who keeps the eyes of the mind open to the sight of the true light, who preserves in action what he believes, and who repels from himself the darkness of torpor and negligence.”

“Amen I say to you, that he shall gird himself.” Origen says: “For justice shall be a girdle around his loins according to Isaiah, through which he girds himself,” that is, prepares himself for recompense.

Or, according to Theophilus, he girds himself because he does not lavish the entire abundance of good things, but restrains it according to a certain measure. For who can contain God in all his greatness? Hence even the seraphim are said to be veiled because of his excellence.

“And he shall make them recline,” that is, rest completely. Just as the whole body rests when one reclines, so in future glory the entire blessed person will at last rest in body and soul. He shall make those wearied recline, refreshing them and setting spiritual delights before them.

“And passing, he shall minister to them,” that is, granting an equal life to them, so that just as they ministered to him, he ministers to them.

According to Gregory, he is called “passing” when he returns from judgment to the kingdom. Or the Lord passes when he lifts us from the form of his humanity to contemplation of his divinity.

According to Gregory, the first watch is childhood, the second youth, and the third old age, and so forth.

§ XVI. The Rich Banqueter and Lazarus the Beggar

According to Bede, this is not merely a parable, that is, a similitude, but an example of something that happened; and according to Ambrose it is the account of a true history, because a proper name is expressed. Nevertheless, it is also called a parable or similitude so that others may be admonished by it.

For, as Cyril relates from a tradition of the Jews, there was at that time in Jerusalem a certain Lazarus oppressed by extreme want and sickness. Christ remembered him, introducing him as an example for the greater manifestation of his discourse.

From this it is openly intimated that by God’s wondrous providence the good are oppressed and afflicted in many ways in this age while the wicked prosper, but in the other age the wicked are tormented in hell and the good remain in the rest of felicity.

Hence he says: “There was a certain rich man.” Because in the present the wicked are preeminent over the good in lordship, the life of the wicked rich man is therefore set out first.

He is called a “man” insofar as the word is derived from *humus*, earth--not insofar as he is a rational animal, for with his whole affection he was devoted to earthly desires and did not use reason.

He is called “a certain” man, and his proper name is not expressed, so that he may be tormented in that in which he sinned. For he was among the number of those who, according to the Psalm, “called their names upon their own lands”; therefore, after the passage of this life he loses his name.

His name is also passed over as though Christ did not know him, because Christ is said not to know sinners, that is, not to approve their deeds. Christ also passes over his name, although he knew it, so as not to scandalize his hearers. For, as John Damascene relates, this rich man is said to have been a blood relative of Zechariah, the father of the Baptist, and known to many.

“He was rich.” He is not rich now, but poor, blind, and naked. He “was” rich because all those things have passed away like a shadow.

Ambrose says: “Riches are not criminal in themselves, but luxury brings riches into disgrace.” Jerome says: “Every rich person is either unjust or avaricious.” According to Augustine, the worm of the rich is pride.

For avarice consists not only in acquiring unlawfully, but also in retaining tenaciously and not helping the poor when one ought, as this banqueter did. In addition, it consists in the order of loving: in establishing one’s final end in riches, according to Thomas in the *Summa*.

“Who was clothed in purple and fine linen.” Behold the boastfulness of pride. According to Bede, purple is the color of royal dress, produced from sea-shells cut around with iron, while fine linen is a kind of very white and very soft flax.

Gregory says: “If the cultivation of subtle and costly clothing were not a fault, divine speech would by no means express this so vigilantly, placing it as a cause of his condemnation. For no one seeks costly clothing except for vainglory.” The Gloss of Thomas adds: costly clothing means clothing exceeding the quality of one’s station.

“And he feasted splendidly every day.” The feasts denote superfluity; “every day,” continuity; “splendidly,” sumptuous solicitude.

Chrysostom says: “He covered ash and dust with purple. And what garments, what banquets, for a body to be gnawed by worms!” Gregory says: “It must be considered carefully that banquets can scarcely be celebrated without fault, for pleasure almost always accompanies feasts.”

Jerome says: “The belly and the genitals are neighboring members, so that from the nearness of the members the alliance of the vices may be understood.” This is in Distinction 44, section 1.

Next Lazarus’s condition is set out, and therefore it follows: “There was a certain beggar.” His begging and all his misery have passed away; he is not poor now, but exceedingly rich.

“Named Lazarus.” His name is given because such people are known to God, that is, approved and pleasing in their works, because they are supported by God’s grace. Thus Lazarus is interpreted “one aided,” namely aided by God’s grace.

“Full of sores,” so that his merit might increase further. He had not only beggary, which is extreme poverty seeking alms--whence *mendicus*, beggar, means one who speaks with his hand--but also a grave illness. Because he was full of sores, he had not one but many, so much so that he lay helpless.

Despised by all, he found no house or hospice to receive him, but lay in the street. “For he lay before the rich man’s gate.”

It is remarkable that this proud and avaricious rich man allowed him to remain before his house and did not drive him away. But this is believed to have been done wholly by divine dispensation, both so that the crown of patience might thereby be prepared for the poor man, who daily saw that wicked man prosper so greatly while he himself, free from those crimes, was held in such calamity--and hence could be tempted--and so that judgment of damnation might be prepared for the rich man, since, seeing such want every day, he did not assist even in the smallest things.

For, as it follows, “the beggar desired to be filled,” not with meats and costly things, but “with the crumbs that fell from the rich man’s table.” Amid so many wounds he does not recall the pains of his sores, but hunger, as though he said to him: Give me as alms what you throw away from the table; make loss into gain. “But no one gave to him.”

For the cruel master also had cruel servants. Thus Chrysostom says: “The rich are so forgetful of the human condition that, as though they were above nature, they take from the miseries of the poor incitements to their own desires. They laugh at the needy, insult the indigent, and take from those whom they ought to pity.”

Yet God does not desert his own even when afflicted. Hence it follows: “The dogs came and licked his sores.” Chrysostom says: “The wounds which no human being deigned to wash and touch, savage beasts lick.”

Next the departure of each is set out. The Lord says: “And it came to pass that the beggar died.” It came to pass, namely by divine dispensation working so that a reward might be rendered to the needy man.

“That the beggar died.” Lazarus did not die, but the beggar did--his poverty and misery. He himself, as regards the soul, lives forever and in rest. Hence it follows: “And he was carried by the angels.”

Chrysostom says: “Such punishment is suddenly exchanged for delights. He is carried after so many labors because he had failed, lest he should labor even by walking.” But this carrying is not bodily support, since neither a soul nor an angel is corporeal, but joyful companionship and defense from the devil’s snares.

Chrysostom says: “One angel would have sufficed to carry the poor man. But several come so that they may make a choir of rejoicing. Each angel rejoices to touch such a burden. Gladly are they burdened with such loads, so that they may lead human beings to the kingdoms of heaven.”

“Into Abraham’s bosom.” Chrysostom says: “He is carried into Abraham’s bosom so that Abraham may caress and refresh him.” Abraham’s bosom is now paradise, Chrysostom says.

For in the Old Testament Abraham’s bosom was the limbo of the fathers. It is so called because, just as a bosom is a place of safety and rest--for we place in our bosom what we wish to be safe lest we lose it, and little children rest in their mother’s bosom--so the souls descending to limbo were secure of their salvation and rested there. They were not afflicted by the punishment of fire, although they did not see God.

It is called Abraham’s bosom because the souls of the faithful descended there. Abraham is called their father and the father of faith, because he was the first to confess the true God publicly among the idolatrous Chaldeans, and worship of the true God remained in his household alone. With great faith he believed that, when he was already one hundred years old and his wife sterile, a son would be born from him in whom the nations would be saved.

The rich banqueter’s death follows. “And the rich man also died,” because his riches failed him. As the Psalm says: “When the rich man dies, he shall not take everything, nor shall the glory of his house descend with him.”

Chrysostom says: “He was indeed then dead in body, but his soul had been dead before. For he performed none of the soul’s works, since all his fervor arising from love of neighbor had expired, and he was deader than the dead.”

No one is said to have ministered at the rich man’s burial, as was said for Lazarus. For as long as the rich man delighted in the broad way he had many flattering attendants, but when he reached the end he was deprived of all. Let us hear what his soul received.

“He was buried in hell,” namely with the burial Jeremiah describes concerning King Jehoiakim: “He shall be buried with the burial of an ass.” This burial is as follows.

When an ass dies, three parts are made from it. Its masters receive its skin. So too the rich man's relatives receive temporal or exterior goods, signified by the skin. And just as drums are made from an ass's skin, at whose sound people rejoice and dance, so the survivors use the riches of sinners for vain rejoicings.

The flesh of an ass is gnawed and consumed by worms; so too a human corpse. But its bones are exposed to heat and cold, enduring. The souls of sinners also, remaining with their powers, will pass "from the waters of snow to excessive heat" in hell, where there is no redemption, as Job says.

Basil says: "Hell is a certain common place in the depths of the earth, shadowed and dark on every side. It has a kind of opening extending into the deep, through which there can be descent for souls condemned to punishment." Augustine says: "Burial in hell is the depth of punishments, which devours the proud and unmerciful after this life."

Finally his punitive recompense is set out. Hence it follows: "But lifting up his eyes when he was in torments." Gregory says: "The eyes which guilt closed, punishment now opens. During life he refused to open the eyes of mercy toward the beggar; now, under punishment, he is compelled to open them toward that beggar when consoled."

Chrysostom says: "For after the rich man's death, his reclining in Gehenna and his sight of Lazarus's delight increased his ruin, so that he might experience punishment more unbearably not only from the nature of the torments, but also by comparison with the other's honor."

Hence it says, "when he was in torments." Chrysostom says: "It does not say 'in torment,' but 'in torments.' Infinite torments possess him"--the Gloss adds, infinite in duration--and also, beyond our comprehension here, he was wholly in torments. He had only his eyes free so that he might behold another's joy and thereby be tormented more.

"He saw Abraham afar off." Gregory says: "If Abraham had not then been in the lower regions, this rich man placed in torments would not have seen him." For after departing the flesh, the confines of hell--that is, of limbo--held those who followed the ways of the heavenly homeland, not so that the punishment of fire might afflict them as sinners, but so that guilt for the first sin might keep them, resting in more remote places, from entering the kingdom, because the Mediator's intercession had not yet arrived.

"And Lazarus in his bosom." Chrysostom says: "There were many just poor people there, but the one who lay at his gate met his sight for his sorrow." From this it becomes known that all whom we offend will be cast before our sight.

"And crying out, he said." Chrysostom says: "The magnitude of the punishment produced a great cry." "Father Abraham": he calls Abraham father by nature, because he recognized that he descended from Abraham's race. But he was not his son by imitation, because Abraham was charitable and this man cruel.

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Two (continued)

The former remained before the doors of his tent so that he might receive travelers; this man, however, noticed even those who remained before his house without showing mercy.

Chrysostom says: "Yet he does not address his speech to Lazarus, but to Abraham, perhaps because he was ashamed, or because he thought Lazarus remembered his wrongs, judging him by himself."

"Have mercy on me." Chrysostom says: "In vain do you practice repentance where there is no place for repentance. Torments compel you, not the affection of the mind. I do not know whether one who is in the kingdom of heaven can have mercy on one who is in hell."

"Send Lazarus." Chrysostom says: "You err, wretched man. Abraham cannot send Lazarus, but he can receive him. You did not deem Lazarus worthy to be seen, and now you desire his finger. What you ask, you ought to have done for him while you were still alive. You desire water, although before you disdained delicately prepared foods."

Chrysostom says: "The situation is changed, and it is made known to everyone who was rich and who was poor. For just as in a theater, when evening comes and those present depart, stripping themselves and putting aside their costumes, those who had seemed to everyone to be kings and praetors are afterward seen as they are, so also when death comes and the spectacle is ended, and all have laid aside the masks of poverty and riches, they are judged from their works alone: who are truly rich, who poor, who glorious, and who inglorious."

Gregory says: "The rich man begged for a drop of water, he who in this life denied crumbs of bread."

The mention here of members such as eyes, tongue, and finger must not be understood materially as referring to members of the body, but tropically. For such things are also said of God, in whom there is nothing corporeal. That rich man and Lazarus were in the lower regions in soul, not in body. Since the soul is a spirit, it does not have a corporeal tongue or finger. Rather, his sight is his knowledge; his tongue is the guilt of his evil speech in the world; his speech is an intellectual conception or its manifestation; the tip of the finger is the smallest work; and the water, according to Augustine, is some relief from punishment.

Hence he adds: “That he may cool my tongue.” Gregory says: “Why does one placed in torments ask for his tongue to be cooled more than another part, except that he had sinned through loquacity at banquets,” such as by detraction, derision, and speaking vain and shameful things? Therefore he burned especially in his tongue, that is, he was specially tormented for the sin of the tongue.

Chrysostom says: “For his tongue spoke many proud things. Where the sin was, there also is the punishment. And because he sinned most greatly there, he is therefore tormented there more severely.”

Or, according to Augustine, the fact that he wishes his tongue to be cooled although he burned throughout in the flame signifies what is written: “Death and life are in the hands of the tongue,” and that confession by the mouth is made unto salvation, which that man had not done.

The tip of the finger signifies even the smallest work by which help is given through the Holy Spirit. “Because,” he says, “I am tormented in this flame.” Although that fire or flame is material, it does not act upon the soul--which is a spirit and naturally nobler than it--except as the instrument of divine justice, supernaturally afflicting the soul by way of detention, according to Thomas in the Fourth Book, or even by way of infliction, according to Peter of La Palu. According to Augustine, in Distinction 25, section *Alias ea*, it exceeds every punishment of the present life.

“Because I am tormented,” and so forth. Basil says: “A fitting recompense is rendered to the rich man: that fire and infernal punishment, a parched tongue; groaning in place of the sounding lyre; desire for a drop in place of drink; deep darkness in place of monstrous spectacles; and the ever-wakeful worm in place of an unceasing retinue.”

Chrysostom says: “He was tormented not because he was rich, but because he showed no mercy.” Gregory says: “From this one must gather with what punishment a person who seizes the property of others is to be chastised, if one who does not distribute his own is punished by the damnation of hell.” This is in Cause 12, Question 2, canon *Et si illi*.

Ambrose says that he is also tormented because being deprived of delights is punishment for the luxurious person. Water, however, is no refreshment for a soul placed amid pains. But because, Gregory says, the rich man had not shown mercy to the poor man lying at his gate, he is not heard when he himself needs mercy.

Hence it follows: “And Abraham said to him: Son, remember.” Chrysostom says: “Observe the patriarch’s goodness. He calls him son, but offers no assistance to one who had deprived himself of a remedy.”

“Remember,” he says; that is, attend to the past, and do not forget how many times you were delighted by riches. “You received good things in your life.” Chrysostom says: “Those things, namely, which you thought were true goods and believed that there were no others. Therefore, because you are filled with them, no other goods remain for you to possess.”

“And Lazarus evil things,” that is, things which you thought were true evils, although they were not: even if they were evils for the body, they were not evils for the soul.

Ambrose says: “Those things are not evils which neither entangle the mind in crime nor bind the conscience. Hence no wise person will call poverty, low birth, sickness, or death evils.” This is in Cause 15, Question 1, canon *Illa cavenda*.

“You received good things,” and so forth. Chrysostom says: “An evil person cannot be evil in everything, but has some good things,” namely works good in their kind. Nor can a good person be good in everything, but he has some evils, namely sins. Therefore, when an evil person receives prosperity, it is to his own harm. For when he receives recompense here for those few good things, he will be punished more severely there. This is in *On Penance*, Distinction 3, canon *Quid ergo*. And when a good person endures evils, that is, adversities, he is cleansed from sins through them.

“But now he is comforted here.” The Apostle says: “If we suffer together, we shall also reign together”; and, “If we are companions in sufferings, we shall also be companions in consolation.” The Psalmist also says: “According to the multitude of my sorrows,” and so forth.

“But you are tormented.” Jerome says: “It is difficult--indeed, impossible--for anyone to enjoy both present and future goods, and to pass from delights to delights, so that he appears glorious in both ages, filling his belly here and his mind there.” He speaks this way, however, about enjoyment.

Gregory says: “Whenever you have fared well in this age, when you recall that you have done good things, fear greatly concerning those very things, lest the prosperity granted to you be the recompense for those good things. And when you see poor people

commit some blameworthy acts, consider that perhaps the furnace of poverty purges those whom the smallest superficial stain of wickedness defiles."

"And besides all these things," and so forth. Chrysostom says: "After this life, hope must be placed in God's mercy but, as regards salvation, in one's own endeavors, not in naming friends or relatives as witnesses. For a brother does not redeem." Jerome says the same in Cause 13, Question 2, canon *In praesenti*, with the section following.

"A great chaos has been fixed." Theophilus says: "The great chaos signifies the difference between the just and sinners. For just as their affections had been different in life, so their dwelling places differ by no small degree." It is said to be "fixed" because, according to Chrysostom, it cannot be dissolved, disturbed, or shaken.

Ambrose says: "A fixed chaos stood between the rich man and the poor man, because after death merits cannot be changed." Hence it follows: "So that those who wish to pass from here to you cannot, nor can they cross from there to here."

Chrysostom says: "It is as though he said: We can see, but cannot cross. We see what we have escaped, and you see what you have lost. Our joys increase your torments, and your torments increase our joys."

Gregory says: "Just as the reprobate desire to pass to the elect, that is, to migrate from the affliction of their punishments, so for the just to pass to those afflicted and placed in torments is to go to them in mind through mercy and to wish to free them," namely by a certain natural instinct, which is called the will as nature.

But although the souls of the just possess mercy through the goodness of their nature, they are nevertheless so bound by rectitude, being united to the author of justice, that they are moved by no compassion for the reprobate. Therefore the unjust do not pass to the saints because they are not freed from perpetual damnation, nor do the just pass to the reprobate because they show them no mercy through compassion in any way.

When the saints are said to rejoice in the punishments of the damned, this must be understood not as though they rejoice in their misery, but as rejoicing in the fulfillment of divine justice and in their own escape from a similar punishment.

Theophilus says: "From this you may draw an argument against Origen, who said that, since an end must be imposed upon punishments, there will be a time when sinners will be gathered to the just and to God." Against this also stands what Christ says in Matthew 25: "Depart, accursed ones, into eternal fire."

"And he said: I ask you, therefore, father." Gregory says: "After hope concerning himself is taken away from the burning rich man, his mind turns to the relatives whom he had left behind. Hence he says: 'I ask you, therefore, father.'"

Chrysostom says: "Observe his perversity. Not even his very punishments hold him to the truth. If Abraham is his father, how does he say, 'Send him to my father's house'?"

Augustine says: "He asks that Lazarus be sent because he perceived himself to be unworthy to bear witness to the truth. And because he had not obtained even a little cooling, much less did he believe that he could be released from hell to preach the truth."

He adds: "That he may testify to them, lest they too come into this place of torments." Here it must be observed that the rich man was moved to make this request not by charity for his brothers, which he did not possess, but by self-love. For because his brothers were abusing the riches which he had left to them indiscriminately, the rich man's punishment in hell was increased by their evil works in abusing those riches, insofar as he had provided them an occasion to sin. Therefore, so that his punishment might not increase daily, he asked that Lazarus be sent to correct them, lest they use the riches badly or imitate him in evils.

"Send him to my father's house," and so forth. Gregory says: "In this matter it must be observed how greatly the punishments of the burning rich man are multiplied. For both knowledge and memory are preserved for his punishment. He recognized Lazarus, whom he had despised, and remembered the brothers whom he had left. For so that sinners may be punished more greatly in torment, they see the glory of those whom they despised and are tormented by the punishment of those whom they loved fruitlessly."

Augustine also asks here whether the dead know the things that are done here, because the rich man spoke about his brothers, and whether the elect know them too, because Abraham spoke about the life Lazarus and the rich man had lived here and about Moses. He answers that Abraham could have learned these things after their deaths through Lazarus's report, lest what is written--"Abraham did not know us"--be false. The dead can also hear some things from the angels who are present to the affairs conducted here. They can also know, by the revelation of God's Spirit, some things that it is necessary for them to know, not only past things but even future ones. Augustine says the same more fully in Cause 13, Question 2, canon *Fatendum*. He adds that many of the dead are believed to come to certain living persons.

Abraham answered him: "They have Moses and the prophets; let them hear them." Chrysostom says: "Do not now care more for your brothers than does God, who created them and appointed teachers for them to solicit and admonish them." Here "Moses and the prophets" means the writings of Moses and the prophets.

Ambrose says: “In this passage the Lord declares that the Old Testament belongs to faith, beating back the faithlessness of the Jews and the wickedness of heretics.”

Gregory says: “But because the man who had despised God’s words supposed that his followers could not hear them, he says in reply: ‘No, father Abraham, but if someone goes to them from the dead, they will do penance.’”

Chrysostom says: “Because he had scorned the Scriptures when he heard them and considered them fables, he judged his brothers too from the things he himself had suffered.”

Gregory of Nyssa says: “We are also taught another doctrine: Lazarus’s soul is not concerned about present things and does not turn itself back toward anything it left behind, while the rich man, as though caught in a kind of birdlime, is held fast by the carnal life even after death. For if anyone becomes wholly carnal in mind, not even after his body has burned away is he freed from his passions.”

But a truthful sentence is immediately returned to the rich man. For Abraham says to him: “If they do not hear Moses and the prophets, neither will they believe if someone has risen from the dead.”

Gregory says: “Those who despise the words of the Law will fulfill the precepts of the Redeemer who rose from the dead all the more difficultly, the more subtle they are.”

Chrysostom says: “That this is true is shown by the Jews, who at one time wished to kill Lazarus and at another attacked the apostles, although some had risen from the dead at the hour of the cross, that is, when Christ rose.”

“But also consider this: every dead person is a servant, whereas the one who speaks through the Scriptures is the Lord. Hence, even if a dead person should rise and an angel descend from heaven, the Scriptures are more worthy than them all. For the Lord of angels, of the dead, and of the living established them. If God had known that the dead, by rising, would benefit the living, he who treats every single thing for our benefit would not have omitted this. But if the dead rose frequently, this too would eventually be despised. And the devil would easily introduce perverse doctrines, fashioning them through his own instruments--not truly raising the dead, but deceiving the observers’ sight by certain deceptions, or contriving for certain persons to feign death.”

Allegorically, Gregory says that Lazarus signifies the Gentile people, full of the sores of sins, whose dogs--that is, preachers--licked its sores, that is, cleansed away its sins. Having died to sins, this people rests in Abraham’s faith. The rich man signifies the Jewish people, glorying in the Law and despising the Gentile people, who was finally rejected because of unbelief.

§ XVII. The Parable of the Steward Accused of Squandering His Master’s Goods and His Shrewdness in Providing for Himself

Luke alone relates that Jesus said to his disciples: “There was a certain rich man.” Bede says: “Because the most suitable order of preaching is that almsgiving should be urged after penance, therefore, after Luke related three parables about penitents received into grace through God’s immense clemency, he adds the parable about giving alms, saying: ‘There was a certain man,’” and so forth.

This man signifies the Lord God, who is rich toward all who call upon him, and to whom belong the earth and its fullness. This man had a steward. Jerome says: “For a steward is the governor of an estate.”

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Two (continued)

Hence he is called a *villicus* from a *villa*. An *oeconomus* is accordingly the administrator of the lord’s money, produce, and all his goods. These are Jerome’s words.

And because, in relation to our homeland and heavenly city, this world inhabited by mortals can be called an estate, every mortal can therefore be called a steward. All the goods given to him by God, whether natural, temporal, or spiritual, have been conferred upon him to be administered--that is, to be used well for the advantage of the Lord, namely his glory, and not for the person’s own profit. Among these are riches, if he possesses them, which one ought to distribute to the poor rather than retain tenaciously for oneself or spend badly.

It follows: “And he was accused before him as though he had squandered his goods.” Chrysostom says: “A certain erroneous opinion generated by mortals increases their crimes, because we possess whatever we possess for use in the present life as though we were its lords, and therefore seize it inopportunely as our principal goods. But the contrary is true. For we have not been placed in the present life as lords in our own home, but as guests and strangers, and we are led where we do not wish and at a time we do

not expect. One who is rich now becomes a beggar in a short while. Therefore, whoever you are, know that you are an administrator of another's possessions, and that rights of transitory and brief use have been conceded to you. Casting aside from your soul the pride of ownership, therefore, assume the humility and moderation of a good steward rather than a squanderer."

For this man is said to have been accused because he had squandered his master's goods, and so forth. Theophilus says: "When we do not administer wealth according to the lord's will, but abuse it for our own enticements, we are criminal stewards." Hence this man was accused.

Here it is also shown that an inquiry into crimes ought to take place after a report has preceded it. This is in *Extra*, title *On Accusations*, chapter *Qualiter et quando*.

"And his lord called him." This call of the lord does not seem to be understood as a call through death, because then one is removed from the administration of things committed to him in such a way that he cannot provide for his salvation in the other life if he administered badly and dies amid that bad administration. Rather, it seems that it must be understood as an interior call, by which God illuminates the mind to recognize itself and its defects, showing the person that he deserves to have everything taken from him and to be deprived even of life.

"And he said to him: What is this that I hear of you?" He does not say this as though he does not know by himself the evil deeds of human beings, even hidden ones, and learns them from the report of others. Rather, he says it to show that the deeds of certain sinners are such that many know them.

"Give an account of your stewardship," that is, of your administration: how, namely, you have used the goods conceded to you by God while neglecting the human beings committed to you as subjects.

"For now you will no longer be able to be steward." This is said to the sinner's mind when, being pierced with compunction because God is offended with him, he recognizes that he deserves the withdrawal of all goods, even life. The sinner therefore considers what he must do, lest he perish from eternal hunger when it happens that he dies, because then he will be removed from his stewardship.

"And he said: What shall I do, because my lord takes the stewardship away from me?"--lest, namely, I afterward perish from hunger.

"Give an account of your stewardship," and so forth. Chrysostom says: "Daily the Lord cries such things aloud to us through their effects, showing us one who enjoyed health at midday lifeless before evening, and another expiring amid dinner; and in diverse ways we depart from this stewardship. But the faithful administrator who trusts in his own administration desires with Paul to be dissolved and to be with Christ, whereas the one whose desires--that is, whose beloved things--are earthly is troubled at his departure."

"I cannot dig; I am ashamed to beg." That is: in the other life I cannot provide for myself by digging, namely through contrition and confession, because there is no time for repentance there; nor through begging from others, because there is no time for showing mercy. Even if I asked for help, it would be denied me, as happened to the foolish virgins.

Therefore, I must provide for myself now. And so, with God inspiring him, he says: "I know what I shall do, so that they may receive me into their houses," namely into the eternal mansions. Those mansions may be owed to me either by reason of an injury received or by reason of a temporal obligation, although those people are nevertheless more principally debtors of the Lord God, because all our possessions are his. I shall remit at least a part to them, because an injury of this sort against one's neighbor is in this respect an offense against God insofar as it pertains to him.

Let him therefore remit to his neighbor who sins against him the vengeance, namely by not desiring it; let him humble himself by asking pardon from him; and let him give generous alms from his goods, although through this he dispenses from the goods of his lord.

Chrysostom says: "As often as anyone, perceiving his own end, lightens by beneficence the burden of his offenses--either by remitting debts to debtors or, by giving abundance from his resources, distributing the things that belong to the Lord--he gains many friends for himself. Before the judge they will bear witness to his goodness, not by words but by the manifestation of good works; indeed, they will prepare for him a dwelling place of refreshment."

Nothing, however, belongs to us, but all things belong to divine dominion. Therefore he calls them the debtors of his lord.

"A hundred measures of oil." Bede says: "A *cadus* in Greek is an amphora in Latin. A *cor* of wheat is a *chorus*, which is filled by thirty *modii*. How much a *modius* contains is unknown."

"And the lord praised the steward of iniquity." Augustine says: "We ought not assume that everything written is to be imitated. For fraud must not be committed against any lord in order that we may make alms from that very fraud."

“He praised him because he had acted prudently.” Origen says: “It must be observed that prudence is sometimes and properly taken for right reason concerning things to be done, according to the saying, ‘The Lord established the heavens’”--that is, holy men--“‘in prudence.’ Sometimes it is also taken improperly in an evil sense, that is, for shrewdness and cunning invention for attaining an intended end, according to the saying, ‘The serpent was more prudent than all the animals,’” that is, more shrewd and cunning.

The lord therefore did not praise the steward by way of true commendation, just as evil people, when they are praised for their acuteness in doing evil, are praised not for their wickedness but for their skill.

Augustine says: “These similitudes are stated by way of contrast, so that we may understand: if this man who committed fraud could gain praise from his lord, how much more will those please God who perform works according to his commands?” Therefore the lord praised him not for the fraud committed against him, but for the provision he had made for himself.

“Because the children of this age are more prudent in their generation than the children of light.” Bede says: “They are called children of light and children of this age here, just as they are also called children of the kingdom and children of perdition. For whatever one’s works are, he is reckoned as belonging to that source and is its child, as though begotten from light or from the age.”

Theophilus says: “He calls those who think about and seek advantages for themselves principally upon earth the children of this age, but those who manage spiritual riches with a view to divine love the children of light. In human administrations, however, we are found prudently arranging our own affairs and striving with the utmost effort so that, if we are removed from the administration, we may have a refuge for life. But when we ought to administer divine things, we do not consider beforehand the things that will afterward profit us.”

“In their generation.” Origen says: “He does not call them wiser, but more prudent; nor does he call them more prudent simply and absolutely, but ‘in their generation,’” that is, in their own affairs.

Gregory says in the *Moralia*: “Therefore, so that each person may find after death whatever he places in his own hand, before death let him place his riches, through alms, into the hands of the poor.”

Hence the Lord adds: “And I say to you: Make friends for yourselves from the mammon of iniquity.” Augustine says: “*Mammon* in Hebrew or Syriac is translated ‘riches’ in Latin.”

Some people, understanding this badly, think that by seizing the property of others and distributing alms from it to the poor, they are observing this command. But that understanding must be corrected. For alms are to be given from just labors. “Therefore, do not wish,” Augustine also says, “to make alms from interest and usury.” This is in Cause 14, Question 5. For if anyone gives the whole of what he took from others to the poor, sin is increased rather than diminished. Augustine says the same in the same Question, canon *Forte*.

Once that false interpretation--that someone should receive unjustly in order to give to the poor--has been removed, this saying can be explained well in many ways.

These temporal riches are called riches of iniquity, first, because they have been acquired unjustly in such a way that recovery or restitution is due. Then we make friends for ourselves from them when we restore them to those from whom we received them, not to the poor; or when things acquired in this way are given to the poor because their owners are unknown or cannot be found, provided the manner and form that are due are certainly observed, as will appear in the Second Part.

Second, they are called riches of iniquity because they are acquired through unjust and prohibited acts, as when things are acquired through magic, divination, prostitution, gambling, and the like. We make poor people our friends from these when such things are given to them, provided that such works are avoided thereafter. Concerning this, see Cause 14, Question 5, canon *Qui habetis*.

Third, they are called riches of iniquity because, even if justly acquired, they are acquired with much labor and excessive solicitude of mind, which excessive anxiety is called iniquity. Gratian explains it this way in Cause 14, Question 5, section *Sed etiam multipliciter*. We make poor people our friends from riches of this kind when we give them alms from them.

Fourth, riches are called riches of iniquity, according to Augustine, because these temporal goods are not regarded as riches--that is, as great goods--except by wicked people who have their hope and affection immersed in them. The just, however, regard spiritual and heavenly goods as riches.

Fifth, according to Basil, they are called riches of iniquity as though riches of inequality, because they are not distributed equally among human beings. For more are given to one person and fewer to another, although by God’s just dispensation or permission, even if this is unknown to us.

Sixth, according to Ambrose, they are called riches of iniquity not because they are evil in themselves, but because affection for them tempts our souls with various enticements, so that we wish to serve riches. “For pride,” Augustine says, “is the worm of the rich.”

Seventh, according to Basil: “If you have succeeded to riches by inheritance, you have received things amassed by unjust people. For among many predecessors it is necessary that someone be found who unjustly seized the property of others. Suppose that neither your father extorted it; but from where is the gold you possess? If you say, ‘From me,’ you are ignorant of God and have no knowledge of the Creator. But if it is from God, tell us the reason for which you received it. Is not the earth the Lord’s, and its fullness? Therefore, if our possessions belong to the common Lord, they will also belong to our fellow servants.” These are his words.

Thus they are called riches of iniquity because even goods justly acquired are retained unjustly when those in need are not helped through them. It is therefore evident that riches are called riches of iniquity in seven ways, and from them we ought to make friends for ourselves: by restoring them as regards the first way, and by giving alms to the poor as regards the other ways.

“So that when you fail, they may receive you into eternal tabernacles.” Gregory says: “If by the friendship of those to whom we give we acquire eternal tabernacles, those who give ought to consider how great are the goods they bestow upon the needy.”

Or, according to Augustine: “Who are those who will possess eternal tabernacles except the saints? And who are those who are to be received by them into eternal tabernacles except those who served their need and cheerfully supplied what they required? These are those least ones of Christ who left all their possessions and followed him, and distributed whatever they possessed to the poor so that, freed from worldly fetters, they might serve God.”

Or otherwise, according to Ambrose: “Make friends for yourselves from unjust mammon, so that by giving to the poor we may obtain for ourselves the favor of the angels and of the other saints.”

Chrysostom says: “The Lord did not say that they should receive us ‘into their own mansions,’ but ‘into eternal tabernacles,’ because the friendship of the saints will not protect us by itself unless good works accompany us.” Almsgiving, therefore, is the art of arts. For almsgiving does not build earthen houses for us, but bestows everlasting life.

§ XVIII. The Temptation of Christ

Concerning this, Matthew 4 says: “Jesus was led into the desert,” and so forth.

First, it must be observed that three evangelists--Matthew, Mark, and Luke--mention Christ’s temptation, but John does not. According to Origen, the reason is that John began his Gospel from God, saying: “In the beginning was the Word.” God, however, is not tempted. In the other three evangelists, Christ’s generation or manner of life as a human being is presented; a human being is the one who is tempted, and therefore they mention it, although in diverse ways.

For Mark states only in general that Christ was tempted by Satan. Matthew and Luke, however, specify the things by which he was tempted, though in different ways. Matthew places the temptation on the pinnacle--that is, concerning vainglory or pride--in the second position, but Luke in the third. And the temptation on the mountain, concerning avarice, which Matthew places in the third position, Luke places in the second.

Augustine says: “It is uncertain to us which of these happened first. Nevertheless, falsehood ought not for this reason to be imputed to either evangelist, because it makes no difference whether one thing happened first or later, provided that the things themselves occurred.”

It can also be said that this was done mysteriously, so that one evangelist would put this temptation first and the other another, to signify that vainglory and avarice beget one another, as Maximus says.

Or, according to Gregory, Luke simply preserved the order of the event, while Matthew presented the order by correspondence with the temptation of our first parents. For the devil tempted both: he conquered the first Adam, but was conquered by the second, namely Christ.

As the Master also notes in the Second Book of the *Sentences*, the devil first tempted Adam concerning gluttony, saying, “On whatever day you eat from it,” suggesting that it was to be eaten. Second, he tempted him concerning pride when he promised them likeness to divinity, adding: “You shall be like gods.” Third, he tempted him concerning avarice, taking it broadly insofar as it denotes an immoderate desire to possess knowledge, dominion, and riches. Hence he added: “Knowing good and evil.” According to this order, Matthew took care to present the progress of the order of Christ’s temptation.

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Two (continued)

Second, it must be observed that Christ was tempted in one way and we in another. For since a temptation of the devil is a certain suggestion or proposal of some evil act, which he offers to our mind under the hope of some good, this can happen through a threefold progression, as Gregory notes in Distinction 5, canon *Ad eius*.

First, it occurs through the sudden representation of some thing to be done. These are called first movements, and by others "first-first" movements. In this there is no sin, but rather material for exercise and, if it is resisted, a crown of merit.

Second, such a suggestion advances to sensual pleasure, but short of consent, and there is venial sin.

Third, the consent of reason sometimes follows, so as deliberately to desire the evil that is suggested, or to delight in it lingeringly and not repel it from the mind. There is mortal sin at this point if the thing is against the commands of God or the Church.

Therefore, although Christ was tempted in the first way, namely through suggestion, the temptation nevertheless advanced no further, for it did not reach even sensual pleasure, where venial sin exists. Even the perfect frequently sin at this second degree.

This is what Gregory says: "When we are tempted, we frequently either consent or at least delight according to the flesh," that is, with that sensual pleasure. "But when Christ was tempted, no delight in sin bit him."

Third, it must be known that according to some people this temptation occurred only through the imagination, so that these conversations took place with no visible form appearing, but these representations were made only to Christ's imagination. It was like the occurrence to us of thoughts about certain things to be done, in which we answer ourselves while deliberating whether to do or not do the thing proposed to the mind.

Accordingly, as to the statement, "The tempter approached and said," this approach was not local but occurred through a suggestion to the imagination. The Gloss, however, says the contrary, as will be stated; so do Chrysostom and Gregory.

Others say that it occurred through a visible form, the devil taking the form of a human being with a body formed from air, as happens in apparitions of good or evil angels made to human beings. They suppose, as it were, that he assumed the form of a hermit approaching Christ in the desert by way of visitation and speaking to him in that form.

The Gloss expressly says this: that these works occurred before the bodily senses and that the devil appeared in the form of a human being. His leading Christ into the city or onto the mountain could have occurred by way of persuasion--for example, by saying to him, "Let us go to the city," and afterward, "onto the mountain"--and Christ went with him, not compelled but voluntarily, so that he might conquer him and thereby help us in our temptations through the merit and example of his victory.

Or, if he permitted himself to be carried not over the ground but through the air, he nevertheless did not permit himself to be seen by others, as Chrysostom says. Nor, Gregory says, ought it appear unworthy to us if for an hour he permitted himself to be carried by the devil, since he permitted himself to be seized, mocked, and crucified by the devil's members, namely Caiaphas, Pilate, and the Jews. This exposition is more common and more suitable for preaching to the people.

Fourth, it must be observed that immediately after baptism Christ went to the desert, a place of penance, giving himself to fasting rather than delights, and there he was tempted and conquered. According to Chrysostom, this intimates that after baptism or true penance no one ought to trust so greatly in the grace received that he gives himself to idleness and delights. Rather, he ought to exercise himself in bodily austerities, flee occasions of evils, devote himself to solitude of mind and meditation, and so prepare himself to resist the devil's temptations, according to Ecclesiasticus 2: "When you approach the service of God, stand in justice and fear, and prepare your soul for temptation."

For the more anyone devotes watchful attention to better pursuits, the more the ancient enemy assails him. Hence Pope Leo says: "Let no one trust in the purity of his heart. For that ever-watchful enemy strikes with sharper snares those whom he knows especially to abstain from sins. From whom would the impulse of his wickedness restrain him, when he dared to attack the Lord of majesty?"

Fifth, it must be observed that, although the devil knew that the Son of God was to be incarnate and to free the world--that is, the human race--from his hands, he did not know the time or manner. Therefore, he diligently watched to see whether perhaps he could recognize him and impede our liberation.

Thus, whenever he saw certain holy men perform great things, he watched to see whether perhaps they were he. And because he perceived defects and sins in them all, he judged that none of the earlier men was he.

But when he saw Christ come into the world, he did not know the manner. For although a virgin had conceived, because he saw that she had a spouse, namely Joseph, he judged that Christ had been conceived by him. For this reason God willed that she be betrothed, so that this mystery would be hidden from the devil. And the Virgin's holiness was so great that the devil could not learn how she had conceived.

When Christ had been born, Satan certainly heard the angels singing in the air, “Glory to God in the highest”; saw a new star appear to the Magi; and saw the shepherds going to adore him and making their announcement. Dumbfounded in mind, he judged almost firmly, and said to himself, that this was the Son of God.

But when he considered the circumstances of the newborn child--namely, that like other little infants he wailed, lamented, sucked the breasts, and suffered cold in a shelter--recovering his mental confidence, he answered himself: “Who would not laugh to hear that God wails or weeps and sucks the breasts? These things belong to a human being, not to God. Therefore, this man is a human being, not God, even if these are indications of great holiness.”

Then, perceiving the adoration of the Magi and the great testimonies of Simeon and Anna when Christ was presented in the Temple, he was sufficiently alarmed concerning his divinity. But when he considered that Christ fled into Egypt like a mere human being for fear that Herod would kill him, he said to himself: “Does God fear human beings? He is not God.”

And when Christ came for baptism, he heard the voice from heaven saying: “This is my beloved Son.” And he said: “I am confounded. What is clearer than this testimony?” But seeing him baptized with sinners, he answered himself: “Why would this man be baptized if he were God? For God is without sin, and John gives baptism for the repentance of sinners. That voice therefore indicates that he is a son of God through the excellence of great holiness, not that he is the natural Son of God.”

And when Jesus afterward performed many miracles, greater and more numerous than those of earlier men, not by entreating but by commanding, the demons cried out, not from certainty but from forceful conjecture: “You are the Son of God.” Christ, however, concealed his divinity from them by adding something that belonged to humanity, such as eating with others, becoming hungry, and the like.

Therefore, when the devil now saw that Christ had remained in the desert for forty days without food, which is contrary to the human condition, he began to be driven to suspect that perhaps he was God himself. But when he noticed him becoming hungry, he cast aside that suspicion, saying: “God cannot hunger. Nor is he the only person who has done what he did by remaining without food, for Moses and Elijah, who were mere human beings, also did this. Therefore this man is not God, but a very holy man like them.”

“Yet I have deceived many most holy men--Adam, Moses, and David--in diverse ways. I shall therefore approach him to see whether I might gain something with him by inducing him to some sin, or at least recognize more certainly whether he is the Son of God.”

Christ, however, knowing his wickedness, went to the place of temptation, namely the desert, so that in the very battle of temptation the devil might be weakened and Christ’s power in our temptations might also hand on to us the pattern for conquering him.

Therefore the evangelist says: “Jesus was led into the desert,” and so forth. The devil presses temptation more strongly when he sees people alone. Hence in the beginning he tempted the woman when he found her without her husband.

“Into the desert.” The Gloss says: “This place is between Jerusalem and Jericho, where robbers dwelt, and where the man who went down from Jerusalem to Jericho fell among robbers.” He bore the figure of Adam, who was conquered by demons. It was therefore fitting that Christ should conquer the devil there where, under a figure, the devil had conquered the human being.

“By the Spirit”--certainly not by an evil spirit, but by his own spirit, that is, by reason impelling him toward virtuous works. Therefore, this leading occurred through reason’s persuasion, not the compulsion of violence. Gregory and others say this. And this is how what Mark says must be understood: “The Spirit drove him into the desert.”

Basil says: “Not provoking the enemy by word but entering by deed, he seeks the desert. For the devil delights in the desert; he does not suffer himself to be in cities, since civic concord saddens him.”

Chrysostom says: “Not only was Christ led into the desert, but so are all the children of God who possess the Holy Spirit. For they are not content to remain idle, but the Holy Spirit urges them to undertake some great work. This is in the desert as regards the devil, because the injustice in which the devil delights is not there. Every good thing is also outside the flesh and the world, because it is not according to the will of the flesh and the world. Therefore, all the children of God go out into such a desert so that they may be tempted,” understanding this consecutively, not that they act for this purpose, but that this follows from it: they are tempted there by the devil.

“That he might be tempted by the devil.” Cyril says: “Behold, he who commands contests among the athletes and crowns the heads of the saints has become one of the athletes.”

Origen says: “Jesus is tempted by the devil for forty days. What the temptations were we do not know,” namely other temptations besides these, which perhaps were passed over because they were greater than soldiers would believe.

“And when he had fasted forty days and forty nights.” Basil says: “He fasted, showing us that sobriety is necessary for the one who wishes to gird himself for the battle of temptations.”

Lest this fast of Christ be believed similar to ours, in which we eat once in a natural day, Luke adds: “And he ate nothing.”

“That he might be tempted by the devil.” Chrysostom says: “Whoever you are, if after baptism you endure greater temptations, do not be disturbed. For you received arms for this reason, not that you may be idle, but that you may fight.”

God does not prevent temptation from coming to you for five reasons. First, so that you may learn that you have been made much stronger. Second, so that you may not be exalted by the greatness of the gifts. Third, so that the devil may learn by experience that you have departed from him completely. For when a tyrant sees a fortress rebelling against him, he applies absolutely every exertion of battle to subject it to himself again.

Fourth, so that through this you may be made stronger. For through exercise in some art a person is made more capable and stronger for its works. Fifth, so that of the treasure entrusted to you, you may receive the sign of the treasure. For the devil would not come upon you to tempt you unless he saw that you had been established in greater honor.

Hilary says: “For the devil’s temptations rage especially among those who have been sanctified, because victory over the saints is more greatly desired by him.”

“And when he had fasted forty days and forty nights.” Chrysostom says: “Christ fasted not because he needed it, but to instruct us. And so that he might establish the measure of our Lenten fast, he fasted for that length of time. But he did not proceed in fasting beyond Moses and Elijah, forty days, lest his assumption of flesh appear incredible.”

Gregory says: “The author of human beings himself took no food for forty days and nights, which Luke states expressly. But insofar as we are able, during the season of Lent let us afflict our flesh through abstinence,” namely by fasting and being content with one meal each day.

The number forty is observed because the power of the Decalogue is fulfilled through the four books of the Gospel; ten multiplied by four rises to forty. For in this mortal body we subsist from four elements, and through its pleasure we transgress the Lord’s commands, which were received through the Decalogue. Therefore, because through the desires of the flesh we have despised the commandments of the Decalogue, it is fitting that we afflict that same flesh four times ten.

Other reasons for the Lenten fast are also assigned; they are contained in the Second Part. Concerning the manner of fasting, you also have material in *On Consecration*, Distinction 5, canons *Quadragesima* and *Ieiunium*.

“Afterward he was hungry.” Hilary says: “He was hungry not during the forty days, but after forty days. Therefore, when the Lord hungered, it was not that hunger stole upon him; rather, the miraculous operation left the human being to his own nature. The devil was to be conquered not by God, but by the flesh.”

Chrysostom says: “The Lord knew the devil’s thought, that he wished to tempt him. Therefore the Lord proceeded against him not as God, but as a human being--or rather as God and a human being. For not to hunger for forty days did not belong to a human being. Moses and Elijah, while fasting for forty days, hungered as mere human beings, but endured, strengthened by God. Christ, however, did not hunger during those days, which belongs to the divine nature; but to hunger at some time did not belong to God.”

Therefore, he hungered lest he be manifestly recognized as God and thus extinguish the devil’s hope of tempting him and impede his own victory. But after the devil perceived him hungering, he resumed his hope of tempting him.

Hence it follows: “The tempter approached and said to him.” Chrysostom says: “Therefore, if you have fasted and are tempted, do not say, ‘I have lost the fruit of my fast.’ For even if your fast does not profit you so that you are not tempted, it will nevertheless profit you so that you are not conquered by temptations.”

The devil says: “Command that these stones be made bread.” Ambrose says: “He began from the point at which he had already conquered,” namely our first parents, that is, from gluttony. “What does the beginning of such an address intend, except that he had learned that the Son of God was to come, but did not think he had come through bodily weakness? It belongs to one who investigates in one respect and tempts in another: he professes that he believes in God and strives to mock the human being.”

Hilary says: “Therefore, in tempting him he proposed that condition of a work through which he might recognize the power of deity from the transformation of stones into bread, and through the enticement of food mock the patience of the hungry human being.”

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Two (continued)

Jerome says: “But you are caught between two contrary alternatives, O devil. For if by his power stones can be made bread, you tempt in vain one who has such great power. But if he cannot do it, you suspect in vain that he is the Son of God.”

Chrysostom says: “Just as he blinded all human beings, so now he was invisibly blinded by Christ, so that neither would Christ acquiesce in his temptation nor would he recognize him as the Son of God, although he intended at least one of these two outcomes.”

But if it is asked how the devil tempted him through gluttony by these words, since to hunger, to desire food when one needs it, and to eat are natural and lawful in themselves, the answer is that, although this is lawful in itself, it can become unlawful through some circumstance. For example, it would be so if one did something unbecoming to satisfy such an appetite--as if a hungry religious ate without the blessing being said, or before the proper hour, and the like.

Thus, when anyone needs food, it would be a sin to seek that a miracle be performed when he can provide for himself in another way. Since Christ could provide for his need by going to nearby places, it would have appeared superfluous and vain for him, without an urgent cause, to make stones be changed into bread for eating.

But Jesus answered and said to him. Gregory says: “When tempted by the devil, the Lord answers with the precepts of sacred Scripture. Although he could have plunged his tempter into the abyss, he did not display the power of his might, so that he might give us an example: whenever we suffer any evil from a wicked person, we should be aroused toward teaching rather than vengeance.”

For he says: “It is written,” namely in Deuteronomy. Rabanus says: “Therefore, if anyone is not fed by the word of God, he does not live. For just as the human body does not live without bodily food, so the soul does not live without the word of God.” The word is said to proceed from God’s mouth when he reveals his will through the testimonies of the Scriptures.

And he adds what is written there in chapter 6: “A human being does not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceeds from the mouth of God.”

Jerome says: “Christ’s purpose was to conquer through humility. Hence he also conquered his adversary with the testimonies of the Law, not by the power of his might, so that through this very thing he might honor human beings more and punish the adversary more, since the enemy of the human race was conquered as if by a human being rather than by God.”

Chrysostom says: “He did not say, ‘I do not live by bread alone,’ but, ‘A human being lives,’ so that the devil could say: ‘If he is the Son of God, he hides himself lest he show what he can do; if he is a human being, he excuses himself shrewdly lest he show that he cannot do it.’”

It can be explained that, since a human being consists of the twofold substance of soul and body, and the soul is nobler, he ought to care more for spiritual food, which is the word of God observed and not merely heard. Hence it is unbecoming that, in providing for bodily food, the soul should be deprived of its own food, namely by acting against God’s word in doing what you advise, where no necessity urges it.

Daily the devil says these things to human minds: “If you are a son of God”--if, because you are a son of God through grace--“command that these stones be made bread”; that is, let such great abstinence and such great hardness of rigor be changed into softness under the appearance of bodily necessity. But one must have recourse to the testimonies of the Scriptures.

Chrysostom says that, since from this response of Christ the devil could receive nothing certain about whether he was God or a human being, the devil took him up for another temptation, saying to himself: “This man who does not die from hunger, even if he is not the Son of God, is nevertheless a holy man. Holy men can avoid being conquered by hunger, but they sometimes fall through vainglory.” Therefore, he turned himself to this temptation.

“Then he took him up into the holy city,” that is, into Jerusalem. According to Rabanus, it is called holy because the Temple of God, the Holy of Holies, and the worship of the true God were there, and it was afterward consecrated by Christ’s blood.

According to Remigius, it is shown from this that the devil plots against Christ’s faithful even in holy places. “And he set him upon a pinnacle of the Temple.”

Remigius says: “The pinnacle was the seat of the teachers. For the Temple did not have a peak rising upon its roof like our houses, but was flat above in the custom of the Palestinians. In the Temple itself there were three levels, and on each of them was a pinnacle like a pulpit or chair for preaching or reading, from which the teachers announced the Law to the people.” Therefore, he placed him upon one of those high pinnacles, from which there was a great precipice.

“He therefore set him upon a pinnacle.” The Gloss says: “The devil always leads toward high places, elevating a person through boasting so that he may cause him to fall.” Because he had deceived many teachers in their chair through vainglory, he therefore thought that this man, placed in a teacher’s seat, could be exalted by vainglory.

Hence he said to him: “If you are the Son of God, cast yourself down.” Chrysostom says: “Through this proposition, how could he learn whether he was the Son of God or not? For to fly through the air is not properly a work of God, because it is useful to no one. But if anyone flies when provoked to do so for display, he does this from the devil rather than from God.”

“Cast yourself down.” Jerome says: “This is the devil’s voice, for he always desires that human beings fall downward. But he can persuade; he cannot cast them down.”

The devil thought within himself: “If this man throws himself down, because he is a holy man, he will suffer no injury. But human beings, seeing this miracle, will venerate him as holy, and from this honor and praise perhaps he will fall into vainglory. Or from some other result it will become known whether he is the Son of God.”

And because Christ had cited authorities of Scripture above, the devil, lest he appear ignorant of it, adds in confirmation of what he was advising: “For it is written in the Psalms: God has commanded his angels concerning you,” and so forth.

Ambrose says: “For the devil transforms himself into an angel of light, and even from the divine Scriptures themselves prepares a snare for the faithful. He uses testimonies of Scripture not to teach, but to deceive.” Hence, according to Jerome, what he cites is a prophecy not about Christ, but about a holy man.

The devil interprets Scripture badly. Heretics do likewise when they cite Scriptures to confirm their errors.

Therefore, according to the Gloss, that authority of Scripture must be explained as referring to every good human being in this way: God commands the angels that in their hands--that is, by their own aids--they are to lift him up, help him, and guard him, lest he strike his foot--that is, the affection of the mind--against a stone, that is, against the Old Law written upon tablets of stone. Or by the stone can be understood every occasion of sin or ruin.

Chrysostom says: “Truly, the Son of God is not carried in the hands of angels; rather, he himself carries the angels. And even if he is carried in the hands of angels, this is not so that, as though infirm, he may not strike his foot against a stone, but for the honor due him as Lord. But, O devil, how is it that you have read that the Son of God is carried in the hands of angels, yet have not read that he treads upon the asp and the basilisk? You bring forward the former example in your pride, but in your cunning you keep silent about the latter.” Nor does the text that was written advise him to throw himself down.

Jerome says: “He breaks the devil’s false arrows drawn from the Scriptures with the shields of the true Scriptures.” Hence it follows: “It is written,” namely in Deuteronomy, “You shall not tempt the Lord your God.”

The Gloss says: “He does not say, ‘You shall not tempt me,’ but, ‘the Lord your God,’ which any person who is tempted could say, since even one who tempts a man of God tempts a man.”

Augustine says: “It pertains to sound doctrine, when a human being has something he can do, not to tempt the Lord his God.” This certainly happens when someone can provide for a danger or necessity by a human means, but, omitting that means, seeks a miraculous effect from God, as in this case. Christ could descend from the pinnacle by stairs; it was not necessary for him to cast himself down.

The devil passes to the third temptation, namely avarice, according to Chrysostom. “For he took him up onto a very high mountain,” higher than the others, so that he could see more expanses from it, “and showed him all the kingdoms of the world and their glory.”

Chrysostom says: “He did this in a general way, for example, pointing with his finger: ‘In that direction toward the east is such a kingdom, with such noble cities in it and such riches, gold, silver, precious stones, and the like; and toward the west are such kingdoms, cities, and precious things,’ and likewise concerning the others.”

Luke relates that the devil said that all these things were in his power and that he gave them to whomever he wished. He spoke a lie, and this is no wonder, because he is a liar and the father of lies; but all things have been placed in the Lord’s dominion. How can he give kingdoms when he could not enter swine unless Christ granted permission?

Unless we say that the kingdoms of the world are the multitudes of human beings in whom the devil ruled through diverse vices as though through diverse kingdoms, such as pride, lust, and the like.

“He showed him all the kingdoms.” Chrysostom says: “It was not that the devil could enlarge his sight or show him something unknown. Rather, by displaying in words the vanity of worldly pomp, which he himself loved, as though it were beautiful and desirable, he wished to suggest that Christ come to love those things.”

And he said: “All these things I shall give you.” Jerome says: “Arrogant and proud, he speaks from boasting. The devil cannot give all kingdoms, since God has given kingdoms to holy men. But the devil gives those things that are produced through iniquity in the world; for example, he gives riches acquired through theft and other injustices.”

Remigius says: “The devil’s rashness and madness are also astonishing. He promised to give earthly kingdoms to the one who gives heavenly kingdoms to his faithful, and the world’s glory to the one who is the Lord of heavenly glory.”

“If, falling to the ground, you will adore me.” Ambrose says: “Ambition possesses a domestic danger: in order to rule others, it first serves; it bends itself through submission so that it may be presented with honor; and while it wishes to be higher, it becomes lower.”

“If, falling to the ground, you will adore me.” The Gloss says: “Behold the devil’s ancient pride. Just as in the beginning he wished to make himself like God, so now he wished to usurp divine worship for himself, saying: ‘If, falling down, you will adore me.’ Therefore, one who is about to adore the devil first falls.”

It follows: “Then Jesus said to him: Go, Satan.” Chrysostom says: “In this he sets an end to the devil’s temptation, lest he proceed further.”

Jerome says: “It is not, as many think, by the same sentence that Satan and Peter are condemned. For to Peter it is said, ‘Go behind me, Satan,’ that is, ‘Follow me, you who are contrary to my will.’ But to this one it is said, ‘Go, Satan,’ and ‘behind’ is not added, so that ‘into eternal fire’ may be understood.”

Or, according to other copies, Remigius says, “Go behind,” that is: “Remember in how great a glory you were created and into how great a misery you have fallen.”

According to Chrysostom, it must be observed that when Christ suffered an injury from the devil saying, “If you are the Son of God, cast yourself down,” or, “Command that the stones,” and so forth, he was not disturbed and did not rebuke the devil. But now, when the devil usurped for himself the honor due to God, Christ became angry and repelled him, saying: “Go, Satan.” Thus we learn from his example to endure our own injuries magnanimously, but not to suffer injuries to God even as far as hearing them. For to be patient amid one’s own injuries is praiseworthy, but to dissemble injuries to God is excessively impious.

And it follows: “It is written,” namely in Deuteronomy: “You shall adore the Lord your God, and him alone shall you serve.” Augustine says: “The one Lord our God is the Trinity itself, to whom alone we owe the service of piety.”

And in the book *The City of God*, Augustine says: “By the word ‘service’ is understood the worship owed to God. For *latria*, which is a Greek word, wherever it has been placed in the holy Scriptures, our translators have rendered as ‘service.’ But that service which we owe to human beings, according to which the Apostle commands servants to be subject to their masters, is usually called *dulia* in Greek. *Latria*, however, always--or so frequently that it is almost always--means the service that pertains to worshiping God.”

Chrysostom says: “The devil did not withdraw as though obeying a command, but Christ’s divinity, which was in him, cast the devil out.” Hence it is added: “Then the devil left him.”

This, as Chrysostom says, contributes to our consolation, because the devil does not tempt the people of God for as long as he wishes, but for as long as Christ permits. And although he permits him to tempt for a little while, he nevertheless repels him because of our weakness.

Consolation follows victory over temptation. For it follows: “And behold, angels approached.” Chrysostom says: “It does not say that the angels descended, to show that they were always on earth for his ministry. But at the Lord’s command they had withdrawn from him so that a place might be given to the devil against Christ, lest perhaps, seeing the angels around him, he would not approach him.”

“They ministered to him,” perhaps bringing food to strengthen the hungry human being.

Luke says: “And when every temptation had been completed.” Ambrose says: “Scripture would not have said that every temptation had been completed unless all the material of offenses were contained in the three temptations, because the causes of temptations are the causes of desires,” namely the enticement of the flesh, the hope of glory, and the greed for power.

“The devil withdrew from him.” Athanasius says: “He had approached him as a human being, but, finding in him no sign of his ancient seed, he withdrew.”

“He withdrew from him.” Ambrose says: “You therefore see that the devil himself is not persistent in his effort. He is accustomed to yield to true virtue. Although he does not cease to envy, he nevertheless fears to press on because he flees being defeated more frequently.”

“Until a time.” Ambrose says: “For afterward he came not to tempt him, but to fight him openly.”

Or, according to Theophilus, because Christ had triumphed over pleasure in the desert, the devil withdrew from him until the time of the cross, at which he was to tempt him through sadness.

Or, according to Maximus, in the desert the devil had suggested preferring the world’s matter to divine love. Afterward he tried to make Christ a transgressor of love for one’s neighbor, when, as he later preached the truth, the scribes and Pharisees set snares for him and disparaged him, so that he might thereby be provoked to hatred against them.

Or “until a time,” namely the time of the Passion. For then he also approached Christ, searching to see whether he might find anything of his own in him. Hence Christ said: “The prince of this world,” that is, the devil, “comes, and in me he has nothing,” that is, he will have nothing.

He tempted Christ when he said through the mouths of the scribes and Pharisees: “If he is the Christ, let him descend from the cross, and we will believe him,” as though inciting him to descend from the cross for their conversion, so that the liberation of the human race might thereby be impeded.

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Three: On the Teaching of the Lord Jesus in Rebuking Human Vices, Especially the Avaricious, the Ambitious, Those Devoted to Vainglory, the Proud, Hypocrites, and the Voluptuous

Hence, when a certain man, as Luke relates, had said to Jesus, “Master, tell my brother to divide the inheritance with me,” and he had answered, “Who appointed me judge or divider between you?”, knowing that the man was devoted to avarice he added: “Take heed to yourselves against all avarice.”

He added an example: “The field of a certain rich man,” he says, “brought forth abundant fruits.” From this the man began to seethe in his mind over what he ought to do with those fruits. When the thought of avarice had answered him in his mind, “I shall destroy my barns and build larger ones, and, when everything has been gathered there, I shall say to my soul: You have many goods laid up for many years; eat, rest, feast,” it was then said to him by the Lord: “Fool, this night they shall require your soul of you; whose, then, will the things you have prepared be?” And he concluded: “So it is with everyone who gathers up and is not rich toward God.”

At another time, as Matthew and the other evangelists testify, he said: “How difficultly will those who possess riches enter the kingdom of God. Amen I say to you,” that is, truly, “it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven.” And why, except because of avarice?

For Abraham was rich in possessions of gold and silver, as were King David, Job the Gentile, as is clear in sacred Scripture, and Saint Louis, king of the Franks. Nevertheless, because they were liberal rather than avaricious and poor in spirit, they undoubtedly entered the kingdom of heaven.

Jesus therefore speaks there about an avaricious rich man who acquires unlawfully, as commonly happens, for which reason Jerome says: “Every rich man is either unjust or the heir of an unjust man”; or about a rich man who, although acquiring justly, nevertheless retains tenaciously and avariciously and does not distribute to the poor when he ought. Ambrose speaks beautifully about this in Distinction 47, canon *Si is*. Or he speaks about a rich man who establishes his end in riches and loves them inordinately. Leo says about this: “Just as a Catholic man ought to be entangled in no error, so he ought to be entangled in no cupidity.” This is in Distinction 47.

That saying about the camel is explained in another way according to the Commentary. There was a certain gate of Jerusalem which was called “the Needle” because of its narrowness. Hence burdened animals, especially a camel, could not pass through it unless their loads were laid aside.

He therefore means that, just as a laden camel could not pass through that narrow gate unless unloaded, but could then pass through, so the rich man, after laying aside things badly acquired or detained and an inordinate affection for them, could enter through the narrow way of the kingdom of heaven; otherwise he could not.

Or *camelus* means a rope used on a ship. This could not pass through the eye of an intact needle, but could do so when untwisted and reduced to individual threads. And so forth.

He rebuked pride and ambition when his disciples gloried in the fact that they cast demons out of the possessed. Citing the terrible example of Lucifer’s punishment for pride, he said: “I saw Satan falling like lightning from heaven. Therefore, do not rejoice that spirits are subject to you, but that your names are written in heaven.” Luke testifies to this.

And when a thought of ambition entered them at the time of the Passion, as they disputed which of them was greater, he restrained them, declaring that the greater person in prelacy must serve the others rather than dominate them as they supposed.

A little earlier he had modestly corrected James and John, who through their mother had asked that one of them sit at his right and the other at his left in the kingdom, saying: “You do not know what you ask, because to sit at the right or the left,” that is, in a greater or lesser worthy degree of glory, “is not mine to give to you,” namely to the ambitious, “but to those for whom it has been

prepared by my Father," namely the humble. This accords with the saying: "He who humbles himself shall be exalted," just as, conversely, "he who exalts himself," namely through pride, "shall be humbled," cast down as far as hell.

Reproaching the vainglorious, he said about the scribes and Pharisees: "They do all their works so that they may be seen by human beings. They love the first places at banquets, the chairs in the synagogues, greetings in the marketplace, and to be called rabbi by everyone. They broaden their phylacteries and enlarge their fringes." Matthew relates this.

And in John, Jesus says to the Jews: "How can you believe, when you seek the glory that comes from human beings and not that which is from God?"

He also gave a precaution by which one might preserve oneself from that very vainglory, since it is a vice that enters secretly. According to Matthew, he said: "Take heed lest you perform your justice before human beings in order to be seen by them; otherwise you will have no reward." He explains this particularly concerning works that belong to the genus of good things--namely fasting, almsgiving, and prayer--lest they be performed openly for the sake of human praise. He taught the same by his own example, for when he performed miracles he commanded those who received health to conceal them.

He drew people away from pleasures, saying according to Luke: "Take heed lest your hearts be weighed down by surfeiting and drunkenness." He also drew them from lust when he said: "Let your loins be girded and your lamps burning." According to Gregory, to gird one's loins is to restrain oneself from the lust of the flesh.

He further showed that one must abstain not only from unlawful carnal acts but also from shameful thoughts, especially as regards consent, when he said: "Whoever sees a woman in order to lust after her has already committed adultery with her in his heart." And: "From the heart proceed evil thoughts, fornications, thefts, adulteries," and so forth, "and they defile a human being," namely with sin.

Just as he rebuked carnal vices in the most honorable words, or taught that they must be avoided, so also he maintained a way of life altogether lacking suspicion. For this reason, although the Jews and his rivals said many evil things about him, even falsely--such as that he was a glutton, a drinker of wine, possessed by a demon, an enchanter of demons, a violator of the Law, and a seducer--they nevertheless never dared disparage his chastity. Such was the purity of his life, which it befits a preacher to consider.

He very frequently and very sharply rebuked hypocrisy, especially that of the scribes, Pharisees, and priests. The scribes were doctors of the Law, while the Pharisees were, like religious today, more observant than others in austerities and ceremonies. He pronounces upon them those eternal woes, namely of damnation, explaining their hypocrisy in many matters throughout Matthew 23.

Nevertheless, he first teaches that those presiding, even if evil teachers, are to be revered and obeyed when they command lawful things, but that their lives, when evil, are not to be imitated. Hence he says: "The scribes and Pharisees have sat upon the chair of Moses," that is, they have received the office of teaching.

Thus Chrysostom, commenting on "upon the chair," and so forth, says: "See how you sit upon the chair. An evil priest acquires through his priesthood not dignity but guilt. You sit in judgment. For by living well and teaching well you instruct the people how they ought to live; but by speaking well and living badly you instruct God how he ought to condemn you." This is in Distinction 40, canon *Multi*.

Therefore our priests, prelates of the Church, and preachers, who succeed them, have sat and now sit upon the chair--that is, they have received the office and authority of teaching, instructing, and governing the people, just as Moses had. Therefore, "Whatever they say to you," namely what pertains to their office, "preserve" in your mind "and perform" in deed; but "according to their works," namely when they are evil, "do not act."

He taught the same by example when he sent the cleansed lepers to the priests, even if they were evil, to offer sacrifice according to the Law.

He calls it hypocrisy to display sanctity outwardly while inwardly possessing wickedness. Hence he compares them to whitewashed tombs, which outwardly appear beautiful and painted, but inwardly are full of the filth and uncleanness of corpses.

He also asserts that they are hypocrites because they built the tombs of the prophets whom their fathers had killed. For by building and venerating the prophets' tombs they intimated to the people that they detested the crimes of the fathers who had killed them. Nevertheless, they imitated them in deed by seeking to kill Jesus, the Lord of the prophets. Hence they pronounced against themselves the sentence upon their own detestable deed.

He also calls them hypocrites because they tithed mint, dill, and every herb, as though by this they wished to show that they observed the Law even in the smallest matters, yet omitted its weightier things, namely right judgment and charity.

Likewise, because they devoured widows' houses while feigning long prayer.

Likewise, because they took away the key of knowledge--that is, the power to teach the observance of the commandments by which heaven is opened--and yet neither entered themselves by observing them nor permitted others to enter, because of their evil example or false doctrine.

Hence elsewhere Christ says to his disciples: “Take heed against the leaven of the Pharisees, which is hypocrisy.” The apostles afterward understood that this was said about their doctrine, which appeared true but was false.

Likewise, because they went around sea and dry land to make one proselyte, that is, to convert a Gentile to Judaism, whom they afterward made worse than themselves through their evil example.

Likewise, because they honored God with their lips by saying psalms, but in prayer their heart was far from God.

Likewise, because they repeatedly cleansed hands, platters, dishes, and cups, as though zealous for cleanliness, but did not cleanse their hearts inwardly from wickedness.

Likewise, because they saw and reproved the speck--that is, other people’s small defects--but did not see or take care to remove the beam, that is, great sins, in the eyes of their own mind.

Likewise, because they made scruples for others when people were healed on the Sabbath, reckoning that the Sabbath was violated, although they themselves took care of brute animals on the Sabbath or raised them from a pit.

Likewise, because they asked him certain things as though wishing to know the truth of the matter, when they wished to calumniate him, as concerning the tribute to be given to Caesar.

“And woe to you lawyers,” he says, “who load human beings with burdens they cannot carry, and do not touch the loads with one finger.” Here Chrysostom says: “Such also are priests today, who command every justice to the people but themselves preserve not even the least. Such are those who impose a heavy weight upon those coming to penance, who speak and do not act. Thus, while the punishment of present penance is avoided because it is heavy, the future punishment, which is most heavy, is incurred.”

He gives the example of a young man who, when a heavy load is placed upon his shoulders, throws it off. And he adds: “If we err by imposing a small penance, is it not better to render an account to God for mercy than for cruelty?” This is in Cause 26, Question 7.

He chastised not only by word the sacrilegious and simoniacs signified by those buying and selling in the Temple, saying, “Do not make my Father’s house a house of commerce,” and at another time, “My house shall be called a house of prayer, but you have made it a den of thieves,” but also expelled them with a whip from the Temple, that is, from the Temple’s portico. Concerning this, see what is contained in Cause 16, Question 7; we have spoken about it above; and Cause 1, Question 1, canon *Qui studet*.

Against the wrathful and the degrees of anger, he intimated punishments, saying: “If anyone is angry with his brother, he shall be liable to judgment,” and so forth.

Against the envious scribes and Pharisees, who out of envy persecuted him and calumniated his miracles and works of holiness, and who, in order to extinguish his fame and fruit, handed him over to Pilate to be crucified--for Matthew says that he knew they had handed him over out of envy--he said: “Your house shall be left to you desolate,” namely of every temporal and spiritual good. And elsewhere: “So shall it be for this most wicked generation,” namely that an unclean spirit should enter it with seven others, that is, with the universality of vices.

He taught that one must beware of taking usury, saying according to Luke: “Give a loan, hoping for nothing from it.” This saying is cited in *Extra*, title *On Usury*, canon *Consuluit*.

Against those who cause scandal, he says according to Matthew: “Woe to the world because of scandals. It is necessary that scandals come”--not absolutely, but, according to Thomas, presupposing human negligence concerning the salvation of oneself and one’s neighbor. “But woe,” Christ adds, “to that person through whom scandal comes.” Material on scandal is found at length in the Second Part. According to Jerome, it must be observed that “woe” conveys eternal damnation.

Against the slothful who do not work well because of weariness, he says: “Cast the lazy servant into the exterior darkness.” And: “Every tree that does not bear good fruit shall be cut down and cast into the fire.” And to the apostles sleeping from weariness he says: “Watch and pray, lest you enter into temptation.”

Against the impenitent, he says: “Unless you do penance, you shall all perish alike.”

Against the unbelieving, he says: “Whoever does not believe,” namely the evangelical doctrine, “shall be condemned.” Indeed, according to John, Jesus says: “He has already been judged,” that is, one who perseveres in unbelief is regarded as condemned.

§ I. On His Teaching concerning the Virtues Necessary for Salvation

Concerning faith, he says: “You believe in God; believe also in me,” namely that I am not only a human being but also God. To believe in him is, by believing, to approach him through good works.

That one attains glory through this living faith he shows in what he adds: “In my Father’s house are many mansions,” that is, diverse rewards predestined for the elect according to the variety of their merits. “If it were otherwise,” he says--that is, if it were not so--“I would have told you, because I go to prepare a place for you,” by predestining it. But he does not indicate this, because it has already been done.

And he adds: “And if I go and prepare a place for you, I shall come again and receive you to myself.” That is, although the mansions of rewards have been prepared through predestination, another preparation must take place, namely through your good working, so that you may attain possession of the mansion prepared--that is, predestined--for you.

And this second preparation, namely through working, that is, through the living faith that will be in you while I am gone and you do not see me but nevertheless believe and act according to faith, means: “I shall come at your death and receive you to myself,” that is, into the eternal kingdom. Augustine explains it this way in *On Penance*, Distinction 4.

And elsewhere, as Mark testifies, he says: “Have faith in God. All things are possible to one who believes. And all things whatsoever that you ask while praying, believe that you shall receive them, and they shall come to pass for you,” namely things lawfully sought that are expedient for you.

And after the Resurrection, when he sent his disciples to preach, he said: “Whoever believes and is baptized shall be saved,” namely by possessing faith, form [read: formed faith].

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Three (continued)

Through hope he strengthened the disciples amid tribulations, saying: “You are those who have remained with me in my temptations, and I dispose a kingdom to you,” as he himself says according to Luke.

He led people toward confidence in the forgiveness of sins, saying to the paralytic: “Have confidence, son; your sins are forgiven you.” He aroused them toward that same confidence, which must be possessed amid tribulations and temptations, or toward hope in divine help, saying: “Have confidence; I have conquered the world,” as John relates.

He commanded the possession of charity, recalling God’s ancient command, namely: “You shall love the Lord your God with your whole heart,” and so forth, “and your neighbor as yourself,” as Matthew writes. To fulfill this, in his last discourse he frequently reminded the disciples, saying: “A new commandment I give you,” that is, one renewing the human being spiritually, “that you love one another as I have loved you.”

The commanded love of God is included in the love of one’s neighbor by the rule: “That for the sake of which each thing is loved is itself loved more.” Therefore, since one’s neighbor is to be loved for God’s sake, God himself is to be loved much more.

He invited them to the interior acts of charity, namely joy and peace, saying, as Matthew testifies: “When human beings have persecuted you and, lying because of me, have spoken every evil against you, rejoice and exult, because your reward is great in heaven”; and again through Luke: “Rejoice because your names are written in heaven.”

He commanded that peace be preserved, saying in Mark’s Gospel: “Have salt in yourselves,” that is, discretion, “and have peace among yourselves.” And in his last discourse, according to John, he says: “Peace I leave to you,” namely to be preserved; “my peace I give to you,” that is, true peace, which consists in conforming oneself to the divine will and subjecting the passions to reason.

His greeting was, “Peace be to you,” namely the peace that has been described, as John testifies. His farewell was, “Go in peace,” as he says to Mary Magdalene and others.

He commanded exterior acts of love. Concerning spiritual alms, he says: “If your brother has sinned against you, correct him between you and him alone,” and so forth, as Matthew writes. You have the exposition of this in the Second Part, title *On Sloth*.

Concerning corporal alms, he says: “Give what remains as alms,” namely from it, “and all things are clean for you,” that is, you do not contract the uncleanness of sin from retaining these things. This is in *On Penance*, Distinction 1, canon *Medicamentum*. Concerning when alms is commanded and when it is counseled, you have material in the Second Part, title *On Avarice*.

Augustine says in *On Penance*, Distinction 5, canon 1, that in the judgment of the heart the alms of the giver must be considered. One must no longer consider how much he gives of what he can, but with what mind and affection he gives it.

He gives the example of the widow who put two small coins into the Temple treasury, that is, the receptacle for alms. As Luke and Mark relate, when Jesus looked upon those then placing gifts in the treasury and many put in great gifts, seeing that widow put in two denarii, Jesus called the disciples and commended or praised the widow above all who had put in great gifts, because from

great affection and devotion she had given all she possessed, although it was little, while the others had given from their abundance.

He teaches prudence, saying according to Matthew's Gospel: "Be prudent as serpents." And because the prudence of the world is cunning and deception, he recalls them from this by adding, "and simple as doves," so that they do not devise deceits against others.

Concerning the parts of prudence, with regard to memory he says: "Remember Lot's wife," who, because she looked back, was turned into a statue of salt as a terror to those who withdraw from a holy resolution.

With regard to foresight for the future, he says: "Make friends for yourselves from the mammon of iniquity, so that when you fail they may receive you into eternal tabernacles." Luke testifies to this. That is: Give alms to the poor, who through their merits and prayers may procure a mansion in heaven for you. Do this from the mammon of iniquity, namely from riches acquired through excessive solicitude, or distributed unequally, or, if unlawfully acquired, restored when the persons to whom restitution must be made are known, or distributed to the poor if they are unknown.

With regard to circumspection concerning present things, he says: "Watch, because you do not know at what hour the Lord is to come." For the householder keeps watch when he fears a thief and does not permit his house to be dug through. That thief is the devil, digging through it with temptations of vices so that he may steal the treasure of virtues.

He especially instructed that diligence, a part of prudence, must be possessed in acquiring beatitude and virtues, saying: "Seek first the kingdom of God and his justice, and all these things shall be added to you," as Matthew relates.

Concerning the act of justice, he says according to John: "Do not judge according to the face," that is, according to acceptance of persons, "but judge a just judgment."

Concerning the virtues annexed to justice that must be exercised by us, as regards religion he says, as Luke testifies: "One must always pray and never cease." This is understood as meaning that, even if not always in act, one must at least always pray in readiness, so that the desire of charity from which true prayer proceeds may always be in us.

Or one must always pray, that is, pray sometimes at every season. As an example of prayer's continuation or frequency he gives the unjust judge who feared neither God nor a human being. Although he had repeatedly refused to hear the widow who petitioned him in her case, he finally heard her, overcome by her importunity.

And elsewhere, as he himself declares, he says: "Ask, and you shall receive." What must principally be requested he declares, as John writes, saying: "Ask, and you shall receive, so that your joy may be full." This is fulfilled in the blessed life.

According to Luke, he added the similitude of the friend who came to his friend at midnight so that he would lend him three loaves. Although he at first refused, when the other persevered in knocking, he finally arose and gave him as many as he needed.

He led people toward works of dutifulness toward parents by citing the command of the Law, for God said: "Honor your father and mother," and so forth.

He urged obedience to superiors, namely to God and to human beings, saying as contained in Matthew: "Take my yoke," namely of obedience, "upon you, and you shall find rest for your souls. For my yoke," namely of obedience, "is sweet, and my burden," namely of commandments, "is light"--light to reason indeed, but also to sensuality already accustomed to it.

And again: "Whatever they," namely those presiding, "say to you, preserve and perform," provided that it is not contrary to God's commands. "For one who hears you," that is, obeys, "hears me," he says according to Luke; "and one who despises you," namely the prelates by not obeying, "despises me."

He invited people to show mercy to their neighbors, saying: "Be merciful, just as your Father is merciful."

He called them to penance, which is also a virtue, saying: "Do penance, for the kingdom of God will draw near"--because penance disposes toward grace, which leads to glory.

He wished them to be brave and constant, for he says: "Do not fear those who kill the body and after this have nothing more that they can do," so that, namely, you do not desert truth or the virtues because of fear; "but fear him who can destroy soul and body in Gehenna." Matthew relates these words.

He also shows from this that patience is good, that is, virtuous, because people bring forth its fruit in patience. After relating the many tribulations of the elect, he concluded, as Luke testifies: "In your patience you shall possess your souls."

He taught that perseverance, a part of fortitude, brings one to the crown, saying: "Not the one who begins, but the one who perseveres to the end shall be saved."

He did not pass over sobriety and temperance with the things annexed to them. For when he said according to John, “When the grain of wheat has died, it bears much fruit,” he intimated that mortification of the senses through continence produces abundant meritorious fruit.

He illustrated abstinence by example, fasting forty days and nights. Concerning the disciples, he says: “When the bridegroom is taken away from them,” namely withdrawn from them through the Ascension, “then they shall fast.” Yet amid such great abstinence, even when they were not fasting, he governed them so that, when overcome by hunger while passing through fields, they rubbed ears of grain in their hands and ate the kernels.

Concerning conjugal chastity, he says according to Matthew: “Whoever leaves his wife except because of fornication causes her to commit adultery; and whoever marries one left by another commits adultery and perpetrates adultery.”

He himself preserved virginity together with his mother and her spouse, and recommended it to his disciple John as belonging to a more perfect state. He recommended rather than commanded it, and also always preserved it most excellently.

He commanded humility, saying: “Learn from me, because I am meek and humble of heart.” Meekness conveys mildness, which, like humility, is assigned to temperance.

And elsewhere he says: “When you have done all things that were commanded to you, say: We are unprofitable servants, and we have done what we ought to have done.” He also says repeatedly: “He who humbles himself shall be exalted”; and again: “Whoever humbles himself like this little child,” whom he had called to himself, “is greater in the kingdom of heaven.”

As it is said in the Book of Wisdom, divine Wisdom incarnate teaches sobriety, that is, temperance; wisdom, that is, prudence; justice; and virtue, that is, fortitude. Nothing is better for human beings in life than these.

§ II. On His Teaching concerning the Counsels

No one is obligated to fulfill the counsels while he is free, but if he binds himself to them by a vow, then he is bound to them by necessity. When these are observed, they are of greater merit and lead toward perfection.

Hence Jerome says: “If you do not wish to use the Lord’s counsel, you will obtain less good. Likewise, where counsel is given, the decision belongs to the one making the offering; where a command is given, necessity belongs to the one obeying.” This is in Cause 14, Question 1, canon *Quod praecipitur*.

Their observance makes the person who observes them a perfect disciple of Christ, and places a person obligated to them--namely poverty, chastity, and obedience--in the perfection of a state, though not in personal perfection. That is, he is in a state of perfection because these dispose him instrumentally toward perfection, not because they make the person already perfect.

Hence the Lord Jesus says, as Luke relates: “Unless anyone renounces all that he possesses, he cannot be my disciple.” We possess temporal things, which are renounced through poverty; the body, which is renounced as regards its greatest pleasures, namely even sexual pleasures lawful in themselves, as in marriage, through chastity; and the soul, whose chief power, as though commanding the others, is the will, which is renounced through obedience.

In the observance of these counsels consists the perfect discipleship of Christ, which the apostles observed and true religious preserve. But one must persevere in observance of this kind.

Hence Christ adds the example of one wishing to build a tower, which signifies the height of perfection. He first considers the expenses needed to complete it; otherwise he does not begin, lest, beginning and not completing, he be mocked. So one who wishes to assume such a state ought first to examine altogether well whether he is prepared to complete everything and afterward pursue it if the resolution has been adopted. For by turning back, even if he wears the habit and does not intend to complete the tower of perfection, he is mocked by everyone.

He gives another example about a king against whom another comes to fight, because if he does not see himself fit to resist, he does not undertake the war. When anyone adopts discipleship and a state of this kind, the ancient enemy prepares himself to tempt him more terribly than others, and in a thousand ways. Hence one who is not prepared to suffer everything, even to death, and always to fight courageously should not enter a war of this kind.

It is nevertheless true, as has been said, that no one is compelled to this, but is invited to it as something better. This is evident from Christ’s manner of speaking about each of these counsels.

For concerning poverty he says in Matthew to a certain young man: “If you wish to be perfect, sell everything you possess and give to the poor, and follow me.” He does not command, but leaves it to freedom of the will.

Concerning chastity, after he had seen that some abstain from the sexual act by nature, namely because of frigidity; some by accident, namely those cut or castrated by human beings; and others by spontaneous will, namely those who have castrated

themselves for the kingdom of heaven, that is, abstain from acts of this kind for God's sake, he added: "He who can receive it," namely such a state, "let him receive it." It is as though he said: No one is compelled.

Concerning obedience, he says: "Whoever wishes to come after me," that is, to a state of perfection, "let him deny himself," that is, his own will, "and take up his cross," by mortifying the senses and pleasures, "and follow me."

And note what Augustine says to Valerius: "I confess simply before my soul: just as I have with difficulty found better people than those who have advanced in monasteries, so I have with difficulty found worse than those who have failed in monasteries." This is in Distinction 47, canon *Quantumlibet*. Religious should therefore attend to the observance of the counsels.

Concerning the counsels of patience, the Lord says: "If anyone strikes you on the right cheek, offer him the other also. And to the one who wishes to contend with you in judgment and take your tunic, leave him your cloak also. And if anyone compels you for a thousand paces, go with him," and so forth.

Augustine says that these precepts are to be understood more according to the preparation of the mind than according to the work that is done openly, so that patience together with benevolence may be maintained in the secrecy of the soul, while outwardly that is done which is seen to benefit those to whom we ought to wish well. This is in Cause 23, Question 1, canon *Paratus*.

Therefore, as regards the soul's preparation, they are commandments: a person is to be prepared to suffer an even greater or another injury if the same person should inflict it, with patience and without hatred. But literally to do this outwardly is under counsel, namely when he believes it would benefit the one committing the injury and not add evil to evil. Another moral exposition is also given, which I omit.

To give alms when the Lord says, "Give, and it shall be given to you," is under counsel when a person has nothing superfluous to his station, even if he possesses something beyond what nature requires for himself and his own, and when he sees need but not extreme necessity.

Likewise, "Give a loan," provided that profit is not hoped for, because it would then be usury. This is in *Extra*, title *On Usury*, canon *Consuluit*. Christ says: "Give a loan, hoping for nothing from it."

To do good to those who hate you and to pray for those who calumniate you, which the Lord says in the Gospel: as regards the special spiritual benefits and special prayers we perform for friends, to do this for enemies falls under counsel; as regards common benefits, or if they were in extreme necessity, it would be commanded, according to Thomas.

Human beings are inclined to desire riches, pleasures, vainglory, or honors. They hold these in honor and flee their opposites, namely poverty, bodily infirmity, vileness, and dejection. Therefore the Lord Jesus, with Luke relating not a parable but a true history, sets forth riches [read: the rich man] and poor Lazarus. The rich man was wealthy and avaricious, did not help the beggar, was clothed in purple and fine linen because of pride and vainglory, and feasted splendidly every day because of gluttony, after which lust follows.

By contrast, the beggar Lazarus was full of sores and so abject and despised that he remained wounded in the road, forsaken by everyone. But when the rich man died, he was buried in hell with his goods and, tormented in the flame, could not obtain even a drop of water for refreshment. When Lazarus died with his misery, he was carried by angels into Abraham's bosom and now rests in glory, so that by this example human beings may be drawn away from worldly things and willingly bear austerities, infirmities, and other adversities.

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Three (continued)

§ III. On Jesus's Replies to Inquiries Made by the Jews for the Sake of Tempting and Disparaging Him, Concerning Various Subjects, and on the Resolution of Questions

When Matthew the Apostle, converted from being a publican, made a great feast for Jesus in his house, to which he had invited many sinners so that they too might be converted, the Pharisees asked Jesus's disciples: "Why does your master eat with publicans and sinners?" Jesus replied: "Those who are well have no need of a physician, but those who are ill do." That is: I came into the world as a physician, to heal, as Isaiah says, the infirmities of souls. Therefore, just as it neither befits nor behooves a physician of bodies to visit the healthy but the sick, so it behooves me, the physician of souls, to associate with infirm sinners so that I may heal them. Hence he concludes: "I did not come to call the just"--for there were none, since "all have sinned," as the Apostle says in Romans 3--"but sinners to penance," which is the medicine.

When the scribes and Pharisees asked why his disciples transgressed the traditions of the elders by not washing their hands when they ate, it was because the scribes taught the people to wash their hands frequently when eating, so that they might thus appear to observe what the Lord said through Isaiah: “Wash; be clean.” This is understood of cleansing the mind through penance. Christ’s disciples sometimes did not wash their hands, either through inattention or because they lacked the opportunity.

Jesus answered them: “Why do you also transgress God’s commandment for the sake of your traditions?” By this he showed that they did not reasonably rebuke the disciples: first, because they themselves committed graver things, for it is worse to transgress the commandments of God than those of human beings. Since they themselves transgressed God’s commandment, as he shows, they were unfit to rebuke others for transgressing human traditions. Second, not washing one’s hands before eating was not in itself a sin.

He declares that the scribes and Pharisees transgressed God’s commandment, saying: “God said, ‘Honor your father,’” and so forth, “but you say”--that is, you teach children to say to their parents--“Whatever gift is from me will profit you,” and he will not honor his father. This is an obscure expression. To clarify it, one must know that the scribes and Pharisees, or priests, persuaded the crowds to make vows to the Lord or the Temple from their possessions. When they wished to fulfill them, but parents who needed those possessions objected and asked rather that the children assist their own parents, the priests taught the children to answer them: “O my father, the gift that is from me”--that is, what I have vowed to the Temple--“will profit your soul just as it will mine.” Thus, by offering it to the Temple, even though he did not honor his father by giving to him and relieving his need, it was said to suffice for salvation. Yet in reality this was contrary to that commandment concerning the honoring of parents.

Or it may be expounded interrogatively in this way. When a father sought assistance from his son, the son would say, according to the teaching given them by the priests: “My father, will whatever gift is from me profit you?” That is: How could the gift I vowed profit you if I gave it to you, since I owe it to God? Thus parents, fearing that they would harm their own souls by turning their sons away from offerings to the Temple, permitted the sons to give away the things they themselves needed. Through their teaching the scribes thereby made void that commandment of God, as though it did not bind children.

Jesus declares that eating without washing one’s hands does not defile a person, that is, is not a sin. Hence, calling the crowds together, he said: “It is not what enters the mouth that defiles a person, but what comes out of the mouth.” He means that food of itself, whatever kind it is and however it is taken, whether with washed or unwashed hands, does not stain the soul with sin. But what comes from the bodily mouth as words, or from the mouth of the heart as desire, does stain it, if it is an evil word or desire.

For when someone sins through gluttony, that sin does not arise from eating a particular delicate food or a food forbidden on a certain day. Someone else eats a similar food, or eats on the same day, without the vice of gluttony. Rather, the first person sins because he acts from a disordered appetite, and this proceeds from the mouth of the heart. Certain foods were forbidden in the Law as figures and for another cause, not because they were unclean in themselves.

When Peter said that the Pharisees had been scandalized by these words, Jesus replied: “Let them alone; they are blind and leaders of the blind.” He teaches that the scandal of the Pharisees--proceeding not from ignorance or frailty but from malice--is not to be heeded in such a way that good works or true doctrine are omitted to avoid it.

When Peter asked, “Explain the parable to us,” Jesus spoke sternly to them, in the manner of a good teacher who reproves his disciples for dullness of understanding so as to sharpen them. “Are you also still without understanding?” he said. “Do you not understand that everything entering the mouth goes into the belly and is discharged into the privy?” That is, part of what is eaten is discharged as fecal matter, namely the coarser part, while the subtler part is converted into nourishment. This does not of itself defile a person; food is not unclean in itself. Rather, what proceeds from the mouth first proceeds from the heart. For evil thoughts and all sins proceed from the heart, that is, from the will, according to Ambrose’s saying: “None of us is held guilty unless he has strayed by his own will.” This is in Cause 15, Question 1, canon *Nec est*.

Luke relates that on another occasion a Pharisee invited Jesus to dine and began in his mind to accuse him because he had not been baptized--that is, washed--before the meal. Christ, seeing his thought and thereby manifesting his divinity, rebuked their vain superstition: they exercised great diligence about exterior cleanliness and none about interior purity. He said: “Fool, did not he who made what is outside also make what is inside?”--that is, the soul, which is principal and must therefore be cleansed more than the body.

Again, while Jesus was traveling through the grainfields, his disciples, overcome by hunger, began to gather ears of grain, rub out the kernels with their hands, and eat; and this was on the Sabbath. The Pharisees therefore approached and said: “Behold, your disciples do what is not lawful on the Sabbath.” Christ replied by affirming that they were innocent, because necessity in matters of this kind has no law, either as regards the commanded day or as regards another’s property. This is in *On Consecration*, Distinction 5, canon *Discipulos*, with the gloss. Christ brought forward as an example David and his companions, who, when hungry, ate the loaves of proposition offered to them by Abimelech the high priest, although according to the Law laypeople were not permitted to eat them. David is not reproved for this.

On another occasion, while he was teaching in the Temple, the chief priests and Pharisees asked Jesus by what authority he did the things he was doing. He answered them: “I also will ask you one thing; answer me. Whence was John’s baptism: from God, or from human beings?” They refused to answer because they saw that whatever reply they made would confound them. If they said, “From God,” Christ would infer: “Why, then, did you not believe him?” If they said, “From human beings,” they feared being stoned by the people, who held John in the greatest reverence as a prophet. They therefore said that they did not know. Christ answered them: “Neither do I tell you by what authority I do these things.” They asked in order to calumniate, and therefore he did not answer them.

§ IV

Again, when Jesus said in his preaching, “Blessed are the eyes that see what you see,” this is not understood solely of bodily sight of Christ, for Caiaphas, Pilate, and many other reprobates saw him in that way. Nor is it understood solely of spiritual vision, for the fathers of the Old Testament saw in that way. Rather, it concerns both kinds of vision together, which the Apostles and many others possessed when they saw and believed in him. For seeing the incarnate Word himself, from whom comes our beatification, was as it were a certain fruition.

As though wishing to display a desire for beatitude, a certain lawyer asked him, although he was tempting him to discover whether he knew how to answer: “Master, what must I do to possess eternal life?” Jesus answered: “What is written in the Law?” That is: If you ask for the sake of knowing, since you are a teacher of the Law you ought to know. You, therefore, tell me. When he answered, “You shall love the Lord your God with your whole heart,” and so forth, “and your neighbor as yourself,” Jesus said: “You have answered rightly; do this and you shall live.” You have the full exposition of this in the Fourth Part, title *On Charity*. Here it is also shown that assent is to be given when adversaries speak the truth.

The lawyer then asked: “Who is my neighbor?” He did so not to be taught, but from arrogance, regarding himself as so good and perfect that no one was similar or close to him in goodness. Therefore the evangelist who narrates this says that he wished to justify himself. He was so untaught that he did not truly understand who is called a neighbor, but thought that one close by nature or similar to himself in morals and knowledge was his neighbor.

Through a parable the Lord Jesus declared that every human being who needs something or can assist another is our neighbor. Since every person in the present life needs many things, both in soul and body, and can help another in some respect, every person is therefore our neighbor. And because Jesus himself has assisted us all most greatly by rescuing us from death, he is above all our neighbor and must be loved by us principally.

Because the parable concerned him as one descending from heaven to raise us to heaven, when he spoke it, as Luke the evangelist says, Jesus himself looked up to heaven. “A certain man,” he said, “was going down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and fell among robbers,” and so forth.

This man signifies the human race, which descended from the state of true peace it saw within itself--for Jerusalem is interpreted “vision of peace”--when it transgressed the commandment in the earthly paradise, and came to Jericho, that is, to this world full of change and misery. For Jericho is interpreted as the moon, which changes frequently.

The robbers among whom it fell were the demons. Through original sin and the actual sins added to it, they stripped the human race of the gratuitous goods of the virtues and wounded it in its natural powers: through ignorance; malice; frailty or weakness in doing good; and concupiscence, that is, inclination toward evil. It was not, however, wholly killed by them, but left half-alive, because although liable to death and very near it, it was nevertheless capable of being healed through Christ’s redemption.

Along this road of the present life, where the wounded man lay pierced with wounds, a certain priest passed by. He saw him and went on without helping him in any way. For Aaron, the first priest, together with all the others of the priestly order who offered sacrifices for the people, although they understood the wounds of the human race, knew that they could not heal even themselves, much less the human race.

Likewise, the Levite signifies Moses, leader of the people, together with all the kings and leaders of the world or of that people. Although he knew its misery, he could not help it. This is what the text says: “Likewise a Levite, when he passed by that road and saw him, did the same” as the priest.

But a certain Samaritan, making a journey there, saw the wounded man and was moved by mercy. This is the Son of God, our guardian, for “Samaritan” is interpreted “guardian.” He made that very journey when, through the assumption of our flesh, he became a wayfarer. Perfectly understanding our misery, he was moved by mercy and drew near to the wounded man. He did not place himself in the same condition in which the man lay, but near it, because he assumed flesh like ours--that is, passible flesh--but not our guilt.

He poured stinging wine into the wounded man’s wounds and afterward soothing oil, binding the wounds with bandages. For in himself he displayed both justice, inflicting a penalty in satisfaction for sin, and soothing mercy--that is, mercy remitting

sins--which he offered to the human race. He left the powers of these things, namely of his Passion, in the sacraments, and thus bound the wounds.

He placed the man upon his own beast, because, as Peter says, he himself bore our sins--that is, the penalty for sins--in his body upon the wood of the cross.

On the next day, that is, after the Resurrection, which was for him another state than when he was mortal, he called the innkeeper, namely Peter and every successor of his, together with every prelate comprehended under Peter's name. He brought forth two denarii: either the two Testaments of Sacred Scripture; or the two commandments of love of God and neighbor; or authority together with a good life and doctrine. He said to him, "Take care of him," as Christ said to Peter, "Feed my sheep."

"And whatever you spend over and above"--whether by doing more in conduct than you are bound to do, or in doctrine by adding beyond the two denarii of the Old and New Testaments sometimes even sayings of the Gentiles--will be repaid. Paul acted in this way: although he could lawfully seek support from the Corinthians to whom he preached, he abstained so that he might bear fruit among them, and worked with his hands to provide for himself and his companions. In his teaching he also sometimes cited poets or philosophers, as is evident in Acts and his Epistles.

Therefore, when the Samaritan returns--that is, when he comes to judgment--he will repay such people a reward for what they have spent over and above. After this parable had been told, Jesus asked the lawyer which of those three--the priest, the Levite, or the Samaritan--seemed to him to have been a neighbor to the wounded man.

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Three (continued)

The lawyer answered: "He who showed mercy to him." Jesus said to him: "Go, and do likewise": when you see someone in need, assist him as your neighbor; and regard the one who assists you as your neighbor as well. Because I supremely free you and all others, you must love me as your principal neighbor and not tempt me.

On another occasion another lawyer asked Jesus, tempting him: "Master, what is the great commandment in the Law?" He replied: "You shall love the Lord your God with your whole heart," and so forth. "This is the greatest and first commandment," namely in dignity and priority.

He says "with your whole heart," because, as Prosper says in the book *On the Contemplative Life*, a person sins in that part in which he loves less. If we love with the whole heart, there will be nothing in us by which we serve the desires of sin. What is it to love God except to occupy the soul with him, to conceive an affection for enjoying his vision, hatred for sin, and disgust for the world? This is in *On Penance*, Distinction 2, canon *Ergo*.

Jesus added: "The second is like this," namely in usefulness, for the one includes the other. Whoever truly loves God also loves his neighbor, because God commands this and because the neighbor is God's noblest work. Whoever truly loves his neighbor certainly loves God as well, according to the rule, "That for the sake of which each thing is loved is itself loved more." For one's neighbor is to be loved by us for God's sake: because God commands it, and because the neighbor was created to attain God in the fatherland with us.

He expresses the manner of love: "You shall love your neighbor," he says, "as yourself." The likeness is in kind. A person is not bound to love his neighbor as much as himself, but to love himself more than his neighbor. Yet he ought to love his neighbor for the same things and in the same order as he loves himself: first, for good morals and the attainment of eternal life; second, as regards the body, by providing for his needs insofar as he can. Prosper declares this in the cited chapter *Ergo* in *On Penance*, Distinction 2.

There Prosper also says: "In love itself we must preserve the lawful measure and not overturn the established order of love. Those overturn the order of love who either love the world, which is to be despised; or love their bodies, which should be loved less, too much; or do not love their neighbors as themselves; or perhaps do not love God more than themselves." According to Thomas in the *Second Part of the Second Part*, the order itself, and not only love, falls under the commandment.

Hence it is said in Canticles 1 [read: Canticles 2]: "The king"--namely Christ--"brought me into the wine cellar," namely the Church, where there is the principal wine of charity, "and he ordered charity in me." That is, he not only gave the wine of charity but also its order.

"On these two commandments depend the whole Law and the Prophets." The first is found in Deuteronomy 6; the second is found in Leviticus 19, although in these words: "You shall love your friend as yourself." One whom Christ calls a neighbor is called a

friend there. As Prosper and all other doctors say, “neighbor” means not merely someone joined to us by a degree of blood relationship, but all human beings who share our nature. This is in *On Penance*, Distinction 2, chapter *Ergo*.

Everything handed down to us in the Law and the Prophets was written to this end: that through it we might know God and the things to be done by us, and, knowing, might love God, ourselves, and our neighbor in due manner. The Apostle therefore rightly says: “The whole Law is fulfilled in one saying: You shall love your neighbor as yourself.” Rational self-love is included in this love, and the love of God much more, as has been said.

When those Pharisees and scribes had assembled, Christ then put a question to them, asking: “What do you think of the Christ? Whose son is he?”--that is, God’s or a human being’s? They answered, “David’s.” This is the error of the Jews: they not only do not believe that the Christ or Messiah promised them in the Law has already come, as indeed he has, but they also believe that when he comes he will not be the natural Son of God, but a mere human being and a son of God through adoption and principal grace, not by nature. They therefore say that he is David’s son, because he will be born from David’s stock like other human beings.

Jesus refutes their error by the authority of David himself in the psalm, which they hold to be most true. Hence Jesus says: “How, then, does David, speaking in the Spirit, say: ‘The Lord said to my Lord: Sit at my right hand,’” and so forth?

This is expounded truthfully: “The Lord”--the Father--“said to my Lord,” namely Christ his Son: “Lord” by divinity, “my” by the assumption of flesh from my lineage. For if David had regard only to God the Creator, he would not have said “my” rather than “our,” since God rules all people. “Sit at my right hand”: according to divinity, be equal to me in glory. God’s saying is his doing. According to the humanity, however, to sit at the right hand is to rest in the preeminent state of glory above all angels and saints.

The words “Until I place your enemies,” and so forth, may be taken indefinitely. It is as though he said: Because your enemies, whether unbelievers or demons, will always be placed and remain beneath your feet--that is, subject to you--you will therefore always sit at the right hand.

Or it can be understood with a definite term, so as to mark the time of his coming to judgment. For although he is now situated locally in the empyrean heaven, then in his glorified humanity he will descend into the air, visible to all the good and the evil. God will then place all Christ’s enemies beneath his feet, that is, will manifest to everyone that Christ as man is the true Lord and God and judge of all--something unbelievers now do not believe.

Jesus therefore concludes by convicting them of error: “If David calls him Lord, how is he his son?” That is: a father does not customarily call his own son “lord,” but “subject.” Yet because David knew in the Spirit that Jesus Christ would descend from him according to humanity in such a way as nevertheless to be true God, he called him his Lord. Confounded by this, they did not dare question Jesus further. Hence it appears that this occurred near the time of the Passion.

§ V

On one occasion, when at dawn he had come from the Mount of Olives to the Temple, the scribes and Pharisees brought before him a certain adulteress and said: “Master, this woman was just now caught in adultery. Moses commanded in the Law that women of this kind be stoned. What, therefore, do you say?” As John says, in relating this they asked the question not for the sake of knowing the truth, but to tempt and calumniate him.

For they had reasoned and agreed among themselves: If he answers that the adulteress is to be stoned, we shall then defame him among the people for cruelty and for having no mercy or kindness toward sinners. But because he knows himself pleasing to the people on account of the mercy and piety he displays toward sinners, he will avoid saying this. If, however, he says that she should be spared and not stoned, we shall accuse him of transgressing the Law, or of teaching contrary to Moses’s Law. He must therefore give one of these two replies, and whichever he gives, we shall catch him in his word. He will be ashamed to remain silent, lest he appear ignorant. Yet there is no wisdom and there is no counsel against the Lord.

After hearing the question proposed to him, Jesus did not answer immediately, but bent down and wrote with his finger on the ground. In this he instructs judges not to be hasty in delivering judgments or in answering questions. Rather, as Gregory says in Cause 3, Question 7, canon *Postulatus*, one should examine the case with the finger of discernment and inquiry in the earth of the heart and afterward deliver judgment according to the law.

When the scribes persisted so that Jesus would answer, he rose and said: “Let the one among you who is without sin be the first to cast a stone at her.” That is: justice requires that the adulteress be punished, but justice also dictates that she not be accused and condemned by those guilty of graver sins and worse than hers, such as those accusing her.

Again bending down, he wrote on the ground. The evangelist does not say what he wrote. Some say, “Earth accuses earth.” Others say that he wrote the sins of the accusers, but in such a way that they alone could read their own sins and could not read those of others, lest they be defamed.

After this, the scribes and Pharisees began to withdraw one after another, beginning with the elders, perhaps because they were ashamed of their sins, which they read, and feared that others would read them. The adulteress remained alone, that is, without accusers, for the disciples and crowds were present.

Jesus rose and said: “Where are those who accused you? Has no one condemned you?” She said: “No one, Lord.” That is: I am reserved for your judgment alone, you who alone are without sin. Pass sentence, but according to your great mercy, for justice alone condemns.

The Lord said: “Neither will I condemn you.” Augustine says that the Lord freed the sinful woman because there was no one who could justly cast a stone. For how could one stone another when he knew himself deserving of stoning? None of them was without grave sin. Venial sins, however, were remitted through ceremonies, according to the gloss there. “Venial” here means sins that were truly mortal but of such a kind that through the ceremonies of the Law they were remitted with respect to avoiding the Law’s temporal penalty, though not with respect to God except through interior penance.

The crimes of those Pharisees were therefore so grave that they were punished by death under the Law and were not expiated by sacrifices. This is in *On Penance*, Distinction 6, canon *Qui vult*. Whether a judge existing in mortal sin himself sins in passing sentence may be seen in the Third Part, title *On Judges*.

Nor can just any judge free one condemned to death on the basis of this example. A judge does not possess the absolute authority Christ possessed above every law, as author of all right and Lord of the whole creation. A good judge, Ambrose says, pronounces according to laws and rights. This is in Cause 3, Question 7, canon *Iudicet*.

“Go,” Jesus added, “and sin no more.” Not only should you not sin in act; you should not even possess the will to sin, but should have a resolution of the will not to sin in the future.

When Jesus was across the Jordan in the borders of Judea, Pharisees came to him and asked, tempting him: “Is it lawful for a man to dismiss his wife for any cause?” He replied: “Have you not read that he who made the human being from the beginning, male and female, said”--namely through Adam--“For this reason a man shall leave father and mother”? That is, he shall not be joined to them in marriage: neither a son to his mother nor a daughter to her father.

This degree alone was prohibited from contracting marriage in the beginning, not the first collateral degree, that is, between brother and sister, because there were no other people. Afterward, however, certain degrees were prohibited by natural law; those and several others by the Mosaic law; and still others were added by canon law, as is evident in *Extra*, title *On Consanguinity and Affinity*, final chapter.

“And he shall cleave to his wife.” He speaks in the singular, because he is joined to one, not several. “And the two shall be in one flesh,” that is, for generating one offspring. “Thus they are now not two but one flesh,” that is, one indissoluble bond of matrimony, which cannot be dissolved by a conjugal union with another spouse.

“Therefore, what God has joined”--namely by the conjugal bond instituted by him--“let no human being separate” by his own authority, either by taking another spouse or another woman, nor let a judge separate it by his sentence or law. It is certain that a consummated marriage cannot be dissolved by the pope’s authority or by human law, since this is a matter of divine law, as Gregory says in Cause 27, Question 2, canon *Sunt qui dicunt*, and as the gloss there says concerning union through copulation. Whether a union of souls expressed through words in the present tense can be dispensed from is doubtful among theologians; nevertheless, the pope grants a dispensation, which canonists hold can be done. You have this material fully in the Third Part, title 1, and in the titles *On the Sacraments* and *On Impediments to Marriage*.

From this the Pharisees raised another question, saying: “Why, then, did Moses command that a bill of repudiation be given, a wife be dismissed, and another be taken?” He replied: “Because of the hardness of your heart, Moses permitted you to dismiss your wives. From the beginning, however, it was not so,” that is, it was not thus instituted by God.

Whether giving a bill of repudiation was a sin for them is a doubtful question, and according to the theologians there are arguments on both sides. According to this text, however, it seems truer that no repudiation excused them from sin, but only from the Law’s temporal penalty, which was imposed on adulterers. Hence Christ says: “Because of the hardness of your heart, Moses permitted this.” It was a comparative permission, namely when a lesser evil is permitted--that is, is not punished by law--so as to avoid a greater. Moses thus permitted it to avoid wife-murder. For if they had been unable to dismiss their wives because the law prohibited--that is, punished--it, they would have killed them in order to take others. Chrysostom says this in Cause 31, Question 1, canon *Hac ratione*, though obscurely; the gloss makes it clear.

Christ says: “But I say to you that whoever dismisses his wife, except for fornication, and takes another, commits adultery.” Thus in the New Testament this is in no way permitted, but is prohibited. This is in Cause 31, Question 1, § *Sed obicitur*, and it is punished also by human law.

Here one should note that a wife may be dismissed by her husband, or conversely a husband by his wife, in three ways. In one way, as regards the bond, so that it is dissolved, as was done by a bill of repudiation, and the person is joined to another. This can in no

way be done after a consummated marriage, unless the marriage were proved to have existed in fact but to have been null in law because a diriment impediment was discovered. Then, properly speaking, the wife is not dismissed, because they were not wife and husband.

If by common consent one spouse were to enter a monastery, which can be done according to Cause 27, Question 2, canon *Agathosa*, that bond is not thereby dissolved, but passes into a spiritual partnership. A true consummated marriage cannot be dissolved because of any other circumstance arising later, whether heresy, another sin, sorcery that causes impotence, poverty, an incurable illness such as leprosy, or the like, in such a way that one spouse could be joined in marriage or coupled carnally with another. See Cause 32, Question 5, canon *Puto* and canon *Horrendus*.

In a second way, a spouse is dismissed as regards cohabitation and mutual service.

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Three (continued)

This separation cannot be made--that is, one spouse cannot dismiss the other--except because of fornication: adultery, or any intercourse with another man or woman proved in court or notorious in fact. It may also be made because of spiritual fornication, such as idolatry or heresy, and even because of any other mortal sin into which one spouse, especially the wife, wished to lead the other and which the other could not resist. The gloss on Cause 28, Question 1, canons *Uxor* and *Idolatria*, says that the spouse may dismiss the other because this is included under the name of the soul's spiritual fornication.

Because of carnal fornication, even committed once, a spouse may dismiss the other in the manner stated. Because of spiritual fornication, however, this may be done only if the spouse persists in it, as that gloss says.

In no case, however, can one be joined in marriage to another, unless the marriage had been contracted between unbelievers and, after one was converted, the other refused to cohabit except with insult to the Creator, either by seeking to draw the convert back into unbelief or by refusing to cohabit with the convert while the latter remained in the faith. Then the converted spouse may take another spouse.

In a third way, a spouse is dismissed as regards rendering the marriage debt. One spouse cannot deny the debt to the other, when the due circumstances are observed, except because of carnal fornication. This also includes sodomy but not effeminacy, as the gloss says on Cause 32, Question 6, canon *Omnes accusationes*. The innocent spouse may then deny it, provided that he is certain and has himself remained chaste; otherwise one incontinent person could not repel another incontinent person by denying the debt, as stated in Cause 32, Question 6, canon 1 and the following canon.

Nevertheless, the chaste spouse may reconcile to himself the spouse he knows to have committed adultery and may render the debt to that spouse. Once he has done this, he cannot afterward deny it unless the spouse relapses. This reconciliation is to be counseled and urged upon him according to canon *Non turpis* and the two following canons, when he sees or believes that the spouse has repented. For if the spouse were persisting in notorious adultery, he ought to dismiss the spouse, that is, deny the debt, as stated in Cause 32, Question 1, canon *Dixit Dominus* and elsewhere. These matters are treated more fully in the Third Part, title 1, and the matters pertaining to marriage are treated very extensively there.

On the day when Jesus resolved the question about the tribute, as will be said below, the Sadducees, who deny the resurrection of the dead, came to him. They were one sect of the Jews and held a false opinion concerning the resurrection. They asked him: "Master, Moses said: If someone's brother dies without a son, his brother shall take the dead man's wife and raise up offspring for his brother. There were among us seven brothers. The first took a wife and died without children, and his brother took the wife he had left. When that brother too died without leaving children, the third took her as wife. Likewise, all the others took her successively as wife after the preceding brothers died. Last of all, the woman also died. Therefore, whose wife among the seven will she be in the resurrection?"

Christ answered them: "You err, not knowing the Scriptures," which assert that the resurrection you deny will occur, "nor the power of God," because you do not know that he will raise those bodies in such a way that they will [not] live and act as in the present life, as you suppose.

Jesus adds: "For in the resurrection they shall neither marry nor be given in marriage, but shall be like the angels of God." They will indeed rise in true bodies, not airy ones, and sex will be distinguished in them without any shame. They will be naked because they will be without any concupiscence. In those who were married, some adornment from the sacrament of marriage will remain, together with due love, but there will be no conjugal act there, since those bodies will be incorruptible.

When a cause ceases, its effect will cease. The first cause of marriage was the multiplication of the human race. That will then cease, when the number of those to be saved has been gathered, and so the carnal act, instituted for generation, will cease. The

second cause after the Fall was the avoidance of incontinence, but there neither incontinence nor concupiscence can exist. For they are equal to the angels of God, who are certainly free from corruption and intercourse.

Hence Augustine says: “God joined male and female in nuptial chastity for the propagation of the race, and showed that second marriages, which are permitted in each Testament, are lawful.” The Lord does not condemn the sevenfold marriage, nor does he say that she cannot be in the resurrection; he says only that “they shall neither marry nor be given in marriage.” This is in Cause 31, canon *Deus*.

That the resurrection will occur he proves from the fact that God, appearing to Moses in the bush, said: “I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. He is not the God of the dead but of the living.” That is: God is not called the God of things that do not exist. “Abraham,” however, names the person, that is, the soul together with the body. Therefore, if Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were not to rise, God would not have said that he was their God.

They marveled at his answer. Those Sadducees believed that the soul perished with the body. If that were true, God would not have said, “I am,” but, “I was the God of Abraham.” Because they lived in the soul and in hope of the resurrection of their bodies, however, he said: “I am the God of Abraham,” and so forth.

There are also other authorities in the Prophets openly treating of the resurrection. But because those Sadducees did not accept the Prophets and accepted only the five books of Moses, he adduced testimony from those books. And because the Pharisees held the contrary opinion, which was sound as against the Sadducees, after the Sadducees had been confounded so that they could not answer him further, one of the Pharisees said, as Luke reports: “Master, you have spoken well.”

§ VI

After Jesus had spoken the parable of the vineyard against them, the Pharisees went away and took counsel to catch Jesus in his speech, so that from it they might accuse him and hand him over into the governor’s hands. Matthew, Mark, and Luke relate this, Luke more openly.

“Herodians” means Herod’s soldiers who favored the right of the empire, or perhaps certain Jews who held that tribute should be paid to the Roman emperor, although many others held the contrary because the Jews themselves gave tithes and first fruits to God. The Pharisees therefore sent their disciples together with those Herodians. The Pharisees themselves did not wish to approach, lest their malice be detected. For Jesus had frequently discovered that they were his rivals, and this was known to the crowds. If his disciples were refuted by him, it would be imputed less to the Pharisees themselves because the disciples were simple men.

To deceive him more successfully and induce him to open his heart more plainly and simply, the disciples began by displaying goodwill toward him and praising him for a threefold truth. Concerning truth of life, they said: “Master, we know that you are truthful.” Concerning truth of doctrine, they added: “You teach the way of God in truth.” Concerning truth of justice, they said, without accepting persons: “You have no concern for anyone,” for which another evangelist says: “You do not regard the face of a human being, but teach the way of God in truth. Is it lawful to give the tribute to Caesar or not?” Luke says “tribute” for what Matthew calls “tax,” and it is the same thing.

They had thought and agreed among themselves in this way: Either he will be silent or he will answer. If he is silent, we shall call him ignorant because he does not know how to answer the questions proposed to him. Therefore, lest he be marked by ignorance, he will not be silent. If he answers, he must say one of two things: either it must be given, or it must not be paid.

If he affirms that it must be given, this will make him hateful to the people, and he will appear to speak against the Law, which commands tithes to be given and offerings to be offered to God, not a tax to a human being. But if he says it must not be given, the Herodians present there, zealous for the honor and advantage of the Roman Empire, will immediately seize him and hand him over to the governor.

Hence the evangelist says that Jesus, knowing their wickedness, said: “Why do you tempt me, hypocrites? Show me the coin of the tax.” When they offered him a denarius, Jesus said: “Whose image and inscription is this?” When they answered, “Caesar’s,” Jesus replied: “Render to Caesar what belongs to Caesar,” namely tribute or tax to the emperor, “and to God what belongs to God,” namely tithes, sacrifices, and offerings. They could not catch him in his word, because he did not deny that tribute must be given to Caesar and said that tithes and offerings must be offered to God. They therefore remained confounded.

On another occasion a certain young man asked Jesus a question. Luke calls him a ruler, and Mark relates that he approached on the road, knelt before him, and said, as Matthew testifies: “Good Master, what good thing shall I do to have eternal life?” Christ answered him, according to Luke: “Why do you call me good? No one is good except God alone.”

If this is understood of essential goodness, or goodness by essence, then not only is no human being good by essence, but neither is an angel--that is, no one’s goodness is his essence--except God. It is as though Christ said: Since you call me good absolutely, you confess that I am God.

If it is understood of accidental goodness, such as exists in a creature and excludes sin, then “no one” means that no man or woman is good if merely human, except God--that is, Christ Jesus, man and God. For according to the Apostle in Romans 3, all sinned in Adam, infected with original sin, except Christ.

Christ added: “If you wish to enter into life, keep the commandments.” The young man asked: “Which?” Perhaps he said this because there are many commandments in the Old Law, ceremonial and others. But Christ declared that he was speaking of the moral commandments. Hence he did not state them all, but gave some from the Decalogue by way of example, saying: “You shall not kill,” and so forth.

When the young man said, “All these I have kept from my youth,” Jesus, hearing this, looked upon him and loved him, as Mark testifies, and said: “One thing is still lacking to you. If you wish to be perfect, go, sell everything you possess and give to the poor, and you shall have treasure in heaven; and come, follow me.” Poverty disposes one toward perfection as an instrument, but perfection consists in the perfect imitation of Christ through obedience, humility, and charity.

Hearing this, the young man became sorrowful and went away grieving, according to Mark, because he was rich and had many possessions. Then Christ said to the disciples: “How difficult it is for the rich to enter the kingdom of heaven.”

§ VII

When the feast of the Dedication was being celebrated at Jerusalem--that is, the feast of the purification or reconciliation of the Temple under Judas Maccabeus, after the Temple had been profaned by King Antiochus--which took place in the month of December, it was winter. As Jesus walked in Solomon’s porch, he was surrounded by Jews who questioned him, not in order to know the truth, but to calumniate and accuse him. They surrounded him so that no way of escape would lie open to him.

They said: “How long do you take away our soul?”--that is, keep our minds in suspense by not speaking openly. If you are our Messiah, tell us. They therefore say: “If you are the Christ, tell us plainly.” He answered them, as John relates: “I speak to you, and you do not believe. The works I do in my Father’s name bear testimony concerning me.” It is as though he said: I need not say openly, “I am the Christ,” because my miraculous works--which are a greater and more effective argument than words for proving the truth of my faith and teaching--show it. I do the works that the Prophets foretold the Messiah would do and that cannot be done except by God.

“But you do not believe, because you are not of my sheep,” that is, among the predestined and those who live rightly. He proves this through a property of his sheep that they did not possess: “My sheep hear my voice,” that is, my doctrine, and obey it. “And I know them,” approving and accepting their works and infusing grace, “and they follow me” by imitating my footsteps.

From this they attain the greatest reward, “because I give them eternal life.” This life will be perpetual for them, free from every penalty and misery, and not full of wretchedness like the life of the reprobate in hell. Hence he adds: “They shall not perish forever,” that is, they shall not go to eternal perdition.

The reason is that they are under my protection. No being, whatever creature it may be, is so powerful that it can seize--that is, take--them from my hand, that is, my power. “For what the Father gave me is greater than all things.” He gave me to be one with him and to have one power with him, which is greatest of all. Just as no one can withdraw anything from the Father’s power or will, since he is almighty, so no one can withdraw anything from mine, since my power is one with his. Christ expresses this more fully by saying: “I and the Father are one.”

In saying “one,” he shows unity of substance, against Arius, who posited diversity of substance in the divine persons and was therefore condemned by the Church. What he adds, “are,” indicates plurality of persons in the divine nature, against another heresiarch, Sabellius, who said that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit were one person, although called at one time by one of their names and at another time by another.

But the Jews, unable with their bleary eyes to bear so great a light of truth, took up stones to cast at Christ. The most kindly Christ showed that they were moved unreasonably, saying: “I have shown you many good works from my Father,” that is, works done in the name of him whom you call your God. “For which of these works do you stone me?”--that is, wish to stone me. It is as though he said: Good works do not merit punishment, but recompense and glory.

They said to him: “We do not stone you for a good work.” For they could not deny that he had done many good works and miracles for them, since these had been done openly, “but for blasphemy, because you, being a man, make yourself God.”

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Three (continued)

Blasphemy occurs when something proper to God is attributed to a creature. Because the Jews believed, as they still believe, that Jesus was a mere human being and not the incarnate Son of God, they said that he blasphemed when he called himself God, as indeed he was.

But Jesus tempered his discourse, showing from the Scriptures that even human beings are called gods because of sanctity. He therefore says: “Is it not written in your law”--that is, in the Psalms--“I said: You are gods”? If Scripture called those to whom the word of God came “gods,” namely gods by adoption, and Scripture cannot be dissolved--that is, cannot fail to be fulfilled and verified--then supply: much more can the one “whom the Father sanctified and sent into the world,” that is, begot holy and appointed to be incarnate, be called God.

This is true, although in one way of Christ and in another of human beings. Christ is God and the Son of God by nature and essence; holy human beings are gods by grace and adoption.

He adds: “If I do not do the works of my Father, do not believe me. But if I do, even if you do not wish to believe me”--namely, my words--“believe the works, so that you may know that the Father is in me and I in the Father,” that is, that I am equal to the Father in all things.

When they sought to apprehend him, he went out from their hands, either making himself invisible to them or restraining their power to capture him.

§ VIII. On Christ’s Teaching in the Replies He Made to the Jews’ Insulting Words and Deeds

When Christ said to them, “Which of you will convict me of sin?” it is as though he said: No one can reprove me for sin, because he had none, either original or actual. Origen says here that no one could have spoken this word except the Lord himself. Gregory says in a homily: “Consider the Lord’s gentleness. He does not disdain to show by reason that he is not a sinner, although by the power of his divinity he could justify sinners.”

As Gratian says in Cause 2, Question 7, § *Ecce*, after canon *Testes*, Christ, through the perfection of humility and not through the rigor of law, admitted the Jews to accuse him. For according to the rigor of law, criminals and the infamous, such as those Jews, are not to be admitted to accuse religious persons. Hence an example is given to prelates that, if they wish, they may admit such people to reprove them, but they are not bound to do so.

“If I speak the truth to you, why do you not believe me?” Everyone ought to believe the truth. Since I speak the truth to you, asserting that I am the Son of God, and you cannot convict me of a lie in this or of any sin, why do you not believe me? This proceeds only from the fact that you are not from God, that is, born through grace, even though by nature you were created by him and from him. “For he who is from God hears the words of God,” as a good son hears his father’s words.

Gregory says in a homily: Let each person ask himself whether he receives the words of God with the ear of the heart, and he will understand whence he is. Some do not deign to receive God’s commandments even with the bodily ear. Some receive God’s words with the bodily ear but embrace them with no desire of the heart. Others willingly receive God’s words so that they are even moved to tears, but after the time of tears they return to wickedness. These certainly do not hear God’s words, because they scorn to exercise them in deed.

Hence he adds: “Therefore you do not hear, because you are not from God,” namely, sons through grace.

To these words the Jews replied insultingly: “Do we not rightly say that you are a Samaritan and have a demon?” That is: When we say these things, do we not speak rightly and truly? From this it is shown that they had often uttered such insulting words. Yet it is not recorded elsewhere in the Gospel that they said he was a Samaritan. According to Theophylact, this shows that Jesus did and suffered many things that were not written.

They call him a Samaritan as though a heretic and an excommunicate. For the Samaritans erred in many things and did not believe that the future age and future judgment would come. Hence the Jews did not associate with them. They said he had a demon because they thought he cast out demons in belzebub [read: Beelzebub], or because he revealed their secrets, or because he spoke lofty things beyond their understanding.

Of the two charges made against him, Christ denied one: that he had a demon. By remaining silent about the other he seems to have confessed that he was a Samaritan. This is in *Extra*, title *On Presumptions*, canon *Nonne*. He was a Samaritan not by nation or morals, but by interpretation. For “Samaritan” is interpreted “guardian,” and he, according to his divinity, guards just as he created.

Answering the insults made against him, Jesus therefore says: “I do not have a demon.” Gregory says: Behold, Christ receives injuries but does not reply with insulting words. He could have said to them, and truly, “You have a demon,” but he did not do so. What else is indicated to us by this except that, when we receive insults falsely from our neighbors, we should remain silent even about their true evils, lest the ministry of just correction be turned into the vengeance of fury?

Chrysostom says: Notice that where it was fitting to teach and restrain their pride, Jesus was severe in speaking; but where it was fitting for him to endure reproach, he used great gentleness. In this he instructs us to learn to avenge the things that pertain to God, but to despise those that pertain to ourselves, namely reproaches.

After such an insult, he said only this concerning his glory: “But I honor my Father.” That is: Lest I seem arrogant to you, I have one whom I honor. Theophylact says that he honored the Father by avenging him and not tolerating those murderers and liars to call themselves truthful sons of God. Augustine says that Christ alone most truly honored the Father. One acting by things not honored by God does not honor God.

“And you have dishonored me.” It is as though he said: I do what I ought, but you do not do what you ought. According to Origen, this applies not only to those Jews but to all who act unjustly against justice, wisdom, truth, and the like, because Christ is justice, truth, and wisdom.

“I do not seek my own glory.” It is as though he said: I have spoken these things to you from the honor I bear toward the Father, and because of this you dishonor me with your insults. Yet I have no concern for this insult. You must pay the penalties to him for whose sake I hear these things. Therefore he adds: “There is one who seeks and judges.”

Origen says that God seeks Christ’s glory in each person who receives him, a glory that he finds in those who act according to the causes of virtue implanted in them. Where he does not find it, however, he judges--that is, punishes--those in whom he does not find the Son’s glory.

According to Augustine, “There is one,” namely my Father, “who seeks” my glory “and judges,” that is, discerns between your glory, which is vain, and mine, which is true. God the Father also discerns Christ’s glory insofar as Christ is the God-man from the glory even of holy human beings, because Christ’s glory is incomprehensibly greater.

When the perversity of the wicked increases, preaching ought not merely to remain unbroken but to increase, whenever it profits some people. This is in Distinction 43, canon *Scimus*. Hence, after the Jews had called Christ a demoniac, he bestowed the benefits of his preaching more abundantly, saying: “Amen, amen, I say to you.”

Here note that, according to some, “amen” is an oath. This is in *Extra*, title *On Oaths*, canon *Et si Christus*. According to others it is not an oath but a simple affirmation of speech. It is a Hebrew word and is interpreted “so it is,” or, according to Jerome, “truly” or “faithfully.” When the other evangelists use this expression they place it only once, but John doubles it as “Amen, amen,” because the other evangelists commonly hand down matters about Christ pertaining to his humanity, which are better known, whereas John hands down those pertaining to his divinity, which are less known and therefore require a greater affirmation. It is as though he said: Truly, truly.

“If anyone keeps my word, he will not see death forever.” “If anyone” shows rarity. “Keeps my word” means firmly preserves my doctrine and fulfills it to the end. “He will not see” means he will not experience “death forever,” that is, eternal damnation. This certainly is true death, which forever separates the soul from God, its life. This temporal death should rather be called a migration.

The Jews therefore said: “Now we know that you have a demon.” Gregory says: Just as it is necessary that the good become better even through insults, so the reprobate always become worse through a benefit. They thought he had said these things at a demon’s prompting, understanding of bodily death what he had said of spiritual death. Hence they say: “Abraham died, and the Prophets, and you say, ‘If anyone,’” and so forth. “Are you greater than our father Abraham?”

Again they flee to vainglorious recognition, naming Abraham their father and regarding Christ as less than Abraham. They speak falsely when they say that he has a demon, and also when they add that Abraham and the Prophets died the death of which he had spoken to them, namely eternal death. Because Abraham and the Prophets preserved the word of God made to them, they therefore live forever.

“Whom do you make yourself to be?” they ask. That is, according to Theophylact: You, worthy of no glory, a carpenter’s son, secretly appropriate glory to yourself in Galilee. Or, according to Bede: Of what merit or dignity do you wish to be believed? But Origen says this was the utterance of blind people, since Jesus did not make himself what he is, but received it from the Father.

Jesus therefore answered: “If I glorify myself, my glory is nothing.” The Jews suspected that he spoke this from temporal glory, and so he answered them about present glory. By these words, Bede says, he shows that the glory of the present life is nothing. Jesus refers his glory to the Father, from whom he is, and therefore adds: “It is my Father who glorifies me.”

Alcuin says that the Father glorified the Son when at the time of the Baptism and on the mountain at the Transfiguration a voice was made to him before the crowds, when the time of the Passion drew near, and when after the Passion the Father raised him and placed him at his right hand. But the Son too glorified the Father by manifesting him. Hence he said: “I have glorified you upon the earth.”

Jesus added: “He whom you say is your God.” He wished to show them that they knew him neither as Father nor as God. For if they knew the Father, they would also venerate his Son. They also scorned God when they plotted against Christ a homicide prohibited in his law.

“And you have not known him.” Alcuin explains: It is as though he said: You carnally call him your God, serve him for temporal things, and have not known him as he must be understood. You do not know how to serve him spiritually. This is against certain heretics who said that Christ’s Father was not the God proclaimed in the Old Testament. Christ, however, calls his Father the one whom they called their God. Yet they did not know him, because if they had known him they would have received his Son.

“But I,” he adds, “know him.” According to Augustine, this could have seemed arrogance to those judging according to the flesh, but arrogance should not be avoided in such a way that truth is abandoned. This is in Cause 22, Question 2, canon *Non ita*. He therefore says: “I know him, and if I said that I do not know him, I would be like you, a liar”--for you say you know him and do not.

The greatest demonstration that he was sent by him is his saying, “But I know him,” possessing knowledge of him naturally. According to Theophylact: As I am, so is the Father, and therefore, since I know myself, I know him. He gives an indication that he knows him by adding: “And I keep his word,” that is, his commandments.

Some understand this as “the account of his substance,” because the account of the Father’s and the Son’s substance is the same; therefore I know the Father. For *and* is taken in place of *because*, and the sense is: Because I keep his word. Augustine says that he spoke the Father’s word as Son, and he himself was the Father’s Word who spoke to human beings.

Because they had said, “Are you greater than our father Abraham?”, he shows that he is greater by adding: “Abraham your father exulted that he might see my day.” That is: He regarded my day as desirable and full of gladness, not as the day of someone insignificant or fortuitous, according to Theophylact.

Augustine says: He did not fear, but exulted that he might see it; believing, he exulted by hoping, so that he might see by understanding. It is uncertain whether Christ spoke of the Lord’s day on which he was to come in the flesh, or of the Lord’s day that knows neither rising nor setting--that is, the eternal nativity according to the divinity. But I do not doubt that Abraham knew the whole.

He knew of the Incarnation when he said to his steward, “Place your hand beneath my thigh,” and so forth, in Genesis 24. According to Gregory, he saw the Lord’s day according to the divinity when in a figure of the supreme Trinity he received three angels as guests, in Genesis 18. Or, according to Chrysostom, he saw it as regards the day of the Passion in the offering of the ram and Isaac, in Genesis 22. Or, according to John Dominici, he saw it in Abraham’s sacrifice of the three-year-old goat, heifer, and ram, and the turtledove and dove, in Genesis 14 [read: Genesis 15].

“He saw and rejoiced.” Augustine says: What was the joy of Abraham’s heart? He saw the abiding Word, the Father’s splendor shining upon human minds, remaining God with the Father, yet at some time to come in the flesh without withdrawing from the Father’s bosom. The answer is: it was inexpressible.

But the carnal minds of the Jews who heard these things did not raise their minds above the flesh, since in him they considered the substance of flesh alone. Hence they say: “You are not yet fifty years old, and have you seen Abraham?” It is as though they said: Many courses of years have passed since Abraham died. How, then, did he see your day? Theophylact asks: Since Christ was then thirty-three years old, why did they not say forty?

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Three (continued)

But this question is superfluous, for they simply said what occurred to them. Or, according to others, they said “fifty” out of reverence for the Jubilee, which fell under that number. Or, according to others, because the Lord Jesus was so abstinent that he appeared much older than he was.

Jesus therefore said to them: “Amen, amen, I say to you: before Abraham was made, I am.” According to Gregory, through this our kindly Redeemer removes us from looking upon his flesh and draws us toward contemplation of his divinity. Because divinity has neither past nor future time but always possesses being, he does not say, “Before Abraham was made, I was,” but, “I am,” according to “I am who am,” which God said to Moses.

Because Abraham is a creature, he did not say, “Before Abraham existed,” but, “Before Abraham was made.” Nor did he say, “I was made,” but, “I am,” for “in the beginning was the Word.”

The minds of the unbelievers, unable to bear these words of eternity because they could not understand them, sought to crush him. Hence it is said: “The Jews took up stones to cast at him.” Augustine says: Where could such hardness run except to stones like itself? Since there were no stones in the Temple, it appears sufficiently that they had carried them there when they saw him speaking from the beginning.

Because they did not receive correction, he left them. Hence it follows: “But Jesus hid himself.” He did not hide under a wall, behind a wall, or in a little house, but, according to Augustine, made himself invisible to those lying in wait by heavenly power and passed through their midst out of the Temple. Patience was to be commended rather than power displayed by killing them with a single nod. By this example it is shown that, even when we can resist, we should humbly turn aside from the anger of the proud.

§ IX

After Jesus absolved the adulteress from the charge, saying, “Neither will I condemn you; go,” and so forth, lest anyone doubt whether the one whom they saw to be a true human being could forgive sins, he deigns, as Alcuin says, to demonstrate more openly the power of his divinity, saying: “I am the light of the world.”

He is not the natural light of the sun, as the Manichaeans said. That light, like all other things, was made by him according to his divinity, in accordance with the saying, “All things were made through the Word.” Rather, he is spiritual light.

Nor, as Bede says, does he say, “I am the light of the angels” or “of heaven,” but “the light of the world,” that is, of human beings dwelling in darkness. Nor is he the light that is the habit of grace or glory within us; he is the true light that enlightens every person coming into this world, whether with the natural light of the intellect, the light of grace, or the light of glory. No one is enlightened from elsewhere than from him, who causes all illumination.

Or he is called the light of the world exemplarily, because by his example his life teaches everyone to live perfectly and rationally. Whoever imitates that life consequently escapes the greatest evil and attains every good.

Hence he adds: “He who follows me,” imitating my acts with the feet of affections and actions, “does not walk in the darkness” of errors, sins, and finally hell, “but shall have the light of life,” namely the light of glory, where there is true, unfailing life.

Answering him, the Jews calumniated him for boasting and falsehood, saying: “You bear testimony concerning yourself.” To praise oneself for one’s own glory certainly belongs to boasting and vainglory. But to praise oneself for God’s glory and one’s neighbors’ benefit is lawful and charitable, not boasting, as Job, David, Paul, and others did. Thus God praises himself, so that when his virtues are known to us we may thereby advance in love for him.

“Your testimony is not true.” That is: You ought not to be believed, because you alone testify concerning yourself. Yet, as Alcuin says, before he appeared in the flesh he had sent ahead many witnesses, namely the Prophets, who foretold his sacraments and testified many things concerning him.

Jesus therefore overturns what they say, replying: “Even if I bear testimony concerning myself, my testimony is true.” He said this according to the supposition of those who thought him a mere human being. He immediately supplies the cause: “Because I know whence I came and where I go.” That is: I am from God and am God, the Son of God. He does not say this openly, because he intersperses humble things among lofty ones. God himself, who cannot lie, is a witness worthy of faith concerning himself.

Augustine says: The testimony of light is true, whether it shows itself or other things. A prophet spoke true testimony, but whence would he have it unless he drew from the fountain of truth? Jesus is therefore fit to bear testimony concerning himself, saying: “Because I know whence I came and where I go.”

Augustine says that he wished the Father to be understood, for the Son gave glory to the Father by whom he was sent. How much more, then, ought a human being to glorify the one by whom he was created? He came when he was incarnate; he went to the Father when, after suffering and rising, he ascended into heaven. This journey belonged to the assumed humanity, not to his divinity, which is everywhere. Hence, in coming, he did not depart from the Father, nor, in going to the Father, did he leave us.

Jesus adds: “But you do not know whence I come or where I go.” Augustine explains: They saw a human being and did not believe him God. Just as this sun illuminates the face both of one who sees and of a blind person, although the one who has sight sees it and the blind person does not, so God’s Wisdom and Word is present everywhere, even in unbelievers, who nevertheless do not see him because of blindness of heart--that is, do not know him--and in believers, who see by believing in him.

“You judge according to the flesh.” When you say, “You bear testimony concerning yourself,” and so forth, it is as though he said: Because you think that I am flesh alone and not God in the flesh, you judge fallibly, and I seem arrogant to you in bearing testimony concerning myself.

“I judge no one,” namely according to the flesh, that is, by exterior things alone. For just as living according to the flesh is unjust, so too is judging according to the flesh, according to Chrysostom, but one judges according to the truth of the matter. Or, “I judge no one” means no one now. He does not deny that judgment will be carried out by him, but that it is to be rendered now.

“And if I judge, my judgment is true.” That is: If I judged now, I would justly condemn you, but now is not the time of judgment. The judgment will be true, “because I am not alone, but I and the Father who sent me.” He shows that he alone will not condemn, but the Father also. Yet he speaks these things according to their supposition, for they did not think that he was a Son worthy of faith unless he assumed the Father’s testimony.

Christ will therefore judge according to his divinity together with the Father and the Holy Spirit, whose divinity is one, by condemning the reprobate and rewarding and glorifying the elect. But insofar as he is man he is said to judge alone, according to John’s saying: “The Father judges no one, but has given all judgment to the Son.” He alone, appearing in the humanity he assumed, will be seen by all, good and evil.

Augustine says: Blush here, Sabellian, because he did not say, “I am the Father, and I myself am the Son,” but, “I am not alone, because the Father is with me.” Distinguish your understanding: recognize that the Father is Father and the Son is Son--one person and another person. But do not say, as arrius [i.e., Arius] does, that the Father is greater and the Son less. For there is one substance of the three persons, one coeternity, perfect equality.

Since he had already spoken of judgment, he now adds concerning testimony: “And in your law,” that is, the law given to you by God, “it is written that the testimony of two human beings is true,” that is, is held as true in judgment. For it is said in Cause 2, Question 4, § 1: “In the mouth of two or three witnesses every word shall stand,” that is, shall be held true and firm.

According to Alcuin, this can be understood as follows: If your law approves the testimony of two people who can be deceived and testify falsely, for what reason do you not call the testimony of me and my Father true, although it is firm with supreme stability?

Or, according to Augustine, since two people can lie, as was evident in Susanna, and the whole people lied before Christ, how will every word stand in the mouth of two or three unless the Trinity is commended mystically in this manner, in whom there is the perpetual stability of truth?

“I am one who bears testimony concerning myself,” not only through words, saying, “I and the Father are one,” and in other places, but also through miraculous works, as he himself says: “The works that I do in my Father’s name bear testimony concerning me,” John 10. “And the Father who sent me bears testimony concerning me,” when he said through the Psalm: “The Lord said to me: You are my Son,” and so forth, and at the Baptism and Transfiguration: “You are my beloved Son.”

The Jews said: “Where is your father?” That is: We see you alone, yet you say the Father is with you. We do not see him; therefore show him to us.

Theophilus [i.e., Theophylact] says that some think this was said to reproach and insult him, as one born from fornication and ignorant of his progenitor, or as one born from a base and ignoble father--namely Joseph, as he was thought to be. It is as though they said: Your father is unknown and ignoble; why, then, do you bring him before us so frequently?

Because they asked not as people wishing to know the truth but as people tempting him, he did not answer the proposed question. Instead he said: “You know neither me nor my Father.” It is as though he said: You do not ask about me but about the Father, as though you had now examined me completely, and as though all that is in me were what you see, namely the humanity alone.

Therefore, because you do not know me according to the deity, I do not show the Father to you. You think me a mere human being and therefore also seek my carnal father. But because I am one thing according to what you see and another according to what you do not see, and because I speak of my hidden Father, first know me, who am hidden, and afterward you will know my Father.

Hence he adds: “If you knew me, perhaps you would also know my Father.” Augustine says that this word “perhaps,” although it seems a word of doubt, is spoken by way of rebuke. It is like becoming indignant at your slave and saying: Do you despise me? Consider that perhaps I am your master. Thus the Lord rebukes unbelievers by seeming to doubt when he says, “And perhaps you would know my Father.”

Origen says: Someone may ask how this is true: “If you knew me,” and so forth--that is, you do not know me, and therefore you do not know my Father--when elsewhere he said to the Jews: “You know me,” in John 7. One must reply that our Savior sometimes speaks of himself as a human being. He spoke in this way when he said elsewhere, “And you know me,” for they knew that he was born of Mary. At other times he speaks of himself according to the divine nature, as he does here when he says, “If you knew me.”

What is it to say, “If you knew me,” and so forth, except, “I and the Father are one”? For when you see someone like another, it is everyday speech to say, “If you have seen this person, you have seen that one,” because of the likeness. The Lord gave such an answer here: “If you knew me,” and so forth. This is not because the Father is the Son, but because the Son is like the Father.

Let the Arian blush here. For if, according to him, the Son is a creature, how does one who knows a creature know God? One who knows a created substance does not thereby know the divine substance. Since, therefore, one who knows the Son also knows the Father, it is evident that the Son is consubstantial with the Father.

Or, according to Origen, a person is said to know someone when joined to him, just as it is said of Adam that he knew his wife when he was joined to her. Therefore, if one who adheres to God is one spirit and knows God, then the Pharisees, who were not joined to God by grace, knew neither Father nor Son.

He spoke these things in the treasury. This is a place in the Temple, namely in the Temple's porch, in which riches were kept. "And no one apprehended him." That is: They wished to seize him, but he did not permit it, because his hour had not yet come.

This was not an hour of fatal necessity, under which fate some say Christ was born. How could he have a fate--that is, a constellation compelling him to live and die in such a way--through whom heaven and the stars were made? The Creator is not subject to a creature. Therefore, his hour had not come, not the hour when he would be compelled to die, but when he would deign to be killed.

§ X

Because the evangelists had said immediately beforehand that no one apprehended Jesus because his hour had not yet come, Jesus now speaks about his Passion, showing that it lay not under necessity but within his power.

Jesus therefore said to them again: "I go." As Bede says, the things narrated here could have occurred at the same time and place, or in different places and times. "I go," namely to the Father, going through death and afterward the Resurrection to ascend into heaven; I am not compelled by fate or others, but offer myself willingly according to Isaiah 53: "He was offered because he himself willed it." Therefore he says, "I go."

"And you shall seek me." Origen says that Jesus is sought in two ways. Those seeking him rightly and with loving desire, desiring virtues and salvation, find him and go where he is, namely to glory and peace. Others seek him from hatred and in the act of unjust persecution, as did the Jews to whom he spoke. These do not find salvation, but eternal death. Hence he says to them: "You shall die in your sin," namely the sin of perfidy and obstinacy.

"And where I go, you cannot come." He speaks to those whom he foresaw would remain in unbelief. They certainly could not go to glory because they refused to do that by which it is reached, namely to believe rightly.

Understanding carnally, the Jews said: "Will he kill himself, because he says, 'Where I go, you cannot come'?" Augustine says: Foolish words. For if he had killed himself, were they not also going to die sometime and go to another age where he would be?

But Origen says that the Jews had many things handed down to them concerning Christ, either from apocryphal writings or the testimonies of the Prophets, not only about his nativity but also about his death and that he must pass from this world. Hence they spoke this insultingly not according to the simple sense, but according to some Jewish tradition concerning Christ that had come to them, giving him no glory.

The Lord speaks to those who savored earthly things as though to earthly people, saying: "You are from below," that is, you savor the earth and have your heart fixed on earthly things. It is therefore no wonder that, as carnal people understanding nothing spiritual, you think such things. "I am from above," that is, from the Father himself, above whom nothing is higher, according to Augustine.

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Three (continued)

"You are of this world; I am not of this world." How indeed was he of the world according to the divinity through whom the world was made and who existed before the world? They, however, were of the world because they were created after the world was made, or because of the worldly and carnal thoughts they possessed, which Jesus did not possess. It is as though he said, according to Theophilus [i.e., Theophylact]: Since I desire nothing earthly or worldly, how would I come to such insanity as to kill myself?

But the heretic appollinaris [i.e., Apollinaris], understanding this badly, said that Christ's body was not of this world but that he had brought it from heaven, from heavenly matter, and had drawn it through the Virgin as through the channel of a pipe.

Rather, this is how it must be understood: "I am not of this world," that is, not among you who care for and love worldly things. Christ also said of his disciples in John 17: "They are not of the world," because they did not love it inordinately.

Since, according to Augustine, the mind is to be said to be where it loves rather than where it animates, according to Origen the one who loves earthly things and places his end in them is of this world, while the one who loves heavenly things is not of this world. Christ did the latter perfectly and continually, and therefore says that he is not of this world.

Or, according to Augustine, he alone was not of this world because he contracted or possessed no sin. Or because in Christ, insofar as he is the Son of God, the whole world exists in the wisdom of the Father, differing from the material world as much as the account of the whole world, stripped of every material thing, differs from the material world. Christ's soul therefore says, "I am not of this world," because it dwells in that world, namely by seeing clearly and continually.

Because Jesus knew that some of his hearers were to be converted, he added: "Therefore I said to you that you shall die in your sins." He did not say this simply and absolutely, but with a condition understood: "If you do not believe that I am, you shall die," and so forth.

Chrysostom says: Because he added nothing, what he commended is very great. For the Lord spoke in the same way to Moses: "I am who am," as though other things were not. Whatever its excellence may be, if it is mutable it is not true, for true being is not where there is both being and nonbeing. Examine the mutability of things and you will find "was" and "will be." Think of God and you will find "is," where past and future cannot exist. Here, therefore, he seems to have said nothing else than: "Unless you believe that I am," that is, I am God.

Augustine says: Thanks be to God that he said, "Unless you believe that I am"; he did not say, "Unless you comprehend." For who could comprehend this? Thus one who does not believe in Christ dies in his sins.

One does not believe who works things contrary to Christ, for Christ is wisdom, justice, and every other virtue. Therefore, according to Origen, one who does not act according to virtue does not believe in Christ, and hence dies in his sins.

The Jews then asked: "Who are you?" They may have spoken contemptuously, as though to say: How great do you make yourself, that you threaten, "Unless you believe," and so forth? Are you not Joseph's son? Or interrogatively: Who are you, since it is necessary to believe that you are, yet you have not said what you are?

Jesus, knowing that some, though not all, would believe, expressed for their sake the truth of his divinity, saying: "The beginning, who also speak to you": the one beginning of all created things together with the Father and the Holy Spirit; together with the Father, the beginning of the Holy Spirit, because the Spirit proceeds from both, insofar as he is God; and insofar as he is man, the exemplary beginning of every grace, wisdom, and virtue.

I, who have been incarnate, speak to you in the humanity I assumed for your benefit. Having become humble for your sake, I descend to these words. Believe, therefore, that I am the beginning, for so that you may believe this, I not only am the beginning, but also speak to you. For if the beginning, as he is, remained with the Father, he would not have taken a form. But how would they believe him, since infirm hearts could not hear an intelligible word without a sensible voice?

Or, according to Chrysostom, one should consider the madness of the Jews, who after so long a time, so many signs, and so much teaching ask Christ, "Who are you?" What does Christ reply? "The beginning, who also speak to you." That is: You are unworthy to hear my words, much less that I should tell you who I am. You speak all things by way of temptation, and for all these things I can accuse and punish you.

Hence it follows: "I have many things to judge concerning you." He speaks not of a present but of a future judgment. Therefore, I will be true in judgment, because I am Truth, the Son of the truthful one. Hence he adds: "He who sent me," namely the Father, "is true."

Augustine says: The Father is true not by participating in truth but by generating Truth. Are we indeed going to say that Truth is more than the truthful one? If we said this, we would begin to call the Son greater than the Father.

According to Chrysostom, Christ says these things because, after hearing so many insults, he does not punish them--not because of weakness or because he does not know their thoughts and insults. Or, according to Chrysostom: He sent me not to judge the world but to save the world. Since the Father is truthful, accordingly I now judge no one; rather, the things I speak are for salvation, not for judgment.

Hence it follows: "And the things I have heard from him, these I speak in the world." Alcuin says that to hear from the Father is the same as to be from the Father, because he has hearing from the one from whom he also has essence. Augustine says: The Son, equal to the Father, gives glory to the Father. It is as though he said: Give glory to him whose Son I am; how are you proud against him whose servant you are?

When he said, "He who sent me is true," they did not understand of whom he spoke. Therefore the evangelist adds: "And they did not know that he called God his Father." They did not have open eyes by which they might understand the equality of Father and Son.

Yet Jesus saw that some present there would believe in him after his Resurrection, and therefore said for their sake: "When you have lifted up the Son of Man from the earth," namely through the Passion of the cross, "then you shall know that I am, and I do nothing of myself." For many were afterward converted and knew his divinity.

Augustine says that he speaks this so that no one would despair, however great the crime of which he is guiltily conscious, since pardon and knowledge of the deity were granted to those who killed Christ.

Or, according to Chrysostom, Christ had not converted them by teaching many things and performing signs, so he speaks of what remains, the cross: "When you have lifted up," and so forth. It is as though he said: You think that you will then be separated from me above all, when you kill me. But I say that then, through the grace of the signs, the Resurrection, and your captivity, you will especially know that I am the Christ, the Son of God, and am not contrary to him.

For this reason he adds: "I do nothing of myself, but as my Father taught me, so I speak." Through this he manifests the identity of substance and the fact that he says nothing outside the Father's understanding. According to Augustine, it is as though he said: The Son is God from the Father; I am not from myself.

The Father spoke incorporeally to the Son because the Father begot the Son incorporeally. He did not teach him as though he had begotten him untaught. Rather, to have taught him is to have begotten him knowing. For if the nature of truth is simple, to know is the same thing for the Son as to be.

Do not imagine, therefore, that the Father speaks to the Son like two human beings, as a father might speak to his son who is a mere man. What words would be spoken to the one Word? Just as God speaks without sound in our hearts, so he speaks to his Son. As by begetting he gave him to be, so he gave him to know.

It follows: "He who sent me is with me." The first statement is one of diminution: insofar as he was made man, he was sent. The second is one of deity: "He is with me." "And he has not left me alone," for when he sent the Son into the world the Father was not absent from it, he who says, "I fill heaven and earth."

"Because I always do the things pleasing to him." He does them together with the Father, not from some beginning but without beginning and without end. Or, according to Chrysostom, he says this because they said he was not from God since he broke the Sabbath. He shows that this was pleasing to the Father.

Many believed in him as he spoke these things. They believed, but not as they ought: simply, as though rejoicing and resting in the humility of the words, who had not been persuaded by lofty teaching.

§ XI. On Jesus's Persuasion of the Believers to Persevere, and His Stern Rebuke of the Faithless Jews

Jesus therefore said, as John reports, to the Jews who had believed in him: "If you remain in my word." What is it to remain in Christ's word or in the Lord's words except to yield to no temptations? Augustine says: If there is toil, consider the reward.

It follows: "You shall know the truth." That is: Because you are now believers, by remaining you will become seers. What is faith except to believe what you do not see? Therefore, if one perseveres in those things which are believed, one will attain to that which is seen, namely that they may contemplate Truth itself not through sounding words but through shining light. Truth is immutable; it is the bread of the mind; it refreshes and does not fail. Truth itself is the Word of God, and this Truth was clothed in flesh.

Or, according to Chrysostom, "You shall know the truth" means: you shall know me, who am Truth. All those Jewish things, namely the legal observances, were figures.

He shows what follows from this knowledge when he adds: "The truth shall free you." That is: Even if Truth does not delight you, let freedom delight you. To be freed means to be made free, that is, to escape dangers and lack afflictions. Augustine asks: From what will Truth free us except death, corruption, and mutability?

The Jews answered him. Chrysostom says that those who had believed gave the answer written below, having become troubled and raging against him for saying these things as though they were slaves. Augustine, however, expounds this not of the believers but of other Jews who were in the crowd with them. Those unbelievers said: "We are Abraham's seed and have never served anyone." It is as though they said: Those who are of Abraham's seed, as we are, are freeborn; therefore it was not fitting to call them slaves.

In saying, "We have never served," they meant temporal servitude, but they speak falsely, since they had frequently been subjected to slavery. Joseph their father was sold as a slave. In Egypt they served Pharaoh. In the Promised Land they served many neighboring tyrants, as is evident throughout the Book of Judges; then Nebuchadnezzar in Babylon, afterward the Persians and Medes; after that Antiochus, king of Syria; and at that very time they served the Romans. For why did they pay tribute to them?

But because Christ's words were directed not toward vainglory but toward salvation, the Lord did not wish to show that they were slaves of human beings, as he could have done, but that they were slaves of sin, from whose most severe servitude God alone can rescue them.

This is what he says in answer: "Amen, amen, I say to you, that everyone who commits sin is the slave of sin." Augustine says that "amen" is a Hebrew word and is interpreted "true." Yet neither the Greek nor Latin translator dared translate it, so that it might possess honor beneath the veil of secrecy--not that it might be bound, but lest it become cheap when laid bare. By its repetition he drives the point home and, as it were, awakens sleepers; he does not wish to be despised.

He says, “everyone who commits sin,” whether Jew or Greek, poor or rich, emperor or slave. When he says “everyone,” he excludes nothing. This is in Distinction 19, canon *Si Romanorum*.

He is the slave of sin, because whoever subjects himself to an evil desire places his neck beneath the lordship of iniquity. We contradict this lord when we struggle against the iniquity that captures us, violently resist habit, strike guilt through repentance, and wash away stains with tears. Gregory says in the *Moralia*: The more freely some people carry out the perverse things they desire, the more they are bound under its slavery.

Augustine says: He alone can free from sin who came without sin and was made a sacrifice for sin. This is in *On Consecration*, Distinction 4. No one takes away the sins of the world except Christ, who is the Lamb taking away the sins of the world, and so forth.

He adds: “The slave does not remain in the house forever,” because a sinner in slavery to sin dwells by merit neither in the house of the Church militant nor in the Church triumphant. Jerome says: One who is polluted by any stain of sin, namely mortal sin, cannot be said to belong to the Church or to be subject to Christ. This is in *On Penance*, Distinction 1, canon *Ecclesia*.

“The Son remains forever,” namely in the aforesaid house. According to Augustine, the Son, namely Christ, is body and head. He gave the price, his own blood, according to the Apostle’s saying: “You were bought at a great price.” Thus he freed us in power. Because this power remains in the sacraments, through receiving them devoutly we are freed by the Son from slavery to sin.

Hence he says: “Therefore, if the Son frees you, you shall be truly free”: not from barbarians but from the devil, not from captivity of the body but from the soul’s iniquity. The first freedom is to be without crimes, and this is imperfect in the world because the flesh lusts against the spirit. The second and perfect freedom will be in the fatherland.

Because the Jews had said that they were free because they were Abraham’s seed, he answers this: “I know that you are Abraham’s sons.” That is: I acknowledge that you are sons of Abraham by carnal origin, not by the heart’s faith. He therefore adds: “But you seek to kill me.” He adds this lest they say, “We have no sin.” Leaving aside reproof of their whole life, he brings forward the matter immediately at hand, which they still wished to do.

Gradually he removed them from that kinship, instructing them to savor great things. For just as freedom and slavery arise from works, so does kinship.

Lest they say, “We do this justly,” he removes this objection by stating its cause: “Because my word does not take hold in you,” that is, does not take hold of your heart because it is not received by your heart. Thus the word of God is like a hook to the faithful: it takes hold when it is taken hold of. According to Chrysostom, he also thereby shows the sublimity of his teachings.

And because they could say, “What if you speak from yourself?”, he excludes this by adding: “I speak what I have seen with the Father.”

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Three (continued)

For I possess not only the same substance but also the same truth as the Father. By “his Father” he wishes God to be understood. It is as though he said: I have seen Truth; I speak Truth, because I am Truth. Thus the Lord speaks the truth he saw with the Father. He saw himself and speaks himself, because he is the Father’s Truth.

Theophilus [i.e., Theophylact] says: When you hear, “I speak what I have seen,” by no means understand bodily vision, but natural, true, and approved knowledge.

It follows: “And you do what you have seen with your father,” namely the devil, whose children they were by imitating his deeds. For whoever performs someone’s works is proved to be his child by imitation, not nature. This is in Gratian, *On Penance*, Distinction 1.

But they, understanding him to speak of a father of carnal kinship, answered: “Our father is Abraham.” That is: What are you going to say against Abraham? He seemed to them to be marking him out so that he might say something evil about Abraham and thus give them an occasion to do what they intended, namely kill him.

But Jesus cut off this very claim as false, replying: “If you are Abraham’s sons, do Abraham’s works.” He does not deny their origin, that they descended from Abraham’s seed, but condemns their deeds. According to Origen, he says “works” in the plural, not “work,” to indicate that they must imitate not only Abraham’s one work--what is said of him, that Abraham believed God--but also his other works, in order to be true sons of Abraham.

“But now you seek to kill me, a man who has spoken the truth to you,” namely the truth that he is equal to the Father. For this reason the Jews sought to kill him. To show that he is not contrary to the Father, he adds: “Which I heard from God.” “To hear” is nothing other than to be from the Father.

He calls himself “man,” not “Son of God” or “Word,” because the Word does not die. “Abraham did not do this.” That is: In this you prove that you are not Abraham’s sons, because you do works contrary to Abraham’s.

Origen says: Although Christ had not been born in Abraham’s time, was there nevertheless some man who spoke the truth he had heard from God whom Abraham did not kill? And know that the spiritual advent of Jesus was at no time absent from the saints.

“You do the works of your father,” Jesus says. Chrysostom says that the Lord speaks this because he wishes to take away their superfluous glory in kinship and persuade them no longer to place hope of salvation in natural kinship but in that which is according to adoption. This prevented them from coming to Christ, because they thought their kinship with Abraham sufficient for salvation.

Because the Jews began somehow to recognize that the Lord was not speaking of generation according to the flesh but of the ordering of life, they answered: “We were not born of fornication.” Chrysostom says that it is the custom of the Scriptures to call it spiritual fornication when the soul is subjected like a prostitute to many false gods. It is as though they said: We are not idolaters; we have one Father, God, namely by worshiping him.

But Chrysostom asks: What are you saying? You claim to have God as Father and accuse Christ for saying this, as was stated above. Although many of them were born from fornication because they practiced unlawful intercourse, he does not rebuke them for this. He continues to insist instead that they are not from God, saying: “If God were your Father, you would certainly love me.”

Hilary says: He does not disapprove of true sons of God calling God their Father, but rebukes the Jews’ rash usurpation in presuming God to be their Father by the fact that they did not love him. When he said that those who called God their Father ought to love him because he had gone forth from God, he taught that the cause of love arises from the cause of birth.

Hence he says: “For I proceeded and came from God.” His procession pertains to incorporeal nativity, his coming to bodily birth from his mother. You call God Father; recognize me as at least your brother.

He teaches that his origin is not from himself when he adds: “For neither did I come from myself, but he sent me.” Mission includes both eternal procession from the Father and temporal procession.

Christ adds: “Why do you not understand my speech? Because you cannot hear my words.” Augustine says: They could not hear because they refused to be corrected by believing.

Because Christ had now excluded the Jews from kinship with Abraham and from divine kinship or sonship, he openly strikes them, saying: “You are from your father the devil,” not by nature but by imitation.

The Jews were not evil by nature, as though deriving origin from a race of darkness, as the Manichaean heresiarch [i.e., Mani] said, namely that the devil and our flesh took origin from a certain evil nature, the prince of darkness. Gratian says in Cause 22, Question 2, § *Item opponitur*: They were Abraham’s sons in the flesh, but because they were not sons by imitation they are not reckoned among Abraham’s sons. Christ calls them sons of the devil not by birth but by imitation. The imitation of a work therefore takes precedence over the origin of the flesh.

“And you wish to do the desires of your father.” Behold why you are sons: you desire the same things as the devil, not because you were born from him. You seek to kill me, a man who has spoken the truth, just as the devil envied and killed the first parents.

“He,” Jesus says, “was a murderer from the beginning,” certainly in the first human being. Augustine says: He was not girded with iron, but sowed an evil word in the human being when he said, “You shall be as gods,” and so forth, and killed him. Therefore do not think that you are not a murderer when you give your brother evil counsel, for when you counsel your brother badly, you kill him. This is in *On Penance*, Distinction 1, canon *Noli*.

Because those Jews themselves also frequently said of Christ that he was not from God, he shows from this falsehood that they are also from the devil, because, as he adds, “he did not stand in the truth.”

Augustine says: The devil is denied to have stood in the truth, not to have been created in the truth. For he was established in truth, but when he proudly presumed concerning himself, he became alien to it. He would not, however, have been established in truth if he had not possessed love of his Creator. This is in *On Penance*, Distinction 2, § *Quod ergo*, before canon *Principium*.

Augustine says in Book 11 of *The City of God*: The devil did not stand in truth and therefore was never blessed with the holy angels. Refusing to be subject to the Creator, he thereby became false and fallacious, because through pious subjection he refused to preserve what he is by nature, and by affecting proud exaltation he sought to feign what he is not.

Therefore, “he did not stand in the truth” must be understood to mean that he was in the truth, namely created in it, but did not remain in it. When John says in his canonical epistle, “The devil sins from the beginning,” the devil is not thought to have sinned

from the beginning from which he was created, but from the beginning of sin--that is, sin had its beginning in him--not that he was created evil and sinning.

Why the devil does not cultivate truth is added: “Because truth is not in him.” According to Origen, this is because he entertains vain things and was seduced by himself. In this he is worse than others: others are deceived by him, but he showed himself to be the author of his own aforesaid deception.

Or, according to Origen, truth is said not to be in him because he was not a participant in Christ, who says, “I am the truth.” Or, according to Augustine, from this it is evident that he did not stand in truth although he had been in it, because truth is not now in him, but it would be if he had stood in it.

“When he speaks a lie, he speaks from his own,” that is, from himself, “because he is a liar and its father.” This is not to be understood as the Manichaean heretics understood it, namely that the devil is a liar and the father of the devil. For the devil has no father other than God, who is his father because he created him, and created him good. Rather, as was said, the devil made himself a liar and the father of lying, that is, its inventor.

For he spoke a lie when he accused God before human beings, saying to Eve: “Because God envies you, he forbade the tree.” And according to Theophilus [i.e., Theophylact], he accused human beings before God when he said of Job: “Does Job worship God without cause?” and so forth, Job 1.

Ambrose says: “Brothers, beware of lying, because all who love a lie are sons of the devil.” A lie exists not only in words but also in simulated works. It is a lie to call oneself a Christian and not to do Christ’s works. This is in Cause 22, Question 5, canon *Cavete*.

The saying that the devil “speaks from his own” shows, according to Augustine, that each person sins only by his own will. On this, see Cause 15, Question 1, canon *Non est*.

“But because I speak the truth, you do not believe me.” Alcuin says: Because the Lord is Truth and the Son of Truth, he speaks God’s truth. But because the Jews were sons of the devil, they were turned away from truth.

§ XII

Abbreviating the things John places in chapter 7, where persecutions and insults against Christ are also narrated, it is said that Jesus walked in Galilee, a province other than Judea, where Jerusalem was. The cause is assigned: “For he did not wish to walk in Judea, because the Jews sought to kill him.” According to Augustine, in this he gives an example that when someone, even a prelate, is unjustly sought for death, he can and should change place to preserve himself, provided that the flock committed to him can remain safe without him. You have this more fully in Cause 7, Question 1, § *Hoc tunc*, and canon *Sciscitari*.

When the feast of Scenopegia--that is, Tabernacles--in the month of September was near, his brothers said to him--not carnal brothers, because according to Augustine Mary had him as her only-begotten and all the others called brothers here were his blood relatives in various degrees--“Pass from here and go into Judea, so that your disciples also may see the works you do,” and so forth.

This is not understood of the twelve disciples who always followed him, but of others among the crowds in Judea who were drawn to him and his teaching. They were caring for his temporal glory and their own. Augustine says that because they sought human glory they did not believe in him, and the evangelist relates that these brothers did not believe in him. They could possess Christ as a kinsman, but because of that very proximity they disdained to believe in him.

According to Chrysostom, those words contained much bitterness, because they charged him with fear, love of glory, and the truth of the signs, as though they suspected that his miracles were not true.

Christ answered gently, teaching us not to take offense even if base people advise us. “My time,” he says, “has not yet come,” namely the time of my glory, when I shall come into exaltation. “But your time is always ready,” that is, the glory of the world you seek.

Or, according to Chrysostom, perhaps those brothers sought to betray him and hand him over to the Jews. Therefore he says that his time, namely of death and Passion, had not yet come. He says their time was ready for seeking this together with the Jews, namely his death.

Because two charges seemed to be made against him, fear and vainglory, against the first he says: “The world cannot hate you; it hates me, because I bear testimony concerning it that its works”--that is, the works of the world’s lovers--“are evil.” From this it is evident that he was not afraid when he reproved vices.

Against the second charge he says: “You go up to the feast.” For if he had desired glory, he would have kept them with him so that he might ascend with a larger retinue. “But I shall not go up,” namely with you or publicly, as they advised. For he certainly did go up, as the evangelist adds, but not with them.

After they had gone up, he himself went secretly to the feast. Much murmuring arose about him, people saying: “Where is he?” Their statements varied, for some called him good and others a seducer. The crowds called him good, but the chief priests and Pharisees called him a seducer. Nevertheless, none of those who called him good spoke openly about him, because of fear of the Jews.

When the feast was already half over, he went up into the Temple. That feast of Tabernacles was celebrated for seven days. Therefore he did not go up in the first days but when the feast was half over, that is, in its middle. He delayed coming so that he might make his hearers more attentive, for at the beginning of the feast they attended more to the things belonging to the feast.

Nor did he go up to the feast as his brothers did, to enjoy its delights, but to provide the light of teaching. Hence it is added: “And he taught.”

The Jews marveled, saying: “How does this man know letters, since he has not learned?” Such was the speaker’s power. Although they had said, “He seduces the crowds,” now, transformed, they marveled. Those who knew where he was born and raised had never seen him learning letters, and yet they heard him disputing about the Law and bringing forth testimonies from the Law that no one could produce unless he had learned.

Chrysostom says that from this question they ought to have known that this knowledge was not in him from humanity but from divinity. The Lord Jesus revealed this to them, saying: “My doctrine is not mine, but his who sent me,” the Father, who appointed him to be incarnate. The doctrine I have taught and teach is not from me insofar as I am the man you see.

Or, according to Augustine, because Christ insofar as he is God is the Word, Speech, or Doctrine of the Father, he therefore says: “My doctrine is not mine.” That is: I do not have being from myself, but from the Father. Here he strongly shows that his doctrine and the Father’s are one. According to Chrysostom, it is as though he said: I possess nothing through myself alone or anything different from the Father.

To attain knowledge of the height of this matter, he gives a method, adding: “If anyone wishes to do his will.” To do the will of God the Father is to believe in him. “He shall know concerning my doctrine whether it is from God,” and so forth, because he will attain glory, where the mystery of the Trinity and the processions of the persons are perfectly known.

Or, according to Chrysostom, it is as though he said: Take away the anger, envy, and hatred you possess against me without cause and contrary to God’s will, and nothing will prevent you from knowing that the words I speak are God’s words.

“He who speaks from himself,” that is, who wishes to establish some doctrine of his own, “seeks his own glory”; he wishes this for no other reason than to acquire glory for himself. “But he who seeks the glory of him who sent him is truthful, and there is no injustice in him.” It is as though he said: I am truthful because my doctrine contains truth. I possess no injustice because I do not usurp another’s glory.

Augustine says: The Lord gave us a great example of humility when, found in fashion as a man, he does not seek his own glory but the Father’s.

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Three (continued)

“Did not Moses give you the Law? Yet none of you keeps the Law. Why do you seek to kill me?” Chrysostom says that the Jews brought two accusations against Christ: one, that he did not keep the Sabbath; the other, that he called God his Father, making himself equal to God. He had first refuted the latter by showing that he is not contrary to God but teaches the same things as the Father. He now presses on to the breaking of the Sabbath, saying: “Did not Moses give you the Law?” and so forth.

It is as though he said: The Law contains, “You shall not kill,” yet you wish to kill. That is: If I break the Law by healing on the Sabbath, I nevertheless do so for salvation; but you transgress it for evil, namely by seeking to kill me. Therefore I ought not to be judged by you for transgressing the Law.

Or, according to Augustine, if they performed--that is, fulfilled--the Law, they would find Christ in its very letters and would not kill him when present.

The crowd answered him, not in an orderly manner but turbulently, and therefore it is called a crowd: “You have a demon.” The one who expelled demons was said to have a demon. “Who seeks to kill you?” They deny what they frequently intended.

The Lord, however, was not disturbed but tranquil in truth. Not returning a curse for a curse, he answered tranquilly, giving us an example of patience: “I have done one work, and you all marvel.” What if you were to see all my works? For all the works they saw in the world were his, who made all things, though they did not see this.

"You marvel," that is, you are disturbed and make a tumult, because I healed the man lying sick at the pool, concerning whom John 5 speaks. "Therefore Moses gave you circumcision," and so forth.

According to Alcuin, circumcision was given for this purpose: to be a sign of Abraham's great faith, who believed that from him when very old Christ would be born--that is, Isaac, from whom Christ came. It was also a sign distinguishing from other nations the nation from which Christ was to be born, for the member on which the sign was given is the instrument of generation.

It was also a sign of chastity of soul and body in those who are true sons of Abraham. Augustine says that perhaps circumcision itself signified Christ, namely the stripping away of flesh, that is, of carnal desires from the heart.

It was not without cause given on the member through which the generation of mortals is procured, because one human being is born through another. Thus everyone is born with a foreskin because he is born with the vice of propagation, and God cleanses from neither original nor actual vice except through Christ. The knife was made of stone, and the rock signifies Christ.

Understand, therefore, that this signifies the good work I did by healing the whole person, in soul and body, on the Sabbath. You are forbidden to do servile works on the Sabbath, but healing on the Sabbath is not a servile work, just as neither is eating and drinking in order to preserve the health of the body, and much more of the soul.

Circumcision is said to be not from Moses but from the fathers, because it began with Abraham, who was before Moses. And because by God's command it had to be performed on a boy on the eighth day from birth, if that eighth day fell on the Sabbath, circumcision was nevertheless performed. They did not think that they thereby broke Moses's Law--that is, acted contrary to it--because they did a work directed toward the soul's salvation.

Christ argues from this, proving that he does not act against the Law when he heals on the Sabbath: "If, therefore, a person receives circumcision on the Sabbath," and so forth. He says "the whole person" because he freed the soul from sins and the body from infirmity. This is in *On Penance*, Distinction 3.

"Do not judge according to the face, but judge a just judgment." That is: Do not judge from the dignity of the person, so that because Moses is held in greater glory and honor among you than I, you excuse him from sin in the same work, namely one of salvation, but blame me. For this is to judge according to the face, that is, according to acceptance of persons, which is unjust. Rather, judge justly, that is, from the nature of the things.

Augustine says concerning "Do not judge according to the face": In this age it is a work of great difficulty not to judge personally. What sounded precious from the Lord's mouth was written for us. Who is there who does not judge personally except one who loves equally? Although we honor human beings according to diverse ranks, we must fear lest we accept persons. Sometimes judgment is between father and son. We do not equal the son to the father in honor, but we place the son before the father if he has a good cause in truth. The same matter is treated more fully in Cause 2, Question 7, canon *Quaeritur*.

Certain people of Jerusalem therefore said: "Is not this the one whom the Jews seek to kill?" and so forth. They are specifically said to be from Jerusalem because they had benefited more from his signs, and were therefore more wretched than others. Was it not a great sign that those who raged and sought to kill him, although they held him in their hands, suddenly became still?

They say below, "When the Christ comes, no one knows whence he is," because Isaiah had said of Christ, "Who shall declare his generation?" He was speaking of Christ's divinity. According to his humanity, however, the prophet Micah had foretold that he would be born in Bethlehem, and elsewhere it was said: "Because he shall be called a Nazarene."

Jesus therefore cried out in the Temple concerning these things, saying: "You both know me and know whence I am." He speaks of himself according to human nativity, because they knew him to be Mary's son and from Nazareth, although they were ignorant of the Virgin's childbirth. They knew him according to appearance.

"I did not come from myself," because he was incarnate by God's operation. "But he who sent me is true," namely God the Father, from whom I am, "whom you do not know." According to Chrysostom, he speaks of their ignorance through works, concerning which Paul says that they confess they know God but deny him by deeds.

Or, according to Hilary, they did not know him according to divinity, namely the Father, because they did not know from whom the Son is. When one of two relatives is unknown, the other too is unknown.

And below: "They sought to apprehend him, yet no one laid hands on him," because by his own power he restrained them. The reason was that his hour, willed and preordained by him, had not yet come. It was not an hour of fate. Augustine says: The Lord was not born under fate, nor is this to be believed even of you, much less of him through whom you were made.

Many of the crowd believed in him. Origen says that the Lord saved the humble and poor. Yet Chrysostom says that even in these there was not sound faith, but in the manner of a multitude they spoke common things, saying: "When Christ comes, will he perform more signs than this man does?" To say this is not to believe firmly that he is Christ.

The Pharisees heard the crowd murmuring about him. Hence the rulers sent attendants to apprehend him. When they arrived, Jesus said to them: “I am with you yet a little while.” He speaks words full of humility, as though to say: Why do you hasten to kill me? Wait a little while.

He does not simply say, “I am here,” but, “with you.” That is: Even if you persecute me, I shall nevertheless not cease teaching and doing what pertains to your salvation. “I go to him who sent me,” as though to say: Returning, I shall ascend to the Father who permitted me to become incarnate.

“You shall seek me”: either after the Resurrection, pierced toward penance, or in the destruction of Jerusalem, “and you shall not find me” according to bodily presence; or in the anguish of that siege you shall not find my help. “And where I am, you cannot come.” He did not say, “Where I shall be,” but, “Where I am,” for Christ was always in glory whence he had come, because his soul continually enjoyed the glory of the deity. They could not then come to it because of their sins.

The Jews said, and so forth: “Will he go to the dispersion of the Gentiles and teach the Gentiles?” They prophesied what they did not understand, like Caiaphas. For Christ was to go, not by his own presence, but by his spiritual feet, through his disciples, who are his members, to teach Gentiles dispersed throughout diverse regions and rites.

On the last and great day of the feast--that is, the last of the seven days of Tabernacles--Jesus cried out because of the multitude of the crowd, so that he might be audible, according to Theophilus [i.e., Theophylact], and to display confidence, because he feared no one: “If anyone thirsts, let him come to me and drink.”

According to Chrysostom, it is as though he said: I draw no one by necessity or violence, but if anyone has great desire, I call him.

Augustine says: There is an interior thirst because there is an interior human being. If, therefore, we thirst, let us come, not with the feet but with the affections; let him drink.

Gratian says: It is one thing to taste and another to drink. One tastes who participates in charity to some extent but afterward withdraws from it by sinning. One drinks who fixes his root in charity. This is in *On Penance*, Distinction 2, § *Quod ergo*, before canon *Principium*.

That he speaks of an intellectual drink is evident from what he adds: “He who believes in me,” that is, loves me by believing, as in *On Consecration*, Distinction 2, “as Scripture says,” that is, in the manner Scripture says, because one must have right knowledge; to act, not from signs, as from the Scriptures.

Or, according to Jerome, “as Scripture says” can be referred to what follows: “Rivers of living water shall flow from his belly.” Scripture says this. The testimony is taken from Proverbs, where it is said: “Let your fountains be carried abroad, and divide the waters in the streets.”

The belly of the interior person is the conscience of his heart. The fountain or river flowing from the belly of the heart is benevolence, by which he wishes to care for his neighbor.

Gregory says: When holy preachings flow from the minds of the faithful, rivers of water run, as it were, from the believers’ belly. What are the belly and entrails except the interiors of the mind: right intention, holy desire, a will humble toward God and dutiful toward one’s neighbor?

The evangelist says: “He said this of the Spirit whom those believing in him were to receive.” What does he call “the Spirit” except the Holy Spirit, whom they afterward received in fiery tongues after the Ascension? Hence, concerning this gift, he adds: “The Spirit had not yet been given, because Jesus had not yet been glorified,” namely outwardly as regards the body, for he was still mortal.

The Holy Spirit had indeed been given to John the Baptist, sanctified in the womb; to Zechariah, Simeon, Elizabeth; indeed, to all the saints of the Old Testament. But he had not been given in that fullness, visible sign, and singular effect, namely speaking in all languages, as occurred after Christ’s Ascension.

From that hour, the evangelist says, when the crowd heard these words they said: “This is truly the Prophet.” Others said: “This is the Christ.” But others said: “Does the Christ come from Galilee? Does not Scripture say that the Christ comes from David’s seed and from Bethlehem?” Thus a division concerning him arose in the crowd.

Some wished to apprehend him, but no one laid hands on him. When the attendants returned to the Pharisees who had sent them to seize him and were asked why they had not brought him captive, they answered: “Never has a man spoken as this man speaks.”

They said: “Have you also been seduced? Has anyone of the rulers or Pharisees believed in him? But this crowd, which does not know the Law, is accursed.” Nicodemus said to them: “Does our Law judge a man unless it first hears from him and knows what he does?” They answered: “Are you also a Galilean? Search the Scriptures and see that a prophet does not arise from Galilee.” Each returned to his own house. These are the evangelist’s words.

Chapter Four

On the Teaching of Jesus Christ in His Replies to Pious Inquiries Made by His Disciples for the Sake of Knowing the Truth

When Jesus had shown the difficulty of the salvation of the rich, Peter asked him, as Matthew narrates: “Behold, we have left all things and followed you,” namely in poverty. “What, therefore, shall there be for us?” That is: What recompense, what reward?

He says “all things”: temporal things belonging to riches, bodily things belonging to pleasures, and interior things belonging to one’s own wills. He who says “all” excludes nothing. This is in Distinction 19, canon *Si Romanorum*. We possess all the aforesaid things, or can possess or desire them.

Christ answered him: “You who have followed me.” For perfection does not consist in poverty but in following and imitating Christ, especially through charity, patience, humility, and the other virtues.

“In the regeneration,” that is, in the final resurrection, when human beings are in a certain manner generated again by rising, but into immortal being, “when the Son of Man shall sit in his majesty,” that is, when he appears at the final judgment in his glory and power to judge the world, “you also shall sit upon twelve seats,” that is, you shall be with me like assessors in judging, by approving the sentence Christ will pass, which will be a dignity of the highest degree.

“Judging the twelve tribes of Israel.” Twelve is a superabundant number, because its aliquot parts multiplied together exceed the number twelve. Hence it signifies the universality both of all those to be judged and of the assessing judges.

Not only the twelve Apostles will be judges and assessors with Christ, but all others who perfectly forsake the world. Hence he adds: “And everyone who leaves father, mother, children, sisters, and fields for my name shall receive a hundredfold and possess eternal life.”

Mark relates it in this way: “There is no one who leaves the aforesaid things for me and for the Gospel who shall not receive a hundred times as much in this age: now houses, brothers, sisters, children, mothers, or fields, with persecutions; and in the age to come eternal life.”

According to John Cassian in the *Conferences*, this is understood as follows. Those who truly forsake the aforesaid things, like upright religious, receive in religion, for the one father and one mother they forsake, a hundred spiritual fathers--namely the prelates of that religious order, its elders, and beneficent mothers in those places--and brothers, namely companions; fields, namely possessions of convents or secular people from which alms are given to them; and houses, namely convents or the homes of those who receive them as guests.

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Four (continued)

A definite number is placed for an indefinite one, that is, many more. But he adds “with persecutions,” namely those of the world, the devil, and the flesh, and in the future, eternal life.

The hundredfold is understood in another way. It signifies spiritual goods, because according to arithmetic such a number is placed on the right hand, which signifies spiritual things, just as the left signifies temporal things. On the left hand are placed all the numbers up to one hundred. The meaning, therefore, is that in return for the temporal things a person leaves, he will receive the spiritual goods of the virtues and their perfection, which incomparably exceed all the temporal goods that are relinquished.

That judicial power will be given at the end of the world to the poor who perfectly forsake the world is evident from the authority of Job: “He gives judgment to the poor.” This is explained by blessed Thomas in Book Four.

When Christ had admonished them concerning fraternal correction, Peter questioned him, saying: “Lord, how often shall my brother sin against me and I forgive him? Up to seven times?” Perhaps Peter was moved to express this number because it occurs frequently in Scripture: because God completed his work, which he had accomplished, in seven days; because the time of the world passes through the sevenfold number of weeks and ages; or, rather, because Solomon says in Proverbs, “Seven times in a day the just man falls.”

Christ answered him: “I do not say to you up to seven times only, but up to seventy times seven.” This is explained in several ways. In one way, it is understood of every sin, for seventy-seven results from multiplying eleven seven times. Eleven is a number signifying transgression, because it exceeds ten, by which the Decalogue is denoted, while seven signifies universality. Therefore, to forgive an offender seventy-seven times is to forgive every transgression he has committed against all the commandments.

In another way it means seven times seventy, which makes four hundred and ninety--that is, as many times as a human being could scarcely sin against someone. A definite number is placed for an indefinite one.

In a third way, according to Luke, seventy-seven generations are counted from the beginning of the world, from Adam to Christ, through which successive generations Christ descended. It is as though he said: Even if a person committed as many sins as all those seventy-seven generations committed, just as I have come to forgive the sins of all, so also you, my vicar, forgive all sins when the sinner returns to true penance.

This is what Luke says: "If he sins against you seven times in a day and seven times in a day turns back to you, saying, 'I repent,' forgive him." This is to be understood in the penitential forum and when he appears to be truly penitent. Therefore he says significantly, "turns back." Conversion implies true penance, as is evident. Otherwise a priest ought not to forgive, that is, absolve, because, as the rule of law has it in the Sixth Book of the *Rules of Law*, pardon is not given except to one who has been corrected. See also *On Penance*, Distinction 1, canon *Neminem*, and Distinction 5, canon *Fratres*.

In the judicial forum, however, no matter how much a guilty person repents, the judge must punish him according to the character of his offense and must not leave him unpunished. For when one unworthy person is spared, Ambrose says, all are summoned toward the contagion of ruin. The ease of pardon supplies an incentive to transgression. This is in Cause 23, Question 4, canon *Est iniusta*.

In the case of personal injuries, however, a private person must always forgive, that is, never retain hatred or rancor; and when the one who sinned against him asks pardon, he must remove any sign of rancor, such as refusing to speak and the like, and remit the action for the injuries when the offender makes suitable satisfaction, insofar as he can. Hence Pope Fabian says: "If anyone who has been grieved by his brother refuses to be reconciled when the one who grieved him makes satisfaction, let him be afflicted with the severest fasts." This is in Distinction 91, gloss 1; that is, with the penalty of excommunication.

Again, when the Lord Jesus foretold to the disciples that he must go to Jerusalem, suffer many things, and die, as Matthew narrates, Peter took hold of him--perhaps restraining him by his garment, moved by excessive affection and compassion for him--and began to rebuke him, saying: "Far be it from you, Lord; this shall not happen to you." It was as though he said: You will not go to Jerusalem, lest you suffer these things. It is not good for you to go and have yourself killed.

But Jesus turned and answered Peter: "Go behind me, Satan; you are a scandal to me, because you savor not the things that are of God but those that are of human beings." *Satan* is interpreted "adversary" or "opponent." Peter is therefore called Satan, that is, an opponent of Christ, but not in the same way as the devil. For the devil opposes Christ's will and our salvation from malice, whereas Peter, from piety toward Christ and in ignorance of the mystery of human redemption, opposed Christ's will by which Christ desired to suffer for the salvation of the world.

Therefore, after the devil was conquered in the temptation, Christ said to him, "Go, Satan," that is, withdraw from the faithful. He was restraining the devil's malice so that it might not dare to tempt and deceive so greatly. But to Peter it was said, "Go behind me," that is, imitate him in the suffering of the cross; for Peter wished to restrain him from going to the Passion toward which he was hastening.

"Scandal" is not taken here for a scandal that includes sin, because there was no such scandal in him, either active or passive. In this Peter did not savor what belonged to God's will, namely the Father's, but what nature and sensuality dictate to human beings, namely to avoid death.

Consequently Christ shows that for the perfect following of Christ and the attainment of salvation it is necessary to mortify sensuality and expose oneself to death when expedient, saying: "If anyone wishes to come after me, let him deny himself," that is, let him cast off his own vicious passions by not following them, "and take up his cross"--not Christ's cross, which he could not bear because of its magnitude, but his own, namely the tribulations and afflictions prepared by God's will.

He says "take up," not merely by exhorting others in words, but by enduring them in his own person through deeds and suffering voluntarily, "and follow me," exposing his own life to death when expedient. This is what follows: "For whoever wishes to save his soul," namely the rational soul, "shall lose it," namely the sensitive and vegetative soul. There is a simple reference when he says "it": it refers to the same noun, but not to its whole signification. From this it is not said that there are several souls in a human being, but several powers that in diverse things are called souls.

Or, according to Basil, denial of self is a withdrawal from one's own wills. Or, according to Origen, a person denies himself when, by due alteration, he changes the life formerly accustomed to wickedness--for example, from lust to chastity and from gluttony to abstinence.

The person who wishes to save his soul is the one who wishes to live according to the present life and preserve his own soul in sensible things; he loses and spiritually kills it. But the one who loses it as regards a vicious life saves it.

After the Transfiguration, the disciples questioned Jesus one day, saying: “Who, do you think, is greater in the kingdom of heaven?” Jesus called a little child and set him in their midst. He answered: “Amen I say to you, unless you are converted and become like little children, you shall not enter the kingdom of heaven.”

In this he shows the virtues necessary for beatitude, namely conversion of conduct. Conversion is said to be the heart’s turning in every direction, as in *On Penance*, Distinction 1, § *Scindite*, after canon *Facilius*: namely that the whole person be changed through penance, turning away from every sin and turning and directing his whole self toward the immutable good.

In addition, let him become a little child, not in age or ignorance, but let him possess spiritually a little child’s qualities: simplicity, humility, obedience, meekness, humanity, credulity, and the like.

Because they seem to have asked such a question from a degree of ambition, aspiring to superiority, Christ gently removed them from this and added: “Whoever, therefore, humbles himself like this little child”--whether this is understood of a humble person in general or of the child he placed in their midst, whom some say was Saint Martial--“he is greater in the kingdom of heaven,” namely the Church militant and triumphant.

Hence his mother, the Virgin Mary, was the most humble of all, and therefore she is sung as exalted above the choirs of angels. Chrysostom says: Let no one hasten to appear greater than others, but rather to appear lower than all, because it is not the one greater in honor who is more just; rather, the one who is more just is greater. This is in Distinction 40, canon *Multi*.

He next spoke of the evil of scandal and admonished that it must be avoided above all, for it certainly follows when superiority is sought. See Cause 1, Question 1, canon *Principatus*. Finally, he showed that angels are appointed to guard human beings when he said, “Their angels in heaven,” and so forth.

When the time of the Passion was near, he was making his way from Galilee so as to reach Jerusalem, passing through Samaria. He sent ahead two of the disciples, namely James and his brother John, to prepare in a lodging what was necessary for the meal. When they entered a certain city of the Samaritans, the people refused to receive them because they knew their journey was directed toward Jerusalem. Samaritans did not associate with Jews, but each group regarded the other with abhorrence.

John and James therefore said: “Lord, do you wish us to command fire to descend from heaven and consume them, just as Elijah did?” Jesus rebuked them, saying: “You do not know of whose spirit you are. For the Son of Man did not come to destroy souls but to save them.” And they went into another village.

On this Ambrose says in Cause 23, Question 4: “Because Christ rebuked his disciples when they desired fire to descend upon those who had not received him, we are shown that judgment must not always be exercised against those who sin, because sometimes clemency benefits you more toward patience than it benefits the fallen person toward correction. Finally, the Samaritans from whom fire is withheld in this passage believed more quickly. Nor do the disciples sin, for they follow the Law: they knew that it had been reckoned as justice for Phinehas that he killed the sacrilegious, and that at Elijah’s prayers fire had descended from heaven.” These are his words.

Gratian adds in the following section: “Something else can be understood in this prohibition given to the Apostles. The Apostles wished the Samaritans to be consumed by fire, not from zeal for justice, but from the hatred of bitterness in order to avenge the injury of their own expulsion. But the Lord, wishing them to bear with patience and joy an injury to their own persons while not leaving unavenged an injury to divine service, says: ‘You do not know of whose spirit you are.’” These are his words.

That is, you do not understand by what spirit you are being led. It seems to you that you are being moved from zeal over an injury to God, but you are being moved from indignation over your own inconvenience.

Continuing that journey toward Jericho, after Jesus had foretold to the disciples his Passion and death and the Resurrection that would follow on the third day, the mother of John and James, called Mary Salome, approached Jesus, adored him, and said: “Command that these two sons of mine sit, one at your right hand and the other at your left, in your kingdom.”

Because Jesus had foretold the Resurrection after intimating his Passion, she and her sons thought that upon rising he would manifest his exaltation in the kingdom. But Jesus knew that she had asked this not of herself but at her sons’ instigation: so that they would not scandalize their companions if they themselves made the request, as though wishing to be honored above the others; and so that, if the petition were improper, they themselves would be less embarrassed when their mother asked it, since allowance is easily made for a woman as one who considers matters less carefully.

Therefore he answered not the mother but her sons James and John, saying: “You do not know what you ask.” For you ask for a seat in my kingdom as though it were a kind of temporal exaltation, although it is a spiritual kingdom, and therefore you do not know what you ask. You ask on account of blood relationship for what is given only on account of virtue. Hence there is nothing left-hand there, but everything there is right-hand, that is, prosperous and holy, and therefore you do not know what you ask. You ask for the greatest recompense and reward, which is reached only through great labors that you have not yet endured, and therefore you do not know what you ask.

Hence he added: “Can you drink the cup that I am to drink?” that is, endure the Passion that I shall undergo. For if, the Apostle says, we are companions in sufferings, we shall also be companions in consolation.

They answered, “We can,” because they thought so and had the intention, but they were not yet fit for it, as the event proved at the time of the Passion, when all fled.

Christ answered: “My cup you shall indeed drink,” by enduring sufferings, persecutions, and many afflictions for faith in Christ. James was beheaded under Herod one year after the Lord’s Passion. John the Evangelist, under Domitian, was cast at Rome into a vat of boiling oil, although he escaped unharmed.

“But to sit at my right or left is not mine to give you,” that is, it does not belong to my humanity, by reason of which you are my blood relatives. Nor is it mine to give you as ambitious men. Hence Chrysostom says: “Whoever desires primacy on earth will find confusion in heaven, nor shall he be reckoned among Christ’s servants who has treated of primacy.” This is in Distinction 40, canon *Multi*.

“But it is for those for whom it has been prepared by my Father,” through predestination and the right operation of a humble person. When the other ten Apostles were indignant because of John and James’s petition, Jesus reconciled and quieted them among themselves, declaring by his own example that those who are greater or preside ought to serve others and conduct themselves humbly.

§ I

In the discourse Christ delivered at the Last Supper, which John writes from chapter 13 up to, but not including, chapter 18, Christ replied with profound and wise words when some of the Apostles questioned him. For when the Lord Jesus said, “If I go and prepare for you”--namely my disciples and other truly faithful people--“a place,” namely a place of glory, “I will come again and take you to myself, so that where I am you also may be.”

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Four, § I (continued)

“And you know where I go, and you know the way.”

Augustine asks: How does Christ go and prepare a place if there are already many mansions? Augustine answers the question himself, saying: They do not yet exist as they are to be prepared. For the very mansions he prepared by predestining, he prepares by working. Therefore they already exist in predestination; otherwise he would have said, “I shall go and prepare,” that is, predestine. But because they do not yet exist in operation, he says, “If I go and prepare a place for you.”

He now prepares the mansions by preparing their inhabitants, who are the house of God and the holy temple of God, namely the faithful. Therefore this house of God is still being built; it is still being prepared. Concerning this house, see Cause 24, Question 1, canon *Omnibus*.

Christ therefore comes by hiding, that is, by withdrawing his presence, whence faith arises. He comes by appearing, namely through glory. But unless he remains by governing us, so that we advance by living well, the place where we may remain in enjoyment will not be prepared.

He adds: “You know where I go,” namely to the Father, “and you know the way,” namely through me.

Thomas therefore questions him, saying: “Lord, we do not know where you go.” Theophilus [i.e., Theophylact] says: If the Jews, who wished to be separated from Christ, asked where he was going, much more did the disciples, who were in no way willing to be separated from him, desire to say this; and they questioned him out of great love and fear. Hence Thomas says: “Lord, we do not know where you go, and how can we know the way?”

Augustine says: The Lord had said that they knew both things; Thomas said that they knew neither. But the Lord does not know how to lie. Therefore they knew, but did not know that they knew.

He consequently joins both things together as known by them. Hence it follows: Jesus said, “I am the way, the truth, and the life.” It is as though he said: By what way do you wish to go? I am the way. Where do you wish to go? I am the truth. Where do you wish to remain? I am the life.

Augustine says: Every human being grasps truth and life, but not every human being finds the way. Even the philosophers of this age saw that God is a certain eternal life and knowable truth. The Word of God with the Father is therefore truth and life; by

assuming humanity he became the way. Walk through the human being and you will arrive at God. It is better to limp on the way than to walk vigorously beside the way.

Hilary says in *On the Trinity*: "I am the way," and so forth. He who is the way does not lead us into wandering and trackless places; he who is the truth does not mock us through falsehoods; he who is the life does not leave us in the error of death.

Theophilus [i.e., Theophylact] says: When you exercise the active life, Christ becomes the way for you; when you persevere in the contemplative life, Christ becomes the truth for you. Life, however, is added to both the active and the contemplative life. For it is fitting to go and preach for the sake of the age to come. "I am the way, the truth, and the life."

Gregory says in Distinction 7: If perhaps you raise custom as an objection, it must be observed that the Lord did not say, "I am custom," but, "I am truth." And, to use the saying of blessed Cyprian, every custom, however ancient and however widespread, must be wholly set aside for truth, and a usage contrary to truth must be abolished. These are his words.

He adds: "No one comes to the Father except through me." Augustine says: Although above he had said, "No one can come to me unless the Father draws him," now you say that no one can come to the Father except through me. He makes himself equal to the one who begot him.

Christ explains how he said, "You know where I go, and you know the way," adding: "If you had known me, you would certainly have known my Father also." According to one gloss, it is as though he said: If you knew my substance and dignity, you would know that it is also the Father's.

They indeed knew him, but not as they ought. Afterward the Spirit came and perfectly established knowledge in them. For this reason he adds, "From now on you shall know him," speaking of that knowledge which is according to the mind, "and you have seen him," namely by my showing him, because whoever sees me also sees the Father as regards divinity, since both have one substance together with the Holy Spirit.

The Apostles then saw him not in naked substance but clothed in flesh; nevertheless they believed him to be God, although imperfectly. And because Christ had said above, "You know where I go," but now says, "If you had known me," Bede says that these statements give us to understand that some of them knew and some did not know, one of whom was Thomas.

Hilary says in his book *On the Trinity*: The novelty of the sayings stirred the Apostle Philip. A human being is perceived, yet he confesses that he is the Son of God. Once he himself is known, he declares that God the Father must be known. He says that the Father has been seen. Therefore apostolic familiarity burst forth to question the Lord, as the Evangelist adds: Philip said to him, "Lord, show us the Father, and it is enough for us."

He did not deny that the Father had been seen, but asked that he be shown to him. Nor did he desire a showing in the likeness of bodily contemplation, but asked for a demonstration for understanding the one who had been seen. For he had seen the Son in the appearance of a human being, but he did not know whether through that he had seen the Father. To show that this showing would be a demonstration for understanding rather than for seeing, he added, "And it is enough for us."

Augustine says: In that joy which will fill us from his countenance, nothing further will be required. Philip had understood this well when he said, "Lord, show us the Father, and it is enough for us," but he had not yet understood how he could have said in the same way to the Lord Jesus himself, "Lord, show us yourself, and it is enough for us."

So that he might understand this, God answered him. Hence it follows: Jesus said to him, "So long a time have I been with you, and you have not known me?"

Augustine says: But how does he say this when they knew both where he was going and the way, for no other reason than because they knew him? This question is easily resolved if we say that some of them knew and others did not, among whom was Philip.

Hilary says: He therefore reproves the Apostle as ignorant in knowing him. For since the things that he did were proper to God--to tread upon the waves, command the winds, forgive sins, and restore life to the dead, every question arose from this complaint: that the divine nature was not understood in the assumed human being. Therefore to the one who asked that the Father be shown to him, he said: "Philip, he who sees me sees the Father also."

Augustine says: We are accustomed to speak thus of two persons who are very similar: "You have seen this one; you have seen that one." Thus it was said: "He who sees me sees the Father also," not because the Father and the Son are the same person, but because the Son differs in no respect from the Father's likeness.

Hilary says in *On the Trinity*: Here he does not signify the sight of bodily eyes. For contemplating in him what was fleshly from the Virgin's childbirth does not contribute to beholding the form and image of God; rather, when the Son is understood to be God, it follows that the Father also is understood. For the Son is an image in such a way that he does not differ in kind but signifies authority.

The expression does not signify one who is solitary, while the confession teaches an undifferentiated nature. For when he says “also the Father,” the understanding of one solitary and unique person is excluded. What therefore remains except that, through the unique likeness of nature, the Father is seen through the Son?

But Augustine says that the Lord reproved the disciple because he saw what the petitioner asked, that is, the petitioner’s heart. Philip wished to know the Father as though the Father were better than the Son, and therefore he did not know the Son, because he believed someone to be better than him.

To correct this understanding it was said: “Do you not believe that I am in the Father and the Father is in me?” It is as though he said: If it is too much for you to see this, at least believe what you do not see.

Hilary says: What necessity remained for making the Father known or showing him to the ignorant, when the Father had been seen in the Son from the property of nature, since through the undifferentiated unity the one born and the one generating are one? Hence this saying of the Lord followed: “Do you not believe that I am in the Father and the Father is in me?”

The Father is in the Son and the Son in the Father, not through a conjunction of two kinds nor through a nature implanted in a more capacious substance, because under bodily necessity exterior things cannot become interior to those by which they are contained. Rather, this is through the birth of a living nature from one who lives, since nothing other than God is born from God.

Or the whole passage is explained otherwise according to Chrysostom. Philip wished to see the Father with bodily eyes because he thought he had also seen the Son himself in this way, perhaps having heard from the prophets, “I saw the Lord.” Therefore he said: “Lord, show us the Father.” The Jews had also asked him, “Where is your Father?” Peter and Thomas had asked where he was going, and no one had learned it openly.

So that Philip might not appear burdensome in asking, “Show us the Father,” he adds, “and it is enough for us,” that is, we seek nothing more. The Lord did not say to him that he had asked for the impossible, but showed that he had not even seen the Son himself. For if he could have seen the Son, he would also have seen the Father.

Therefore he says: “So long a time have I been with you, and you have not known me, Philip?” He did not say, “You have not seen me,” but, “You have not known me,” namely as regards the fact that the Son, while remaining what the Father is, fittingly shows in himself the one who begot him.

Then, distinguishing the hypostases, he says: “He who sees me sees the Father also,” lest anyone say that the Father himself is the Son himself. Through this he shows that Philip had not seen the Son by bodily sight either.

If anyone wishes to say that “seeing” here means knowledge, I do not contradict him. It is as though he said: He who has known me has known the Father also. Yet he did not say this; wishing to represent consubstantiality, he said: He who has seen my substance has also seen that which belongs to the Father.

Hence it is evident that this does not occur in a creature. For all who see a creature do not thereby know God. Philip also sought to see the Father’s substance. Therefore, if the Son were of another substance, he would not say, “He who sees me sees the Father also.” Nor can anyone see the substance of gold in silver, for one nature does not appear through another.

Then he speaks in the plural, not only to Philip but to all, saying: “The words I speak I do not speak from myself.” What does this mean except: I who speak am not from myself? He attributes what he does to the one from whom he himself, who does it, exists.

Hence he neither denied himself to be the Son nor concealed in himself the nature of the Father’s power. For while he speaks, he speaks while remaining in his own substance; yet while he does not speak from himself, he testifies within himself to his birth as God from God.

See, moreover, the abundant demonstration of one substance, for it is added: “But the Father who remains in me, he performs the works.” It is as though he said: It is by no means the case that the Father acts in one way and I in another.

Beginning with words, he therefore comes to works. It would have been fitting to say, “He speaks the words.” But he sets down two things concerning teaching and signs, because words too were works. For whoever builds up his neighbor by speaking performs a good work.

What does “the Father who remains in me, he performs the works” mean except: by remaining in me, I perform them? Augustine says this. But Hilary says: For the Father to remain in the Son is not the action of one solitary and unique person, and for the Son to work through the Father is not the action of one who is different or external.

Because he had taught that the Father both speaks and works in him, he perfectly establishes faith in this unity, saying: “Believe me that I am in the Father and the Father is in me,” lest the Father be believed to work and speak in the Son through the efficacy of power and not through the property of nature which is according to birth. For so it is found in the Greek; our text, however, has: “Do you not believe that I am in the Father and the Father is in me?”

But if this does not suffice to demonstrate consubstantiality, at least learn it from the works. Hence it is added: “Otherwise believe on account of the works themselves.” For you have seen signs done with authority and all the things proper to deity, which the Father alone performs: sins released, death withdrawing, and the like.

Therefore, on account of the works believe that I am in the Father and the Father in me. For if we were separate, we could in no way work inseparably.

Because the Lord had said, “Believe on account of the works,” showing not only that he has this power but that he has far greater power, and that it is more marvelous that he can give it to others, he therefore added: “Amen I say to you: He who believes in me shall himself perform the works I perform, and shall perform greater works than these.”

Augustine asks: But what are these greater works? Is it perhaps that, as the disciples passed by, the sick were healed even by their shadow? For it is greater that a shadow should heal than a garment’s hem.

Yet when he said these things, he was commending the deeds and works of his words. For when he said, “The Father who remains in me performs the works,” what works was he then calling works except the words he was speaking? And the fruit of those words was their faith.

Nevertheless, when the disciples preached the Gospel, not merely as few people as those who were present, but even the Gentiles believed. Did not that sorrowful rich man depart from his mouth? Yet what one man did not do when he heard it from Christ, many did when Christ spoke through the disciples. Behold, when preached by believers he did greater things than when speaking to his hearers.

But this point still disturbs us: that he performed these greater things through the Apostles, yet he did not say this while signifying only them; rather, he said, “He who believes in me.” Is someone who has not performed greater works than Christ to be reckoned among those who do not believe in Christ? This is difficult unless it is understood as follows.

The Apostle says of one who believes in him who justifies the ungodly: “Faith is reckoned unto justice.” In this work we shall perform Christ’s works, because to believe in Christ is itself a work of Christ. He works this in us, certainly not without us.

Hear, therefore: “He who believes in me shall himself perform the works I perform.” First I perform them; then he shall perform them, because I bring it about that he performs them. What works are these except that an ungodly person becomes just? Christ certainly works this in him, but not without him.

I would say without hesitation that this is greater than creating heaven and earth. For heaven and earth shall pass away, but the number and justification of the predestined shall remain.

But in heaven the angels are works of Christ. Does the one who cooperates with Christ toward his own justification perform works greater even than these? Let whoever can judge whether it is greater to create the just than to justify the ungodly.

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Four, § I (continued)

Certainly, if both are of equal power, the latter is of greater mercy.

But no necessity compels us to understand all Christ’s works in the passage where he says, “He shall perform greater works than these.” For perhaps by “these” he meant the works he was performing at that hour. At that time he was speaking words of faith, and it is certainly less to preach words of justice--which he did without us--than to justify the ungodly, which he performs in us in such a way that we also act.

The Lord, however, promised great hope to his people when they pray, saying, “Because I go to the Father.” These are Augustine’s words. That is: I do not perish, but I shall remain in my proper dignity and pray in heaven.

Or he says this as though to say: Henceforth it is for you to perform miracles, for I go. And lest anyone attribute them to himself, he added, to show that he himself also performs those greater works: “And whatever you ask the Father in my name, this I shall do.” It is as though he said: I am the one who will act, and then I shall do greater things through those who believe in me than I now do through myself. This is not a defect, but a condescension.

He says “in my name” because the Apostles said in the name of Jesus Christ, “Rise and walk.” For all the signs they performed, he himself performed, and the hand of the Lord was with them.

But what does “Whatever you ask” mean, when we see his faithful often ask and not receive, as did the Apostle Paul concerning the thorn of the flesh? Hear what is placed there: “In my name,” which is Christ Jesus. *Jesus*, Augustine says, signifies Savior. Therefore

whatever we ask contrary to the benefit of salvation we do not ask in the Savior's name. Yet he is the Savior not only when he does what we ask, but also when he does not do it. For the physician knows what the sick person requests for his health and what he requests against it.

Indeed, although we ask certain things in his name, he does not do them when we ask, but he nevertheless does them. What we ask is delayed, not denied, as with the petition, "Your kingdom come."

He adds, "So that the Father may be glorified in the Son," and so forth. Therefore the Son in no way acts without the Father, since the Son acts precisely so that the Father may be glorified in him. For when the Son is shown to be mighty in great things, the one who begot him is glorified.

Next the Lord Jesus promised the Holy Spirit to his disciples if they loved him, which would be shown in their observance of his commandments, saying: "I shall ask the Father"--insofar as he is human, as one less than the Father he asks; insofar as he is God, together with the Father he grants--"and he shall give you another Paraclete."

Paraclete is a Greek name and is interpreted in Latin as "consoler" or "advocate." He consoles people in adversity with the hope of rewards, and those mourning their sins with confidence in their remission. He is called advocate because "the Spirit himself asks for us with unutterable groanings," that is, he makes us ask.

Christ calls him "another" than himself not because of a diversity of substance, but because of a distinction of person. Or, according to Didymus, Christ named the Holy Spirit another Paraclete not according to a difference in his nature, but according to a diversity of operation. For since the Savior held the person of mediator and envoy, by which as high priest he intercedes for our sins, the Holy Spirit, according to another signification of *Paraclete*, was named from the fact that he consoles those placed in sorrow.

Yet do not suppose from the diverse operations of the Son and the Holy Spirit that they have different natures. For in another passage the Paraclete, the Holy Spirit, is found to perform before the Father the person of an envoy, and Christ Jesus to work consolation in hearts. The Spirit will remain with us forever, for he does not withdraw even after death.

Christ calls him the Spirit of Truth because he makes manifest the figures of the Old Testament, and also because he proceeds from Truth, the Son, and because truth, by whomsoever it is spoken, is from the Holy Spirit together with the Father and the Son.

"Whom the world cannot receive," that is, people who love the world while remaining in that state cannot receive him because of their indisposition, "because it does not see him," namely with the most certain knowledge of God. For worldly love does not possess the invisible eyes through which alone the Holy Spirit can be invisibly seen.

After some other words the Lord Jesus says: "On that day you shall know," through perfect faith or in glory through vision, "that I am in my Father, and you in me, and I in you." According to Hilary in *On the Trinity*, Christ is in the Father through the nature of divinity. We, contrariwise, are in him through his bodily birth, by which he assumed our nature, so that he in turn might be believed to be in us through the mystery of the sacrament.

For he himself testified: "He who eats my flesh remains in me, and I in him." This is in *On Consecration*, Distinction 2, canon *In Christo Patrem*.

Finally he concluded: "He who loves me shall be loved by my Father, and I shall love him and shall manifest myself to him." In chapter 16 he also promised that he would send them the same Paraclete, the Holy Spirit, after his departure. While he was with them, namely in bodily presence, he could not give the Spirit to them because of their indisposition. They were so attached to that humanity because of his miracles, teaching, and kindness that they did not raise their minds and affections to his divinity.

He shows what the Spirit will do in them and through them, saying: "When he comes, he will convict the world of sin," namely the sin of unbelief that unbelievers possess, "and of justice," namely the virtuousness that many of the faithful lack, "and of judgment," namely the severity that many do not beware.

For although the sinful devil, prince of the world, has been judged and eternally condemned to the fire, wretched human beings do not take care to avoid imitating him in evils and adhering to his vicious suggestions. For this reason they too will follow him in punishments.

Thereafter he intimated that the Spirit himself would teach them all truth, namely the truth necessary for life, teaching, and justice, by discovering, teaching, and judging. He would also glorify Christ, namely by making them understand his deity and by performing miracles through them in Jesus's name. The Spirit would perform all these things, not possessing them from himself, but from the Father and from the Son himself, from whom he is.

Then Judas questioned him--not Iscariot, but the one who is called Thaddeus by another name: "Lord, what has happened that you are going to manifest yourself to us and not to the world?" That is, to those who love you, and not to those who do not love you but love the world, for which reason Christ calls them the world.

Jesus answered: “If anyone loves me, he will keep my word.” Gregory says: The proof of love is the manifestation of a work. The love of God is never idle, for if it exists it performs great things. If it refuses to work, it is not love.

“And my Father will love him.” Augustine says: Love distinguishes the saints from the world. In it the Father and the Son make their mansion, who give that very love by which we love him, without excluding the Holy Spirit, because the works of the Trinity are inseparable. This is in *On Consecration*, Distinction 4, canon *Omnes*.

The works in question are all the Trinity’s works ad extra, as is said there, through which the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit give their inward manifestation, which the ungodly have not known.

“And we shall come to him,” Christ says, “and shall make our mansion with him.” Augustine says: They come to us while we come to them. They come by assisting; we come by receiving, so that our vision of them may be not external but internal, and their dwelling in us not transitory but eternal. “And we shall make our mansion with him.”

For he comes into the hearts of certain people and does not make a mansion, because through compunction they receive a regard for God, but in the time of temptation they forget what had moved them to compunction, namely by returning to sins.

That person truly loves whose mind an evil delight does not overcome through consent. Understand this of mortal sins, not venial ones. The divine persons come jointly, provided the person possesses love, according to Augustine’s saying: “Charity is rooted: be secure; it can produce nothing evil.” This is in *On Penance*, Distinction 2.

Augustine says in his book *On the Trinity*: We must not think that, when the Father and Son make their mansion in the one who loves them, the Holy Spirit is excluded from this mansion, since it was said above concerning the Holy Spirit, “He shall remain in us,” and again, “that he may remain with you forever.” But to intimate the Trinity they are spoken of with the individual persons named; they are nevertheless not understood as separated from the others, because of the one substance of the same Trinity.

“He who does not love me does not keep my words.” Gregory says: Concerning love of the Creator, let tongue, mind, and life be examined. Each person is separated from heavenly love to the same degree that he delights in the lowest things.

“And the word you have heard is not mine, but the Father’s who sent me.” Augustine says: Perhaps on account of some distinction, where he called them his own he spoke of “words” in the plural, but where he now says “word” in the singular, this is the Word. He said that the Word is not his own, but wished himself to be understood as the Father’s. For he is not his own Word but the Father’s, not his own image but the Father’s, not his own Son but the Father’s.

Rightly, therefore, he attributes to the author what the equal performs, from whom he has this very thing, that he is the undifferentiated equal of him.

Jesus adds: “These things I have spoken to you while remaining with you.” Augustine says: One dwelling is the future one he promised; another is the present one to which he testifies. The former is spiritual and is rendered inwardly to minds; the latter is bodily and is manifested outwardly.

Because they had understood some of the things he had said and did not understand others, lest they be troubled and so that they might more easily endure his departure, he promises one who would both console them and teach what they had not understood from his sayings, adding: “But the Paraclete, the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in my name.” Why the Holy Spirit is called Paraclete was explained above. The seven names for him that designate his property and the effects he works in the elect are found in the hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus*.

“Whom the Father will send.” Bede says: When the grace of the Holy Spirit is given to human beings, the Spirit is sent by the Father and is sent by the Son, because he proceeds from the Father and proceeds from the Son; for his mission is his procession. These are his words.

Because mission includes procession, and the Spirit does not proceed from himself but from the Father and Son, he is therefore not said to be sent by himself. Nevertheless, the very infusion of grace into a creature, according to which he is said to be sent, also proceeds from the Holy Spirit, since it is a work performed in a creature.

That the Holy Spirit is sent by the Son, the Son himself says below: “I shall send you from the Father the Spirit of Truth,” that is, the Spirit proceeding from me, who am Truth. Hence, against the error of the Greeks who deny that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, it is said in *On Consecration*, Distinction 5, canon *De Spiritu*, from the Council of Ephesus: “He is called the Almighty’s Spirit of Truth, and Christ is Truth. Hence he proceeds also from Christ as from God the Father.”

Likewise Didymus says in the final chapter of the *Decrees*: “The Savior, who is also Truth, says”--speaking of the Holy Spirit--“For he shall not speak from himself.” This means: without me and without my will and the Father’s will, because he can be sent by my will and the Father’s; and further, because he is not from himself but from the Father and from me. For the very fact that he subsists and speaks is his from the Father and from me. His speaking, however, is his breathing into human hearts.

And below: “The Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, God from God, the Spirit of Truth proceeding from Truth, the Consoler flowing from the Consoler,” namely Christ.

Because the Holy Spirit is sent by the Father in the Son’s name, Didymus says this shows that he is joined to the Son in unity. Hence he is also called the Spirit of the Son, making through his adoption those willing to receive him into sons.

It follows: “He shall teach you all things,” namely those that are spiritual and the intellectual mysteries of truth and wisdom. He will teach, not as those who learned certain arts and wisdom through study and industry, but as he who is himself art, teaching, and wisdom--the Spirit of Truth--who invisibly insinuates knowledge of divine things into the mind.

Gregory says: Unless the Holy Spirit is present in the hearer’s heart, the teacher’s speech is idle.

Augustine says: This must not be understood as though, when the Son teaches, we grasp the words, and when the Holy Spirit teaches, we understand the same words. For the whole Trinity speaks and teaches. But unless the Trinity were also commended person by person, human weakness could in no way grasp it at all.

“And he shall suggest to you all things whatsoever I shall have said to you.” Gregory says: The invisible Spirit is said to suggest, not because he introduces knowledge to us from below as an inferior, but because he does so from what is hidden.

Or, according to Augustine, “He shall suggest” means “He shall remind you.” For we must understand that our being commanded not to forget the most salutary admonitions pertains to the grace by which Christ reminds us.

Theophilus says: The Holy Spirit both taught and suggested, that is, reminded. [i.e., Theophylact] He taught the things Christ had not said to them because they were not able to bear, that is, understand them. He reminded them of the things the Lord had said but which, because of their slowness of understanding, they had been unable to commit to memory.

Because, as Chrysostom says, on hearing these things they were troubled, reflecting upon the hatreds and wars that threatened them after his departure, he therefore consoles them again, saying: “Peace I leave with you; my peace I give to you. Not as the world gives do I give to you.” Here he notes a threefold peace: internal, heavenly, and carnal.

Augustine says: He leaves peace to us in this age, in which while remaining we conquer the enemy, that is, the devil, and love one another. He will give us his peace in the future age, when he will reign without an enemy, where we shall never be able to disagree. He himself is peace for us, and we believe him to be as he is, and we shall see him as he is.

Notice that when he says, “Peace I leave with you,” he does not add “my,” but when he says, “Peace I give to you,” he says “my.” Although his could be said to be understood when he says, “Peace I leave with you,” nevertheless, according to Augustine, perhaps something also lies hidden here.

For he wished his peace to be understood as the kind he himself possesses, in which no sin whatsoever rebels, and which we shall therefore have in the future. But the peace he left us in this age should be called ours rather than his, because however perfect people may be, they always have something against which they struggle and on account of which they say, “Forgive us our debts.”

As to what he says, “Not as the world gives do I give to you”: that worldly peace belongs to those who love the world. They give themselves peace so that they may enjoy the world without disturbance, and when they give peace to the just so that they do not persecute them, it cannot be true peace where there is not true concord.

Chrysostom says that exterior peace is also often directed toward evil and profits those who possess it nothing. Augustine says: He who refuses to preserve the Lord’s testament will not be able to reach the Lord’s inheritance. Cyprian says: The guilt of discord is inexpiable and is not purged even by suffering. This is in Distinction 9.

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Four, § I (continued)

Because he had said, “Peace I leave with you,” which belonged to one departing, and this could trouble them, he therefore comforts them, saying: “Let not your heart be troubled, nor let it be afraid.”

Augustine says: Their heart could be troubled and afraid at this, lest during the interval when he withdrew from them--although he would return to them in the Resurrection--the wolf should attack in the shepherd’s absence.

Hence it follows: “You have heard that I go and come to you.” I go to death through the Passion; I come through the Resurrection. I go to the Father through the Ascension; I come through the mission of the Holy Spirit, and finally for your glorification.

So that his saying, “I go and come to you,” might be understood according to that by which he was human, he added: “If you loved me, you would indeed rejoice, because the Father is greater than I.” By that in which the Son was not equal to the Father, therefore, he was to go to the Father, from whom he is also to come to judge the living and the dead.

For by that in which he is equal to the one who begot him, he never withdraws from the Father, because he is one in essence with the Father and the Holy Spirit, always existing everywhere and never abandoning his saints.

According to his humanity, therefore, Christ is less than the Father, less than the Holy Spirit, and less even than himself according to his divinity, because that humanity was formed by the whole Trinity: as regards the body, from the Virgin’s substance; as regards the soul, created by God in an instant and infused.

Nevertheless, both--namely humanity and divinity--are not two persons but one person, so that there may be no quaternity but God the Trinity. Therefore he said: “If you loved me, you would indeed rejoice.”

For according to Augustine we should rejoice on behalf of human nature because it was so assumed by the only-begotten Word that it was established immortal in heaven, and thus earth became so sublime that incorruptible dust sat at the Father’s right hand. Who does not rejoice here, if he loves Christ here, so as already to congratulate his own nature as immortal in Christ and to hope that he himself will become the same through Christ?

It follows: “And now I have told you these things before they occur, so that when they have occurred you may believe”--not with a new faith, but with an increased one; or certainly so that the faith which failed when he was dead might be restored when he rose.

Or: so that you may believe my divinity because so many things foretold and seen are fulfilled, even if in the risen one you see only his humanity.

“Now I shall not speak many things with you.” For the time was now at hand when he would be seized and killed. “For the prince of this world comes.” Augustine says: Who is this except the devil, who is prince not of creatures but of the sins of those who love the world?

“He comes,” that is, he will come to the cross when Christ suffers, ignorant that he is the Son of God, to see whether perhaps he might find any sin in him. “But in me,” Christ says, “he has nothing,” namely nothing of his own, because God had not come with sin, nor had the Virgin borne his flesh from the stock of sin.

And as though someone said to him, “Why, therefore, will you die if you have no sin to which the punishment of death is owed?”, he immediately adds: “But so that the world may know that I love the Father.” It is as though he said: For this reason I offer myself to death and shall endure a Passion that I do not owe, so that the world--that is, the people of the world--may know that I do this because of the love I possess for the Father.

This love is shown in the following deed: “As the Father has given me a commandment,” namely that I should undergo death for the redemption of the human race, “so I do,” namely by undergoing it.

§ II: On the Lord’s Prayer Offered by Jesus Christ, in Which He Fully Taught Us to Pray

Luke narrates this after relating that Christ was received as a guest by Martha, in whose house her sister Mary sat beside the Lord’s feet while Martha herself ministered what was necessary for the meal. Immediately afterward Luke adds: “It happened, when he was praying in a certain place, that when he ceased one of his disciples said to him, ‘Lord, teach us to pray, as John also taught his disciples.’ And he said to them, ‘When you pray, say: Father, hallowed be your name,’” and so forth.

First it must be noted, according to Cyril, that Christ prayed not because he who existed full of every virtue lacked anything, but to furnish us an example of praying. According to Bede, he did this and taught prayer after the narration of the history of Martha and Mary receiving Christ, to signify that the perfection of the active and contemplative lives, which are designated in those women, can be obtained only by prayers.

Matthew, however, asserts that this Lord’s Prayer was issued by Christ and delivered to the Apostles on the mountain, where he gave them a lengthy discourse without any disciple’s questioning him. Matthew places seven petitions in it, whereas Luke expresses only five.

To harmonize these accounts, it can be said--as Augustine says concerning the beatitudes, since Matthew relates eight pronounced by the Lord and Luke four--that these were different sermons. For in the sermon on the mountain Jesus expressed the eight beatitudes Matthew relates, and in a level place, as Luke relates, while preaching to the crowds, he intimated only four to those less capable.

The same must be said concerning the Lord’s Prayer. On the mountain he expressed seven petitions without being questioned by anyone, as Matthew narrates. On another occasion afterward, when someone questioned him about the form of prayer, he taught it more briefly, as Luke relates.

And as Augustine also says, the third petition is included in the first two, and the final petition in the penultimate. Therefore Luke, intent upon brevity, took care not to place explicitly either the third, namely "Your will be done," or the final one, "But deliver us from evil." It is credible that Christ spoke some subjects of his teaching several times--to the disciples and crowds, sometimes at greater length and sometimes more briefly--as all teachers and preachers also do.

"Father, hallowed be your name." Basil says: There are two modes of prayer. The first is praise with humility; the second is the more subdued mode of petition. Therefore, whenever you pray, do not first burst forth into petition. Otherwise you condemn your affection, because you approach God under the compulsion of necessity.

But when you begin to supplicate, leave behind every creature, visible and invisible alike. Begin with praise of the one who created all things. Hence he says: "When you pray, say: Father," and so forth.

Augustine says in *On the Words of the Lord*: The first word is one of great grace. You did not dare raise your eyes to heaven, and suddenly you receive Christ's grace. From an evil servant you have been made a good son. Therefore presume, not from your own activity, but from Christ's grace. To proclaim what you have received is not arrogance but devotion, not pride but faith.

Therefore raise your eyes to the Father who begot you through the laver and redeemed you through the Son. Say "Father" as a son, but do not claim anything spiritually for yourself. For he is spiritually the Father of Christ alone, but he is the Father of us all in common, because he begot Christ alone according to divinity but created us. Therefore, according to Matthew, we say "our Father."

Here it must also be noted that the whole prayer is framed in the plural, not the singular, namely for oneself alone or for any particular person, to signify, as Cyprian says, that one must pray not only for oneself but also for others.

And because, as Gratian says in *On Penance*, Distinction 1, "Each person is proved to be the son of the one whose works he performs," as is evident from the Gospel, imitate him in works so that you may truly call him Father.

According to Matthew there follows what Luke omitted: "Who are in heaven." Theophilus says: He does not say this as though God were circumscribed by place [i.e., Theophylact], but he raises the hearer toward the heavens and draws him away from earthly things.

Or, according to Augustine, he speaks of those of whom the Psalm says, "The heavens declare the glory of God," that is, holy men. Or he is said to be in heaven through the manifestation of his glory, namely in the empyrean heaven.

Gregory of Nyssa says: The beginning of all good things is that God's name be glorified in our life. Hence there follows: "Hallowed be your name." This is the first petition. For who is so beastly that, on seeing a pure life among believers, he does not glorify the name invoked in such a life?

This prayer therefore says: May I, Father, with the aid of your concurrent assistance, become just and abstain from every evil.

Chrysostom says: Just as when someone looks upon the beauty of heaven he says, "Glory to you, God," so also when he looks upon someone's virtue, because a human being's virtue glorifies God much more than heaven does.

Or, according to Augustine: "Hallowed be your name," namely in us, so that its sanctification may be able to reach us.

Or, according to Titus: "Hallowed be your name," that is, let your holiness be known to the whole world, and let it praise you fittingly. He therefore commanded us to pray for the purification of the whole world. And because the Father's glory is in Jesus's name, the Father's name will then be hallowed when Christ is known.

Or, according to Origen: Because God's name is attributed by those who err to statues and creatures, it is not yet hallowed, that is, separated from those things from which it ought to be separated. Therefore it is fitting for us to pray that God's name be assigned to God alone.

"Your kingdom come." This is the second petition, so that, according to Origen, principality, power, and the might of the kingdom of the world may be emptied, and sin may not reign even in our mortal bodies.

Or, according to Gregory of Nyssa: We also implore the Lord to be freed from corruption and released from death.

Or, according to some: "Your kingdom come," that is, may your Holy Spirit come upon us and purify us.

Augustine says: God's kingdom comes when we have obtained his grace, for he himself says, "The kingdom of God is within you."

Or, according to Cyril: The person who says, "Your kingdom come," seems to desire that the Savior of all shine again in the world. He commanded that this truly terrible time be asked for in prayer, so that people may know that he teaches them to live not carelessly but attentively, lest that time prepare punishment and flame for them.

According to Matthew there follows the third petition, which Luke omits: "Your will be done on earth as it is in heaven." Chrysostom says: It is as though he said: Grant us, Lord, to imitate the heavenly manner of life, so that whatever you wish, we also may wish.

Gregory of Nyssa says: He who says that human life after the Resurrection will be like the angelic life must consequently order worldly life toward the life hoped for afterward, so that while living in the flesh we do not live according to the flesh. Because we had departed from the divine will and for this reason had grown sick, our reunion with the divine will would free us anew from the disease.

Hence he says: “As in heaven, so on earth,” that is, as your will is done by the angels who are in heaven, so may it be done by us who are on earth.

Or: as it is done in the heaven of our intellective faculty, so may it be done in the earth of our sensitive faculty or body.

Cyprian says: How preposterous and perverse it is that, when we ask daily for God’s will to be done--namely by saying, “Your will be done”--we do not immediately obey the command of his will when he summons us from this age, but resist and struggle; and like unruly servants we are brought unwillingly before his sight, departing from here by the bond of necessity and not by the compliance of the will. This is in Cause 13, Question 2, canon *Quam praeposterum*.

“Your will be done,” namely by us, not only concerning us. For God’s will is certainly done concerning evil human beings, according to Gregory in the *Moralia*, namely what God has disposed concerning them, in accordance with Isaiah’s saying, “All my will shall be done.” But God’s will is not done by them, because they do not conform themselves to God’s will. God’s will is done by the good, however, because they voluntarily keep God’s precepts, through which God’s will is manifested to us.

And because, Augustine says, God’s name is hallowed in the spirit while God’s kingdom will come in the Resurrection, Luke omitted this third petition, wishing it to be understood in the preceding two.

There follows the fourth petition: “Give us today our daily bread.” Matthew says “substantial bread.” Augustine says: This is not the bread that passes into the body, but that bread of eternal life which sustains the substance of our soul. This is in *On Consecration*, Distinction 2, canon *Quotidianum*.

Augustine says: The Latin text has “daily.” If the bread is daily, why do you receive it after a year, as the Greeks in the East have been accustomed to do? The same author says in *On Consecration*, Distinction 2, canon *Quotidie*: Receive daily, so that it may profit you daily. Live in such a way that you may deserve to receive it daily. It is bread, not poison; it is medicine, the heavenly and venerable sacrament.

Or, according to Titus: The bread of souls is the divine power that brings the future everlasting life, just as bread proceeding from the earth preserves temporal life.

Or, according to Cyril, the sustenance of bodily life can be understood by daily bread. But because he commanded them to ask for bread, that is, daily nourishment, it appears that he allows them to possess nothing superfluous but rather to cultivate honorable poverty.

Chrysostom says: Therefore the necessities of life are to be requested, not varieties of foods, fragrant wines, and the other things that delight the throat but burden the belly and disturb the mind. Rather, ask for bread that can sustain the substance of our body, and as much as suffices us today, so that we may not be anxious about tomorrow. We ask for only one sensible petition, so that we may not be fastened to present things.

There follows the fifth petition: “Forgive us our debts.” Titus says: This is necessarily added because no one is found without sin, lest we be prevented from sacred participation because of human sins.

For since we are bound to exhibit every kind of holiness to Christ, who causes the Holy Spirit to dwell in us, we are to be reproved if we do not preserve a clean temple for him. This defect, however, is aided by God’s goodness, which is indulgent to human frailty.

This is justly done by a just God when we remit debts, as it were, to those who injured us and did not render what they owed. Hence it is added: “As we also forgive our debtors.”

Chrysostom says in *On Penance*, Distinction 3: For daily, brief, and light sins the daily prayer of the faithful, namely the Our Father, suffices, provided that we also forgive our debtors from the heart. For if we are wise, they become for us especially a cause of indulgence, and by offering a few things we shall find many. For we too owe the Lord many and great debts; if he wished to exact even the smallest part of them from us, we would already have perished.

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Four, § II (continued)

Augustine says: What is a debt except sin? Therefore, if you had not received the money of another's loan, you would not owe it; and so sin is imputed to you.

There follows the sixth petition: "And lead us not into temptation." Augustine says: namely, a temptation we cannot bear; rather, he wills such a temptation as the human condition can bear.

Titus says: Not to be tempted by the devil is impossible, but we pray that we may not be abandoned by God in temptation. Unless he restrains the growing force of a temptation that is beyond us, he then leads us into temptation, but by permitting it.

Or, according to Maximus, the Lord commands us to ask, "Lead us not into temptation," that is, do not permit us to suffer the experience of pleasurable and voluntary temptations. Concerning the temptations of afflictions and labors, however, James says: "Esteem it all joy, brothers, when you fall into diverse temptations."

Basil says: Nevertheless, it is not fitting for us to ask in prayer for bodily afflictions, for he commanded us universally to pray not to enter into temptation. But after someone has entered it, it is expedient to ask the Lord for the strength to endure, so that in us may be consummated the saying, "He who endures to the end shall be saved."

The final petition is: "But deliver us from evil." Augustine says: Luke did not include this petition so that we may understand it to pertain to what was said immediately before, "And lead us not," and so forth. Hence he does not say, "And deliver us," but, "Deliver us from evil," showing it to be one petition. It is as though he said: Do not do this, but do that, so that each person may know that he is delivered from evil when he is not led into temptation, that is, when he does not consent.

Or "from evil" means from the devil. Or it means from the evil of temporal tribulation that afflicts too greatly.

§ III: On Matters Pertaining to the Final Judgment and the Signs of His Coming, Which Christ Explained When the Apostles Questioned Him About Them

On the third weekday before the Passion, after Christ had taught the people many things through the parables Matthew writes in chapter 22 and had reproved the scribes and Pharisees for their manifold hypocrisy, as Matthew likewise sets forth in chapter 23, he finally went out of the Temple where he had been teaching. The disciples showed him the magnificence of that Temple's building, one of them saying, as Mark relates: "Master, behold what stones and what structures."

Christ answered them: "Amen I say to you, there shall not be left a stone upon a stone that shall not be destroyed." This was fulfilled in the siege and capture of Jerusalem by the Roman princes Titus and Vespasian.

When Jesus departed from there and sat on the Mount of Olives with his disciples, the disciples questioned him, according to Matthew and Luke. Mark, however, indicates which disciples they were, namely Peter, James, John, and Andrew. They questioned him privately, saying: "Tell us when these things shall be, and what shall be the sign of your coming and of the consummation of the age?"

Because Christ had spoken about the destruction of the Temple, they doubted whether such a destruction would occur soon or at the consummation of the age. They questioned him about both, and Christ answered concerning both, sometimes about one and sometimes about the other.

For, foretelling the destruction to come upon the city and Temple, he says, as Luke relates: "When you see Jerusalem surrounded by an army, then know that its desolation draws near. Then let those who are in Judea flee to the mountains, and let those who are in its midst depart and not enter it," namely seeking to be safer in the cities or in Jerusalem as though in a place protected by God.

Augustine says here that Luke records these words in this passage to show that the abomination of desolation foretold by Daniel then occurred, about which Matthew and Mark spoke, when Jerusalem was conquered. Daniel notes this desolation at the end of chapter 9, where he also foretells the destruction of Jerusalem.

Bede says that ecclesiastical history relates that all the Christians who were in Judea, warned by the Lord of Jerusalem's impending destruction, departed from the place and dwelt across the Jordan in a city called Pena [read: Pella] until the desolation of Judea was completed.

After a few words the Lord Jesus adds: "There shall be great distress upon the earth and wrath upon the people. And they shall fall by the edge of the sword, shall be led captive into all nations, and Jerusalem shall be trodden down by the Gentiles until the times of the nations are fulfilled."

As to his saying, "Woe to those who are pregnant and nursing then," some say, according to Theophilus, that the Lord signified the eating of their own children [i.e., Theophylact], which Josephus also narrates. Or it was because those so burdened could not depart quickly from such a siege.

The distress was then so great and such evils seized them that no misery afterward could equal their calamities, as Josephus writes. They fell by the edge of the sword when the Romans captured Jerusalem, but many were also killed by famine.

This first occurred under the princes Titus and Vespasian. Afterward, under the emperor Hadrian, their native soil was made inaccessible to the Jews by his command, as Eusebius says.

Ambrose says that mystically the abomination of desolation is the coming of Antichrist, because he pollutes the interiors of minds with ill-omened sacrileges, seats himself as God in the Temple in accordance with the history so as to claim for himself the throne of divine majesty, and disputes from the Scriptures that he is Christ.

Another antichrist is the devil, who strives to besiege Jerusalem--that is, the peaceful soul--with the army of his legion. Therefore, when the devil is in the midst of the temple, he is the desolation of abomination.

There is also a third antichrist, such as Arrius and Sabellius [i.e., Arius], who with evil intention seduce us all from the truth. These are Ambrose's words.

Concerning the true and most wicked Antichrist, the Apostle says to the Thessalonians that "that wicked man, the son of perdition, shall be revealed, who is exalted above everything that is worshiped or is called God, so that he sits in the temple as though he were God," whom Jesus shall kill with the breath of his mouth.

Christ says of him to the Jews: "I came in my Father's name and you did not receive me; another shall come in his own name," that is, seeking his own glory, namely Antichrist, "and you shall receive him," namely as your Christ and Messiah.

He will come before the final judgment. There are many prophecies concerning him in the Old and New Testaments, especially in chapters 7 and 8 of Daniel and in the Apocalypse, and all the doctors write about this.

Concerning the final judgment itself and the consummation of the age, Christ foretold many things: first, the signs that precede it; second, the dangers then threatening; third, the things accompanying the judgment itself.

He intimates the preceding signs so that he may admonish people to prepare, because missiles foreseen strike less forcefully, and so that he may restrain them from love of the world, since at some time it will fail in the things viciously loved.

He sets down signs to come in the moon and stars, as Matthew, Mark, and Luke narrate, namely through their darkening beyond what is customary; in plagues, famines, and more frequent and greater earthquakes; in regions and kingdoms to be shaken by wars; and in the confusion of the sound of the sea and waves. From these evils human beings will wither, that is, waste away because of misery.

Second, the dangers threatening souls will be many errors that will then arise, especially the coming of Antichrist, who will fight against the true faithful with subtle and false teaching, rejecting evangelical doctrine and confirming his own with miracles--but false ones--as the Apostle says: "Whose coming is according to the operation of Satan in all lying wonders and signs."

Christ says this about his preachers: "False prophets shall arise and shall produce wonders and great signs, so that, if it can be done, even the elect may be led into error." If anyone does not believe in him, he will afflict that person with the most exquisite torments.

Hence Christ also says that "there shall be great tribulation such as has not been from the beginning of the world until then; and unless those days had been shortened, no flesh would be saved." Christ also urges the faithful to prayer, to abstention from excessive worldly cares and pleasures, and to constancy.

Finally, third, he expresses the things accompanying the judgment. After the things foretold have been fulfilled, "they shall see the Son of Man sent forth, coming with great power," namely to judge.

But first, as Matthew relates, he shall send his angels with a trumpet and a great voice to gather his elect from the four winds. They will separate the good from the evil, as is said in Matthew 13, because by divine power the resurrection of all the dead will occur after the world's conflagration through fire sent from heaven, as the Psalm says: "Fire shall go before him." By the ministry of the angels the ashes of the dead will be gathered.

Christ, coming in human form, will be seen by everyone. As Matthew relates, Jesus himself "shall place the sheep," that is, the elect, "on the right, and the goats," that is, the reprobate, "on the left." To those who will be on the right he will say: "Come, blessed of my Father, possess the kingdom," and so forth. To those on the left, however: "Depart from me, accursed, into everlasting fire," and so forth.

Concluding, he says: "These shall go"--namely those who aided neither themselves nor others in those works of mercy understood bodily and spiritually--"into everlasting punishment; but the just," who performed them, "into eternal life."

Therefore the Lord himself admonishes us to multiply spiritually the goods granted to us by him through the parable of the talents entrusted for trading; to avoid worldly glory in good works through the parable of the ten virgins, five foolish and five prudent; and

moreover to keep watch, awaiting his coming prepared at the particular judgment of death, which is commonly unknown to us just as is the day of the universal judgment.

Hence he says of it: “But of that day no one knows, neither the angels nor the Son, except the Father.” This must be understood soundly. For since the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit have one knowledge just as they have one essence, Christ the Son of God certainly knows insofar as he is God. Even insofar as he is human, he knows it from the Word, but not as something to be revealed to us.

Although in its own time the coming of Antichrist may be known and believed to be near the final judgment, nevertheless no one knows with certainty, after Antichrist’s death, how long the world will remain in its present form.

But as Christ himself says, just as in the days of Noah, when the flood approached and although Noah announced it human beings did not believe but gave themselves to pleasures and vices, and suddenly and unexpectedly the flood came upon them and killed all except those preserved in the ark, so the coming of judgment will be sudden. In it only those who will be in the ark of the Church through the unity of charity shall be saved. This is in Cause 24, Question 1, canon *Quia ex sola*.

Christ notes this when he says: “Then there shall be two in one bed: one shall be taken and the other left; two women grinding at a mill: one shall be taken and the other left.” The bed signifies the state of rest of contemplatives; the field, the state of laboring prelates; the mill, the state of active persons. From all these, whoever will be in charity and the Church’s unity will be taken into the kingdom, but whoever is other--that is, different and divided from this unity--will be left in the infernal land.

Then the two elders grown old in evil days will be condemned, that is, the scribes and Pharisees who falsely accused most chaste Susanna, that is, the Church, of adultery, that is, of her union with Christ through faith. And the boy born to us, Daniel, that is, Jesus, will convict them and make their falsehood manifest to all: namely, that she had followed Christ, her lawful bridegroom, and had not adhered to any error, while they themselves, fornicating and causing the souls of the Jews to fornicate with them in false doctrines, will be judged for the fire. Gratian shows this in Cause 2, Question 7, § *Item Daniel*.

Chapter Five

On the Keys of the Church Conferred by Christ upon Peter and His Power

When Christ, then in the region of Caesarea Philippi, questioned his disciples, “Whom do people say the Son of Man is?”--that is, whom did people say that he, the Virgin’s son, was?--all other people of both sexes are sons of human beings, namely of a man and a woman; Christ alone is the Son, that is, of the Virgin alone.

They answered: Some say John the Baptist, namely raised from the dead; others Jeremiah or one of the prophets. Jesus said: “But whom do you say that I am?” Peter, answering for all, said: “You are Christ, the Son of the living God.”

He designated Christ’s humanity by the fact that *Christ* is interpreted “anointed,” namely with the highest anointing of grace in his soul; and his divinity by “the Son of God.”

Ambrose says: What is so lofty as to behold the height of riches, to know the Son of God, and to assume the confession of divine generation? Although the human mind cannot fully comprehend it by an investigation of reason, the fullness of faith nevertheless embraces it. This is in Cause 24, Question 1, canon *Non turbatur*.

Christ said to Peter: “Blessed are you, Simon Bar-Jona,” that is, son of Jonah or John, for *Bar-Jona* is interpreted “son of Jonah,” that is, John, “because flesh and blood have not revealed it to you.” That is, a mere human being, who consists of flesh and blood, did not give you this knowledge of my divinity; or, human natural reason or sense knowledge did not do so, “but my Father who is in heaven.”

Faith in Christ’s divinity is God’s gift. By living faith we are beatified in hope and finally in reality. Therefore Peter is blessed. Hence the Apostle says: “You have been saved through faith, and this is not from yourselves, for it is God’s gift.”

“And I say to you that you are Peter,” derived from me, the rock, so that, with your name changed from Simon to Peter, you may be changed in reality by perfectly imitating Christ even to death on the cross. Thus his successors too will sometimes be changed.

“And upon this rock”--not indicating you but me, whom you have confessed as God and human, and upon this confessed truth--“I shall build my Church.”

Hence Pope Pelagius says: Although the universal Catholic Church throughout the world is one bridal chamber of Christ, nevertheless the holy Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church was set above the other churches by no synodal constitutions, but obtained primacy by the evangelical voice of our Lord and Savior: “You are Peter,” says the Lord, “and upon this rock I shall build my Church.” This is in Distinction 21, canon *Quamvis*.

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Five (continued)

Likewise Pope Leo says: The Lord wished the mystery of this office, namely preaching and the governance of souls, so to pertain to the duty of all the Apostles that he placed it principally in most blessed Peter, the highest of all the Apostles, so that from him as from a kind of head he might pour his gifts into the whole body, namely the Church. Thus anyone who dared to depart from Peter's solidity would understand himself to be an outsider from the divine mystery.

For the Lord wished Peter, received into the partnership of indivisible unity, to be named what he himself was, saying: "You are Peter, and upon this rock I shall build my Church," so that the building of the eternal temple might stand upon Peter's solidity by the marvelous gift of God's grace. This is in Distinction 19, canon *Ita Dominus*.

Likewise Cyprian says: Although after his Resurrection he gives equal power to all the Apostles, saying, "Receive the Holy Spirit; whose sins you forgive, they are forgiven," and so forth, nevertheless, to manifest unity, by his authority he arranged for the origin of that same unity to begin from one. Hence he speaks to Peter alone, saying: "You are Peter, and upon this rock I shall build my Church." He builds the Church upon one.

The other Apostles certainly were what Peter was, endowed with equal fellowship in preaching, honor, and power; but the beginning proceeds from unity so that the Church of Christ might be shown to be one. This is in Cause 24, Question 1, canon *Loquitur*.

The gloss says that the Apostles were equal to Peter in order, because they were consecrated in episcopal rank and dignity, but not in fullness of administration or jurisdiction.

Likewise Gregory says in the *Moralia*: Moses is placed upon the rock so that he may contemplate God's face, for the Lord said to him when he asked to see his face, "Stand upon the rock." Unless a person holds the solidity of faith, he does not recognize God's presence. Concerning this solidity the Lord says: "Upon this rock I shall build my Church."

For it alone is that through which the Lord willingly accepts sacrifice, it alone confidently intercedes for those who err, and it alone keeps those placed within it by the strong bond of charity. This is in Cause 24, Question 1, canon *Quia ex sola*.

"And the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." The gates of hell, through which human beings enter the hell of the damned, are errors and vices. They cannot prevail against the Church so that it fails. Some can fall away from the truth of faith and from grace, but not all, for some good people will always remain.

Hence Jerome also says: "The Church has neither a stain," namely of mortal sin, "nor a wrinkle," namely of error and duplicity. Therefore, whoever is polluted by any filth of sin cannot be said to be of the Church or subject to Christ. This is in *On Penance*, Distinction 1.

The same Jerome says: This Church is the house of God, which is said to be built upon firm rock; it is called the one dove, the beautiful bride without stain or wrinkle, the enclosed garden, sealed fountain, well of living water, and paradise with the fruit of apples. This house received the keys, that is, the power of loosing and binding. This is in Cause 24, Question 1, canon *Omnibus*.

The same Jerome says: The holy Roman Church, which has always remained immaculate, by the Lord's providence and blessed Peter's assistance will in the future remain without any assault of heretics and will stand firm and immovable for all time. This is in Cause 24, Question 1, canon *Haec est fides*.

And Christ said: "I have prayed for you, Peter, that your faith"--namely the Church's faith--"may not fail."

"And to you," says the Lord, "I shall give the keys of the kingdom of heaven." He says "to you" in the singular to intimate the Church's unity and the origin of authority. He adds "I shall give" to show the generosity of the gift; he adds "keys" to embrace the plurality of power; and he concludes "of the kingdom of heaven" to announce the fruitfulness of its effect.

First, because he says "to you," not "to you all," the Church's unity is shown. Hence Gratian says: Although the Lord gave all the disciples equal power to bind and loose, he promised that he would give the keys of the kingdom of heaven to Peter for all and before all, saying: "To you I shall give," and so forth.

Therefore, whoever is alien from the unity of the Church, which is understood through Peter, can execrate but cannot consecrate, namely by not preserving the Church's form. Or if he preserves the form as regards the efficacy of the sacraments, he does not have power as regards the truth of excommunication or reconciliation. This is in Cause 24, Question 1, § 2.

Likewise Anacletus says: In the New Testament after Christ the Lord, the priestly order began from Peter, because to him first was given the pontificate in Christ's Church, the Lord saying to him: "You are Peter," and so forth, "To you I shall give the keys of the

kingdom of heaven." He therefore first received the power of binding and loosing, and he first led the people to the faith by the strength of his preaching. This is in Distinction 21, canon *In novo*.

"I shall give," he says, not "I shall sell," but I shall bestow freely and generously. Hence it is said in Cause 1, Question 1, canon *Quicquid*: Whatever is bestowed by the consolation of invisible grace, that is, in the sacraments which contain grace, must not be sold for any payments or rewards whatsoever, since the Lord says: "Freely you have received; freely give."

Hence Pope Leo also says in Cause 1, Question 1, canon 1: If grace is not freely given or received, it is not grace. Simoniacs do not receive freely; therefore they do not receive the grace that operates especially in ecclesiastical orders.

The gloss there says that "grace" means the gift of the Holy Spirit possessed in the sacraments, or ecclesiastical dignity or order.

He says "keys" in the plural because, although there is one spiritual power in essence or root, which is called a key by similarity, it is nevertheless twofold in effect: the power of order to confect the true body of Christ, and the power of jurisdiction to judge Christ's mystical body in the forum of the soul.

This second power is made complete from two things: from the power of discerning or knowing--not through knowledge as a doctor, but through the power of office as an ecclesiastical judge--and from the power of passing sentence, namely by absolving or binding.

Hence Gratian says in Distinction 20, § 1: When Christ was about to say to Peter, "Whatever you bind," and so forth, he first gave him, that is, promised to give him, the keys of the kingdom of heaven: in one, giving him knowledge to discern between leprosy and leprosy, that is, the power of discerning; in the other, giving him the power to cast some out of the Church and receive others. The gloss there supports this.

Likewise Pope Antherus says: Far be it from us to suppose anything sinister concerning those who, succeeding to the apostolic rank, confect Christ's body with their sacred mouth, through whom we are Christians, and who, possessing the keys of the kingdom of heaven, judge before the day of judgment. This is in Cause 11, Question 1, canon *Absit*.

Through these keys, that is, this power, the kingdom of heaven is opened and closed. Hence it follows: "Whatever you bind upon earth shall be bound also in heaven, and whatever you loose upon earth shall be loosed also in heaven." This is to be understood when the key does not err, or when Peter's judgment--that is, the prelate's--follows and conforms to God's judgment.

Hence Gregory says in Cause 11, Question 3: The absolution of the one presiding is then true when it follows the judgment of the interior judge, that is, God. He gives the example of Lazarus, first raised inwardly by Christ and afterward, at Christ's command, released by the Apostles from the bindings in which he was wrapped.

Likewise Pope Leo says in Cause 24, Question 1: Peter's privilege remains wherever judgment is rendered from his equity. There is neither excessive severity nor remission where nothing will be bound or loosed except what blessed Peter bound or loosed, that is, justly as regards God.

Likewise Augustine says concerning "Whatever you bind upon earth," and so forth: If this was said to Peter alone, the Church does not do this. But if it is done in the Church, certainly the things bound on earth are bound also in heaven, and those loosed on earth will be loosed also in heaven. For when the Church excommunicates, the excommunicated person is bound in heaven; and when the Church reconciles, namely by absolving, the reconciled person is loosed in heaven.

If this is therefore done in the Church, Peter signified the holy Church when he received the keys. And if in Peter's person the good within the Church were signified, in Judas the evil within the Church, namely prelates, were signified. This is in Cause 24, Question 1, canon *Quodcumque*.

It is true that evil prelates loose and bind just as good ones do while they are tolerated by the Church. When Augustine says in Cause 1, Question 1 that avaricious prelates or ministers of the sacraments do not give remission of sins, it is understood, according to the gloss, as regards the merit of their life, that is, they are not worthy to give it. Nevertheless, they give it by office, and they give the truth and efficacy--that is, the effect--of the sacraments while they are tolerated. If they are cut off, they give only the truth of the sacraments, that is, true sacraments which they confect, but not their efficacy, that is, grace, if their condition is known.

What is said about the power of binding and loosing can therefore be understood in four ways.

In the first way, it concerns excommunication, by which a person is bound so that he cannot participate with the other faithful in divine rites and other common actions, and is loosed when absolved from it. This power belongs to bishops, hence it is called the episcopal sword, or to those possessing quasi-episcopal jurisdiction, such as abbots or priors with respect to their subjects, and their vicars. Other inferiors do not possess it unless contrary custom provides otherwise.

Just as excommunication can be imposed by one who is not a priest but is nevertheless a cleric, so can absolution from it. This is in the *Decretals*, title *On Res Judicata*, canon *Omnis res*. If it is unjust, it does not bind as regards God, according to Cause 11, Question 3, canon *Cepisti*, but it does bind as regards the Church.

Hence, according to Gregory in Cause 11, Question 3, a pastor's sentence, whether just or unjust, is to be feared and observed; otherwise it would bind as regards God through contempt. This holds unless it contains an intolerable error, for then it is not to be observed, as in Cause 11, Question 3, canon *Cui illata*, or when it was issued after an appeal.

Nor should it be issued except for mortal sin, as is found in Cause 11, Question 3, canon *Nemo episcoporum*, namely mortal sin that is true or presumed, according to Thomas in Book Four.

This seems to have had its beginning implicitly from Christ when he said to Peter: "If he does not hear the Church," that is, does not obey the prelate of the Church, "let him be to you as a gentile and publican," namely after he has been excommunicated. A prelate ought to do this when the person is contumacious and the sin manifest, for God is the knower and judge of hidden things. This is in Distinction 32, canon *Erubescat*.

I say "manifest," that is, notorious by law or by fact. Hence Christ also immediately added: "Whatever you bind upon earth," and so forth, Matthew 18.

Its exercise began with the Apostles, especially Paul, as is evident in First Corinthians 5, when he says: "I have delivered this man to Satan." See on this Cause 11, Question 3, canon *Audi*, and Cause 2, Question 1, canon *Multi*.

That the faithful should also avoid excommunicated persons was ordained by the Apostles. Hence the Apostle says in Second Corinthians [read: First Corinthians 5:11]: "If anyone is named a brother and is a fornicator, or serves idols, or is avaricious," and so forth. "Is named" means that he is excommunicated or denounced as excommunicated. He says "brother," that is, Christian, because the Church does not judge those who are outside, such as pagans and Jews altogether, as regards spiritual sentences.

With such persons, namely those named as excommunicated, it is not permitted even to take food. See Cause 2, Question 1, canon *Multi*, Cause 11, Question 3, canon *Sicut ipsi Apostoli*, and the following canon.

In the second way, it concerns sacramental confession, which can be made only to a priest, who ought to absolve the person whom he reasonably understands to be contrite. By absolving, he binds him by obligating him to perform a definite penance or satisfaction according to that priest's judgment. See Cause 26, Question 7, canon *Tempora*, and *On Penance*, Distinction 1, canon *Mensuram*.

But the one he sees to be impenitent--for example, because he is not contrite for all his sins, or does not wish to make satisfaction to someone whom he is bound to satisfy, and the like--he ought to bind, that is, not absolve. See *On Penance*, Distinction 5, canon *Falsas*, and Cause 14, Question 6, canon *Si res*.

As Augustine says in his book *On Penance*: He who wishes to confess so as to find grace should seek a priest who knows how to loose and bind, lest, if he has been negligent concerning himself--namely in inquiring into his sins and seeking someone able to discern what is necessary--he be neglected, that is, rejected, by the one who salutarily warns him to avoid a blind man, lest he fall into the pit. This is in *On Penance*, Distinction 6, canon *Qui vult*.

In the third way, it is understood of indulgences, by which the debts of penalties for committed sins are loosed. This power belongs to bishops and their superiors. In these matters people are bound insofar as something to be done is imposed upon them in order to obtain the indulgences.

Then "Whatever you loose," and so forth, can be explained in two ways. In one, "upon earth" refers to the one absolving: whatever you, existing as a prelate upon earth, absolve--whether someone living or someone deceased in grace--will be loosed, namely as regards what the indulgence contains. In this way indulgences can extend even to the dead, if the one granting it intends this, according to Thomas in Book Four.

In another way, "upon earth" refers to the one absolved: whatever you absolve upon earth, that is, provided that the one to be absolved is upon earth. In this way, according to others, no indulgence extends to the dead, but the first opinion is more common.

Understand the whole subject on the condition that the indulgence is given reasonably and that the person is fit to receive its effect, as when he is established in grace and performs what the indulgence contains.

In the fourth way, it is understood of ecclesiastical statutes that prelates can make. These certainly bind, that is, obligate subjects to observe them, when they have been promulgated and confirmed by the customs of those who use them. See Distinction 3, §§ *Leges*, *Lex*, and *Si legibus*; Cause 25, Question 1, canon *Violatores* and canon *Sunt qui dicunt*.

They are loosed when the prelates repeal them, or also with respect to certain persons when a dispensation is granted in them. Such a dispensation ought not to be made without reasonable cause. See Cause 1, Question 7, § *Ceterum*, from the canons, and canon *Dispensationes*.

§ I: On the Governance of the Church Conferred by Christ upon Peter, in Which He Shows What Sort of Person a Ruler Ought to Be

It must be known that when the Lord said to Peter, “To you I shall give the keys,” he did not then give him the governance of the Church, but promised it, speaking in the future: “I shall give.” He granted it and set Peter over all when, appearing to the Apostles after the Resurrection, he said to Peter: “Feed my sheep,” as the gloss says in Distinction 21, canon *In novo*, and in the title *On Election*, canon *Significasti*.

For its explanation, Christ’s words must be carefully considered. Christ questioned Peter, saying: “Simon, son of John, do you love me more than these?”

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Five, § I (continued)

Simon is interpreted as “obedient.” Therefore, wishing to place him over others, Christ calls one who is obedient, to intimate that no one ought from ambition to thrust himself into or seek the care of souls, but should obey only when called, as Gregory teaches in Cause 8, Question 1, canon *In scripturis*. Augustine says that a superior office, without which the people cannot be governed, is to be administered when it is fitting, but is nevertheless sought unfittingly. This is in Cause 8, Question 1, canon *Qui episcopatum*.

He adds “John,” which is interpreted as “grace,” because one who presides over the care of souls must be a son of grace--that is, must possess grace--or else he frequently sins mortally. Hence Chrysostom says: A bad priest acquires from his priesthood not dignity but guilt. This is in Distinction 40, canon *Multi*, where the Archdeacon, following Thomas in Book Four, says that a man in mortal sin sins mortally when administering the sacraments or exercising acts of orders, and does so as often as he acts, even also when preaching.

Christ continues: “Do you love me more than these?” He asks this three times, and Peter answers that he loves him. This shows, first, that Peter must possess love for Christ exceeding his love for all these temporal things--riches, honors, and the like--so that, when expedient, he places them all after Christ and the salvation of his flock. This is in Cause 8, Question 1, canon *Sunt in ecclesia*.

Second, he must love Christ more than these bodily comforts. Distinction 35, canon *Ecclesiae principes*, cites Jerome: It is shameful and disgraceful to preach Christ crucified, poor, and hungry with stuffed bodies, and to proclaim the teaching of fasts with red cheeks and swollen faces. If we occupy the place of the Apostles, let us imitate not only their speech but also their conduct and abstinence.

Third, he must love Christ more than these--namely, more than his own life and his contemplative studies--so that, when necessary for his flock’s salvation, he is ready to lay down his soul, that is, his life, for his sheep, as in Cause 7, Question 1, § *Cum autem*. Nor ought he to give himself so completely to learned contemplation that he abandons the necessities of his flock.

Hence Augustine says: If the burden of governance is imposed, it must be undertaken because charity requires it. But not even then should every delight in truth--that is, in reading and contemplation--be abandoned, lest that sweetness be withdrawn and this just necessity become crushing. This is in Cause 8, Question 1, canon *Qui episcopatum*. The meaning is that, in exercising pastoral care, reading and contemplation ought not to be entirely abandoned; neither should one devote himself to them so exclusively that care for necessary things is neglected.

It should be noted that Peter was saddened the third time, because it is harder to expose one’s own life than another life, and this cannot happen without natural or sensual sadness. Hence Christ, foretelling Peter’s passion, also said: “When you are old, another shall gird you,” that is, bind you, “and lead you where you do not wish,” namely to death. Augustine says that Peter was led unwillingly to that death according to the instinct of nature and sensuality, but willingly overcame it by rational will, bearing it patiently.

Ambrose says: Imitate Peter, who said for the third time, “Lord, you know that I love you.” For because he denied three times, he confesses three times. He denied in the night; he confesses in the day. This is in Cause 6, Question 1, canon *Imitare*: that is, if it happens that a man falls, let him rise and confess as quickly as possible.

Christ, moreover, said to him three times, “Feed my sheep,” or “my lambs,” because he must feed them with three kinds of food.

First is spiritual food, namely the word of God and the sacraments. In Distinction 43, canon *Sit rector*, and the following canon, Pope Nicholas says: The dispensation of heavenly seed has been entrusted to us; woe to us if we are silent, woe if we do not scatter it.

Second is the food of example. Hence Jerome says: Not only bishops, priests, and deacons ought to take the greatest care to surpass in speech and conduct all the people over whom they preside, but also those of lower rank and all who serve the house of God, because it gravely destroys God's Church if laypeople are better than clerics. This is in Cause 8, Question 1, canon *Qualis*.

Third, as far as he is able, he ought to feed the poor with bodily food according to his means. Hence Jerome says in Cause 12, Question 2: It is a bishop's glory to provide for the needs of the poor; for a priest to pursue his own riches is a disgrace. And in Cause 16, Question 1, canon *Quoniam*: Whatever clerics possess belongs to the poor, and their homes ought to be common to all.

What sort of shepherd of the Church he ought to be, Christ teaches by his own example when he says: "I am the good shepherd." He is good by essence, according to the saying, "No one is good except God." He is also the good shepherd insofar as he is man, for he has given his flesh as food and his blood as drink to his sheep, and has laid down his soul, that is, his life, unto death to deliver them. Hence he adds: "The good shepherd gives his soul for his sheep."

He gives his vegetative soul, that is, his life, by exposing it for them when necessary, together with the temporal goods by which life is sustained. One who does not give temporal goods in alms for his sheep will never give his life. Ambrose says: The Church has gold not to preserve it, but to distribute it and bestow it upon the poor. This is in Cause 12, Question 2.

He gives his sensitive soul for his sheep, namely by hearing, investigating, and seeing what his sheep do, according to the saying, "Know the face of your flock," and also by mortifying his senses and sensuality in himself as an example to others. Hence Distinction 41 says: Let a bishop have modest furnishings, table, and food, and let him seek the authority of his dignity through the merits of faith and life.

He lays down his intellectual soul by reading, teaching, and praying for his sheep. Hence Jerome says: These are the two works of a pontiff: that he learn from God by reading the sacred Scriptures and meditating on them often, and that he teach the people. The other work is that which Moses, shepherd of that ancient people, performed: he did not go to battle but prayed, and while he prayed the people prevailed. Therefore let the priest of the Church pray unceasingly until the people beneath him conquer their invisible Amalekites--that is, the demons. This is in Distinction 36, canon *Si quis vult*.

Christ continues: "But the hireling, who is not the shepherd, sees the wolf coming and flees." Here one should note Augustine's words in Cause 23, Question 4: The Lord named three persons, and we must seek them out in the Gospel--the shepherd, the hireling, and the thief. He said that the shepherd lays down his life for the sheep and enters through the door; that the thief and robber climbs up another way; and that the hireling flees if he sees the wolf or thief, because he has no care for the sheep. Therefore the shepherd must be loved, the hireling tolerated, and the robber guarded against. Thus Augustine.

To signify the authority and exercise of their jurisdiction, bishops, who are especially called shepherds, use a pastoral staff within the place of their jurisdiction. The supreme shepherd, however--that is, the pope, who holds Christ's place on earth--does not, because his jurisdiction is not limited but extends everywhere on earth. Another reason is found in the *Decretals*, title *On Sacred Unction*, canon *Cum venissent*, at the end.

The pastoral staff signifies three things a prelate must do toward his sheep. First, its upper part is curved and hooked, signifying that a shepherd or prelate ought to lead wandering sheep back to the way of salvation. Augustine says: You should know how both to scatter fodder for feeding the flock and, with the shepherd's scourge, to recall to the flock the animals that wander. This is in Cause 5, Question 5, canon *Non omnis*.

Second, insofar as we lean on a staff for support, whence the infirm rely upon one, it signifies that a prelate ought to support the infirm and weak both spiritually and temporally. Augustine says in his Rule: Let him console the fainthearted, receive the weak, and be patient toward all. Pope Leo says in Distinction 86: Let sins be hated, not people; let the proud be corrected and the weak tolerated. When it is necessary to chastise something more severely, let it be punished with the intention not of one who rages, but of one who heals.

Third, the lower part of the pastoral staff is pointed, to intimate that the negligent must be pricked and stirred to good works. Ambrose says in Cause 5, Question 5: A father does not always kiss his son, but sometimes chastises him; and when the one he loves is chastised, then devotion is exercised toward him. Love has its own wounds. These three things are embraced in the verse: "Gather and sustain; prick the wandering, the sick, and the slow."

Concerning who the hireling is and how he flees, note Augustine's words in Cause 8, Question 1, canon *Sunt in ecclesia*: There are certain rulers in the Church of whom Paul says, "Seeking their own things, not the things of Jesus Christ." What does "seeking their own things" mean? They do not love Christ freely; they do not seek God for God's sake, but pursue temporal comforts, gape after profits, and desire honors from people. When these things are loved by rulers and God is served on their account, everyone of this kind is a hireling. Thus Augustine.

The hireling flees when the prelate fails to resist because he remains silent. Hence Gregory says in his *Pastoral Rule*: Imprudent rulers, often fearing to lose human favor, are afraid to speak freely what is right. According to the voice of Truth, they no longer

serve the protection of the flock with a shepherd's zeal but act as hirelings, because when the wolf comes they flee by hiding themselves in silence. This is in Distinction 43, canon *Sit rector*.

The wolf here is called the devil, who through temptations to vice seeks to devour the Lord's sheep; or a heretic coming in sheep's clothing but inwardly a ravening wolf; or a tyrant or anyone else inducing others to evil, whom the hireling does not resist.

But as Distinction 83 says: An error that is not resisted is approved; truth, when it is not defended, is oppressed. To neglect to trouble the perverse when you are able is nothing other than to foster them, and he who ceases to oppose a manifest crime is not free from suspicion of hidden complicity. Thus Innocent. Nevertheless, this hireling is to be tolerated so long as he is tolerated by the Church. This is in Cause 8, Question 4, canon *Nonne*.

The Lord speaks of the thief and robber in another passage of the same Gospel chapter, where he says: "I am the door. If anyone enters through me, he shall be saved. He who enters through the door is the shepherd of the sheep. He who climbs up another way is a thief and a robber, who comes only to steal, slaughter, and destroy. But he who enters through the door, Christ, shall go in and go out and find pasture."

A thief and robber is one who undertakes the care of others by an unjust title, as through simony, lay power, or otherwise illegitimately. A rule says that an ecclesiastical benefice cannot be possessed without canonical institution; this is in Book Six, *On Rules of Law*. Such a man steals the Church's revenues, which according to Innocent he is bound to restore. And, as far as lies in him, according to Hostiensis he slaughters and kills the sheep subject to him, since he cannot absolve them. The sheep are nevertheless excused if they do not know this and otherwise live well. He destroys them by leading them to destruction with him through his evil examples.

Or the thief is the devil, who steals when he tempts, kills when the sheep consents to him, and destroys when he leads it with him to damnation. Or the thief and robber is any heretic or pagan who does not enter the fold through the door--that is, through Christ, which is faith in Christ--but another way, namely through errors. Such a man kills the sheep rather than feeding them.

Hence Augustine says on John: There were certain pagan philosophers who discussed many subtle matters concerning virtues and vices, dividing and defining, drawing the most acute conclusions, filling books, and tossing their wisdom about with clattering mouths. They even dared to say, "Follow us if you wish to live happily." But because they did not enter through the door, that is, faith in Christ, they slaughtered and destroyed. No one is granted to live well unless he is granted to live forever. No one can have the hope of living forever unless he enters through the door, Christ, who is life and confers the blessed life through faith.

Hence Christ says: "He who enters through me shall go in," namely into the fold of the Church, "and go out" to the blessed life. Or he shall enter into himself through good thoughts and affections and go out through good outward works. Or he shall enter toward himself and go out toward his neighbor by living well with him. Or he shall enter the blessed life by seeing the divinity and go out, as it were, by seeing Christ's humanity, and he shall find pastures of joy and fruition.

He also says that all who came before him--that is, apart from him--were robbers, namely those who did not bring true doctrine according to the faith, as Augustine says.

Nor is it unfitting that Christ is called the door, the doorkeeper, the shepherd, and the sheep, terms all found in this Gospel passage, for these names are said of him according to different relations. He is called the door insofar as through him--that is, through faith in him and imitation of him--one enters the fold of the Church militant and triumphant. He is the doorkeeper because he himself bestows the grace and virtues by which one enters that fold. He is the shepherd because he feeds us by his teaching, sacraments, and other means. He is the sheep and lamb because he is led like a sheep to slaughter, as Isaiah 53 says, and is "the Lamb who takes away the sins of the world," John 1.

Of him Peter says in his canonical epistle: "You were redeemed not by corruptible gold and silver, but by the precious blood of the immaculate Lamb," namely Christ. Augustine says concerning him in *On Consecration*: No one takes away the sins of the world except Christ, who is the Lamb taking away the world's sins. He takes away both those already committed, among which original sin is included; he assists so that future sins are not committed; and he leads us to the life where sins can no longer be committed.

After Christ called himself the shepherd, he added: "I have other sheep that are not of this fold." He speaks of the Gentiles who were to be converted and were not of the fold--that is, the race--of the Jews. "And them I must bring," namely to the faith and fold of the Church. The Gentiles were then sheep by predestination or foreknowledge, but not according to present righteousness. On this see *On Penance*, Distinction 4, § *Finis*.

"And there shall be one fold and one shepherd": that is, one Church made from the sheep of the Jewish people and the Gentiles converted to the faith. Cyprian speaks beautifully of this unity of the Church, saying: In the Song of Songs the Holy Spirit, speaking in the person of Christ the Lord, designates one Church and says: "One is my dove," namely in simplicity; "my perfect one," namely in the fullness of virtues; "one is the chosen one of her mother and of her who bore her."

The gloss says that the Church's mother can be called the Church triumphant, because she cherishes and helps her like a mother her daughter. Or her mother is Mary who bore her, and God is her father; or her mother is the synagogue from which she proceeded.

Cyprian continues: Blessed Paul the Apostle teaches this unity of the Church and displays the mystery of unity, saying: one mystical body; one Spirit, the vivifying grace within it, namely the Holy Spirit; one hope of your calling, that is, one hoped-for reality to which we are called; one Lord, who governs the world and provides for it, especially for the Church; one faith, alike in all or concerning one who is both God and man; one baptism, of the same form and equal effect; and one God, not many gods as the pagans hold.

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Five, § I (continued)

"This unity," Cyprian says, "we bishops especially, who preside in God's Church, must firmly hold and vindicate, so that we may prove the episcopate itself also to be one and undivided. The episcopate is one. The Church is one, though by the increase of her fruitfulness she extends more broadly into a multitude, just as the sun's rays are many but its light one; the branches of a tree are many but its strength is one, founded upon a tenacious root; and many streams flow from one spring, so that although a numerous abundance seems to be diffused through the bounty of overflowing plenty, unity is nevertheless preserved in the source.

"So too the Lord's Church, flooded with light, extends her rays throughout the whole world. Yet that which is spread everywhere is one, and the unity of the body is not divided. Tear a ray of the sun away from its body: unity admits no division. Break a branch from the tree: it will not be able to put forth fruit. Cut a stream from its spring: cut off, it dries up.

"Thus the Church extends her branches--the various nations--throughout the whole earth by the abundance of fruitfulness; she pours forth streams of teachings and spreads more widely the rays of graces. Yet there is one head, one source, and one mother abounding in fruitfulness. The bride of Christ cannot be defiled; she is incorrupt and chaste." Thus Cyprian, in Cause 24, Question 1, canon *Loquitur*.

From these statements Christ's words are evident: "There shall be one fold and one shepherd," that is, one Church and one supreme pontiff, the vicar of Jesus Christ.

The same Cyprian says: Whoever is made after the one who alone ought to be supreme shepherd is not second but no one. This is in Cause 7, Question 1, canon *Factus*. He speaks of Novatian, who after Fabian had been created pope was himself made pope through schism--or rather, antipope--as is evident in the following canon, which begins *Novatianus*. The same point is also supported by what is found among bees. [The print here adds the unexplained abbreviation *q. e.*]

§ II: On the Hardness and Reprobation of the Jews, the Conversion of the Gentiles That Was to Follow, and Its Benefit

John the Evangelist says that although Jesus had worked so many signs before the Jews, they did not believe in him, so that the saying of Isaiah might be fulfilled which he spoke in chapter 53: "Lord, who has believed our report?" and so forth.

Augustine says here: Some murmur among themselves, saying, "What fault was it of the Jews if it was necessary that Isaiah's saying be fulfilled?" We answer them that God, foreknowing the future, foretold the Jews' unbelief through the prophet; he did not cause it. God does not compel anyone to sin because he knows human sins beforehand. He foreknew their sins, not his own. The Jews therefore committed the sins that he, from whom nothing is hidden, foretold they would commit. The same statement makes this point excellently in Cause 23, Question 4, canon *Nabuchodonosor*.

Therefore, concerning the words "so that Isaiah's saying might be fulfilled," Chrysostom says that "so that" is not causal but consequential. They did not fail to believe because Isaiah foretold it; rather, because they were not going to believe, Isaiah foretold it. "So that" is therefore understood consequentially, not causally.

"Who has believed?" does not indicate absolute negation but rarity--that is, few have believed. "Our report" means those things we heard from you when we spoke concerning your Son. "And to whom has the arm of the Lord been revealed?" It is as if he said: to very few. The Son is called the arm of the Lord because all things were made through him. Just as a man works through his arm, so by a likeness the Son of God is called his arm.

The Gospel continues: "Therefore they could not believe, because Isaiah said again," and so forth. What sin is it for a person not to do what he cannot do? Augustine says that no one sins in what he cannot avoid. The answer is that "they could not" means they did

not wish to believe. Chrysostom says that ordinary speech preserves this usage when someone says, “I cannot love that man.” The Evangelist calls vehemence of will an inability.

But what Isaiah’s next statement says is still more serious: “He has blinded their heart [read: eyes] and hardened their heart,” namely God. I answer that their will had merited even this. God blinded them as regards intellect and hardened them as regards will by abandoning them. He does not abandon us unless we first wish it. Thus God blinds and hardens not causally but permissively.

The Gospel continues: “Isaiah said these things when he saw God’s glory.” He did not see it in its essence, but in a magnificent imaginative vision, when he saw the Lord sitting upon a high throne, Isaiah 6.

The Evangelist adds that many of the rulers believed in him, but because of the Pharisees they did not confess it, lest they be cast out of the synagogue. They did not believe perfectly, for otherwise they would not have feared displeasing the Pharisees or being expelled for confessing Christ. Hence he adds: “For they loved the glory of men more than the glory of God.” Publicly confessing Christ pertained to God’s glory.

But Christ speaks against those who fear to confess. Hence Jesus cried out, saying: “He who believes in me” as he ought “does not believe in me”--that is, merely in the one he sees, as though I were a mere man--“but in him who sent me,” whom he does not see, namely the Father. “And he who sees me” according to the divinity I possess “sees also him who sent me,” whether by the vision of faith or the vision of glory, because the Father and Son with the Holy Spirit are one Lord.

Elsewhere, namely John 15, Christ says: “If I had not come and spoken to them, they would not have sin.” Augustine says that Christ is not speaking of every sin, but of the sin of unbelief, which surpasses almost all others and is therefore called “sin” preeminently. Certainly they could have had other sins; but they would not have had this one if he had not preached to them incarnate and worked so many signs. For the Jews had previously believed that Christ would come, and thus they did not possess this sin of unbelief. Other nations which have not heard him or seen his signs and do not believe are not thereby excused from the sin of unbelief, but it would not be so grave in them.

When on Palm Sunday Christ entered Jerusalem, the principal Jewish feast was approaching, namely the solemnity of the Unleavened Bread, at which Jews from diverse regions of the world, and sometimes Gentiles also, came together at the Temple. John reports that certain Gentiles had come to worship at that feast. They approached Philip and asked him, saying, “Sir, we wish to see Jesus.” They had heard of his teaching and miracles. Philip told Andrew, and Andrew and Philip together told Jesus.

Augustine says: Behold, the Gentiles wish to see Jesus, but those who cried, “Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord,” were Jews. Behold those from the foreskin and these from the circumcision; behold two walls coming from different directions and meeting in one faith of Christ with the kiss of peace. Let us therefore hear the voice of the cornerstone.

The Gospel continues: “Jesus answered, saying: The hour has come that the Son of Man should be glorified.” Augustine says that Jesus saw that after his Passion and Resurrection the Gentiles would believe among all nations. Therefore, on the occasion of these Gentiles who desired to see him, he announces the future fullness of the Gentiles and promises that the hour of his glorification is now at hand. That glorification was to be accomplished when the nations believed, according to the words, “Be exalted above the heavens, O God, and your glory above all the earth.”

But the humility of the Passion had to precede the height of glorification. Hence he added: “Amen, amen, I say to you: Unless a grain of wheat falling into the earth dies, it remains alone.” Augustine says that he called himself the grain that would be put to death in the unbelief of the Jews and multiplied in the faith of the converted peoples, namely the Gentiles.

Bede says that Christ himself, from the seed of the patriarchs, was sown--that is, incarnate--in the field of this world so that by dying he might rise with multiplication. He died alone and rose with many. “But if it dies, it brings forth much fruit.” Christ uses natural experience, because when a grain of wheat has died it bears more fruit.

Chrysostom says that Jesus sees the Gentiles springing forward to faith and shows that it was time for him to come to the cross, on which he as the grain was put to death. Jesus did not send the Apostles to the Gentiles before the Jews crucified Christ.

And because he foresaw that the disciples would be saddened by his death, he shows that they themselves would gain nothing not only if they bore his death impatiently, but also if they did not die to the world. Therefore he adds: “He who loves his soul shall lose it”: that is, he who truly loves it loses it by killing it as regards vices and sensual appetites. Or thus: he who loves his soul according to the world loses it, that is, kills it by depriving himself of grace.

Christ also foretold this reprobation of the Jews and conversion of the Gentiles near the beginning of his preaching, when he said of the Gentile centurion who prayed for his paralytic servant: “I have not found such great faith in Israel.” That is, he had not found faith as great as the centurion displayed, because the centurion had seen or heard less about Jesus and yet believed in his divinity, as appears from his words. He signified the greatness of faith in the Gentile world that was to be converted.

Therefore, foretelling this, Christ adds: “Many shall come from east and west.” These two regions are more habitable, for in the north and south a large part is uninhabitable--in the north because of intense cold and in the south because of excessive heat--and because the principal monarchies were there. They shall come from darkness to the light of faith, from vices to virtues, and from the devil to Christ, with penance as the means in adults.

Hence Augustine says: Everyone who is established as arbiter of his own will cannot begin a new life unless he repents of his old life. Or, morally, they come from the east of childhood and the west of old age; or from the east of prosperity and the west of adversity.

“And they shall recline with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven”: that is, in the Church militant and afterward triumphant; in the faith and afterward the vision of the Trinity signified by those three; or in faith, hope, and charity; or in the kingdom of Scripture, that is, its true understanding; or in the perfection of virtues, which is also called a kingdom.

“But the children of the kingdom,” namely the Jews, for whom any of the aforesaid kingdoms had been prepared, “shall be cast out”--from the Church, from the true understanding of Scripture, and from every true virtue because of their unbelief--“into the exterior darkness,” first the darkness within and afterward that of hell.

Because it is very burdensome to be obliged to hate one’s soul, Christ consoles those to whom he had said this by adding “in this world,” thereby indicating that it is for only part of time, a short period and not forever. He also states the gain: “He preserves it for eternal life” by hating it through abstention from worldly vices.

What the promised eternal life is, or in what it consists, Christ himself declared at the end of his last discourse to the disciples, when he said: “This is eternal life, that they may know you, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom you have sent.” That is, true life, which is eternal, consists in this. For the present life should be called death rather than life. What else is the daily decay of our corruption but a certain prolongation of death?

This eternal life is our final end, which we desire naturally because it is perfect beatitude. It consists in the clear and manifest vision of the most holy Trinity and Christ’s humanity, from which vision fruition necessarily follows. This is what he means by “that they may know”--namely perfectly--“you,” the almighty Father, “and Jesus Christ,” your only-begotten Son, “whom you have sent,” that is, whom you appointed to become incarnate. The Incarnation is attributed to the Holy Spirit because it arose from immense love, and that love is called the Holy Spirit. Thus they are to know you the Father, Jesus Christ the Son, and the Holy Spirit--then the one true God--and Christ’s own humanity indicated in his mission.

As Augustine says, the vision is the entire reward and is of such beauty and so worthy of love that Plotinus, the Platonist, judged a soul furnished with any goods, however many and however great, to be most unhappy without it.

§ III: On Christ’s Transfiguration

The venerable Gratian says: Christ was transfigured twice while he was in the flesh. In one transfiguration he appeared wondrous like the sun, so that believers’ faith might be increased toward contemplating the glory raised above itself. In the other, he presented himself as a stranger and one not recognizable, feigning that he would go farther from the disciples who doubted him, and he held their eyes so that he would not be recognized. Why, unless to show that because he was not in their hearts through faith, he withdrew farther from them, and because they did not believe him to be what he was, they saw him as other than he was?

In each appearance there was presence and truth, but in one faith was exercised so that they might believe more, while in the other unbelief held them so that they did not recognize him. This is in Cause 1, Question 1, canon *Dominus in patria*.

Matthew, Mark, and Luke narrate the first of these transfigurations. Luke says: “It happened about eight days after these words.” He speaks of the words by which Christ had disclosed his Passion to the disciples, exhorting them to imitation and saying, “If anyone wishes to come after me,” and so forth. He enticed them by the reward to be obtained, of which he wished to grant them some foretaste in the Transfiguration, and he wished to make them stronger in their tribulation at his Passion and quicker to return when they had fallen from faith, remembering the refreshment of such great sweetness they had tasted.

Where Luke says eight days, Matthew says six. Damascene resolves this superficial contradiction by saying that Luke includes in his number the first day, on which Christ spoke those words, and the last, on which he was transfigured; Matthew counts the intervening days, which are six.

He took Peter, James, and John his brother from the Twelve and led these three with him. He chose that number because “in the mouth of two or three every word stands,” so that the truth of what was said might be confirmed through testimony and a mystery signified.

According to Damascene, he took these rather than the others for the following reasons. He took Peter because he wished the testimony Peter had borne to him when he said, “You are Christ, the Son of the living God,” to be confirmed through the Father’s testimony, and because Peter was to be the future president of the entire Church. He took James as one who would die for Christ before all the disciples. He took John as the purest instrument of theology, so that, having seen the Son’s glory which is not subject

to time, he might sound forth these words: “In the beginning was the Word”; and because Christ would commend his mother to him.

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Five, § III (continued)

Or again, through these three Apostles are signified three states of those to be saved in the Church: prelates, active persons, and contemplatives; or married persons, the continent, and virgins. They must nevertheless possess the three qualities indicated by the interpretations of the Apostles’ names. Let there be Peter, whose name is interpreted “unshod,” through contempt for earthly things; James, interpreted “supplanter,” namely of the demons’ temptations; and John the beloved, interpreted “in whom there is grace,” through love of divine things.

“He went up a high mountain,” because the valley of thought about earthly things must be abandoned so that one may ascend the mountain of contemplation. Matthew adds “apart,” in a solitary place, removed not only from people but also from images of bodily things.

As Luke says: “It came to pass while he prayed that the appearance of his countenance became other.” Damascene says: Servants pray in one way and the Lord in another. A servant’s prayer is through the ascent of the intellect to God. But Christ’s sacred intellect, which according to the hypostatic union was united to God, leads us by the hand toward ascent into God--that is, induces us by example to pray and venerate God--and entices the tyrant, the devil, to investigate whether he was God. Prayer is also a revelation of divine glory.

Thus the Evangelist says: “The appearance of his countenance became other,” for which Matthew has, “He was transfigured before them.” This does not mean that he lost the form of his body, but that a certain splendid glory supervened, not from without as in Moses, but from within. For as Damascene says, since according to the hypostatic union the glory of the Word and of the flesh is one and the same, he was transfigured not as though receiving something he did not possess, but as manifesting to the disciples what he possessed, namely the glory of the soul overflowing into the body.

Explaining this, the Evangelist Matthew says: “And his face shone like the sun.” What the sun is among sensible things, God is among intelligible things. Just as the sun, which is the source of light, cannot easily be looked upon, while its light which reaches the earth from it is seen, so Christ’s face shines more intensely than the sun.

“His garments became white as snow.” Mark adds that they were “such as no fuller upon earth can make.” The illumination of the face signifies the soul’s radiance; the whiteness of the garments, the glory and purity of the saints’ resurrected bodies, which cannot be produced by human exercise.

“And behold, two men spoke with him, Moses and Elijah, seen in majesty.” Damascene says this was so that he might be shown as the one Lord of the New and Old Testaments. Men from each Testament stood with him against the heretics: disciples, namely, and prophets.

It was also so that he might be shown as Lord of the living and the dead. Moses appeared, one already dead, whose soul either assumed a raised body, or, better, whose soul came forth from limbo and appeared in an aerial body assumed in his likeness. Elijah, still living, was brought there from the earthly paradise. They stood as the Lord’s servants in glory. “Seen in majesty” means in great glory.

Damascene says that the disciples, the Lord’s servants, had to marvel at their fellow servants’ glory and confidence, to admire the Lord’s condescension, to emulate those who had labored before them, to behold the pleasantness of future goods, and thus be strengthened more fully in their contests.

They also appeared to show that Christ was not an adversary of the Law and of God. For if he were, Moses the lawgiver, who was zealous for God’s glory, and Elijah likewise would not have stood with him. It was also to induce the disciples to imitate those who had many times exposed themselves to death for God, so that in governance they might be gentle like Moses and zealous like Elijah.

Luke says that they spoke of “his departure, which he was to accomplish in Jerusalem”: that is, the surpassing charity he was to display in his Passion, the surpassing humility he was to exhibit in death, and the surpassing pain he was to suffer on the cross.

Ambrose says: Three are chosen to ascend the mountain because no one can see the glory of the Resurrection unless he has preserved the mystery of the Trinity in the incorrupt sincerity of faith. Bede says that Christ transfigured himself to show the glory of the future resurrection, whether his or ours.

Luke says that Peter and those who were with him were heavy with sleep. Chrysostom calls the immense stupefaction produced in them by that vision "sleep." It was not nighttime; rather, the excellence of the light oppressed the weakness of their eyes, for the incomprehensible splendor of divinity presses upon the senses of our body. Ambrose says: Perhaps they were heavy with sleep in God so that, after repose, they might see the appearance of the Resurrection.

"And awakening, they saw his majesty and the two aforesaid men who stood with him." When those two were departing from him, Peter said to Jesus: "Lord, it is good for us to be here." Peter supposed that the divine time of God's kingdom was imminent. Matthew adds, "If you wish." Peter spoke conditionally because they had often been rebuked for making requests absolutely.

"Let us make three tabernacles here: one for you, one for Moses, and one for Elijah," while they themselves would be in Christ's tabernacle. Luke adds: "Not knowing what he said." Damascene says: Peter, it is not good for you that Christ should remain there, because if he had remained, the promise made to you would never have achieved its effect; you would not have obtained the keys of the kingdom, nor would the tyranny of death have been abolished.

The Lord appointed you builder not of tabernacles but of the universal Church. Your disciples, your sheep, will put your words into effect by constructing a tabernacle for Christ. Peter did not utter these things from his intention, however, but by inspiration of the Spirit revealing future things.

Peter did not know what he was saying. The time of the world's end had not yet arrived, nor the time for the saints to share in the promised hope. Nor was it fitting for Christ to desist from love of the world, since he wished to die for it; nor was it fitting for the fruit of the Incarnation to be confined to the use of those present on the mountain rather than poured forth upon all believers, which was to be consummated through the Passion.

Titus says that Peter also did not know what he said because one ought not make three tabernacles for the three. Servants are not numbered together with the Lord, nor creatures with the Creator.

Peter did not know what he said because, as Ambrose says, the human condition in this corruptible body cannot make a tabernacle for God, whether in the soul, in the body, or in any other place whatsoever.

Or, according to Chrysostom, Peter heard that Christ must die, but saw the great remoteness and solitude and therefore judged that he would have abundant protection there. Moses, who entered the cloud, was also present, together with Elijah, who brought fire down upon the mountain.

Nor is there a contradiction in Luke's saying that Peter spoke these things after Moses and Elijah had departed, while Matthew and Mark connect Peter's suggestion as though Moses and Elijah were still speaking with the Lord. For Matthew and Mark did not express that Peter spoke at that precise time; rather, they omitted what Luke added, namely that Peter said this as the two were departing.

Theophilus says that when Peter said, "Let us make three tabernacles," God fashioned a tabernacle not made by hands. Hence it follows: "While he was speaking, behold, a bright cloud overshadowed them." It was bright because the darkness of the Law had passed away.

Basil says: As smoke is caused by fire, so the cloud was caused by light. But because mist is a sign of tranquillity, the repose of the future dwelling is shown through the cloud's covering.

Ambrose says: The overshadowing is that of the divine Spirit, which does not darken human affections but reveals hidden things. This cloud was the Holy Spirit, not essentially or personally but representatively, just as the dove appearing at the Baptism is called the Holy Spirit. That dove then and this newly formed cloud now represented the Holy Spirit, according to Thomas in the Third Part.

"And a voice came from the cloud, saying: This is my beloved Son." That voice so represented the Father that it did not represent the Son; the dove or cloud so represented the Holy Spirit that it did not represent the Father or Son; and Christ in the flesh was the Son alone, not the Father or Holy Spirit. Nevertheless, that humanity, the dove or cloud, and the voice, insofar as they were creatures, were from the whole Trinity. This is in *On Consecration*, Distinction 4, canon *Omnes*.

Not Moses, not Elijah, but this man who alone remained, Jesus, "is my beloved Son." Hence Luke also says that when the voice was heard, Jesus was found alone, for Moses and Elijah had now departed.

Cyril says: How, therefore, should one judge him who is truly the Son to have been made or caused, when the Father thundered from above, "This is my Son"? It is as if he said: He is not one of the sons, but is truly and naturally the Son, after whose exemplar others are adoptive sons.

He commanded them to obey the Son when he added, "Hear him," more than Moses and Elijah, because Christ is the end of the Law and the prophets.

Ambrose says: Three are seen at the beginning and one at the end, because through the perfect faith, which is faith in a Trinity of persons in the unity of essence, those who are received into Christ's body are one, for we too shall be one in Christ Jesus. Or perhaps it is because the Law and the prophets began from the Word and end in the Word.

Bede says: Note that, just as the majesty of the whole Trinity appeared when the Lord was baptized in the Jordan, so also when he was glorified upon the mountain. In Baptism we confess the Trinity; in the Resurrection we shall see it. Nor did the Holy Spirit appear without reason here in a bright cloud and there in a dove, because he who now keeps with a simple heart the faith he holds will then contemplate in the light of open vision what he believed.

Jesus then approached the disciples, withdrawing that radiance. They had been terrified by hearing the voice and become as if dead from fear. He said: "Rise, and do not fear." Descending with them from the mountain, which is said to have been Mount Tabor, he said: "Tell no one this vision until the Son of Man rises from the dead." He commanded this to teach that visions and hidden illuminations should not readily be made public; also lest the ministry of redemption through the cross be impeded; and lest the other disciples envy them.

§ IV: On the Counsel Held in the Council of the Jews Concerning Christ's Death and the Supper Offered to Him at Bethany

When Jesus had raised Lazarus after four days, a miracle much more widely publicized than the others, both more marvelous because its effect was harder and immune from the Jews' calumny that he had done it on the Sabbath, as they alleged concerning certain other miracles, and because it had been done upon a notable person known to many, they saw that his fame was thereby increasing and envied him.

John says that the chief priests and Pharisees gathered a council against Jesus and said: "What are we doing?" as though to say, "Why do we not make provision against this deed?" The right provision, however, would have been that, seeing so many signs, they believed in him.

"This man works many signs." They judged him a mere man, although he was also true God. "He works many signs": they could not deny so many accomplished miracles. Behold the cause they alleged for deliberating about his death: that he worked signs. On that account they ought rather to have revered and believed him. In this their folly and blindness appear.

Their folly appears because, while testifying that they knew he had always worked miracles, they believed themselves able to contend against him. Their blindness appears because it belonged to one who worked so many miracles to rescue himself from their plots, unless perhaps they believed those signs were not performed by divine power.

"If we leave him thus," without opposing works of this kind, "all will believe in him." And what could be better for human salvation than to believe in him? "And the Romans will come and take away our place and nation." It is as if they said: Those who hear him will believe and follow him in great numbers. Hearing this, the Romans will think that we have rebelled and taken another lord, and on that account they will come against us in war and take away our nation by leading it into servitude, and take away our place--that is, city and Temple--by destroying them.

But what they displayed to the people was a fiction. Christ did not lead armed men with him or draw cavalry after him. Rather, he wished his disciples to be poor, fleeing honors and dominion; he preached subjection to superiors and the payment of tribute to Caesar.

Augustine says: They feared to lose temporal things, and because of this they acted against spiritual things. Hence at last they lost both temporal and spiritual things: the city, every royal and priestly dignity, and eternal life, because of the obstinacy of their unbelief.

One of them named Caiaphas cried out shamelessly and cruelly, since he was the high priest of that year. Augustine says: Although the Lord had established that a supreme priest should discharge the office of the deceased through natural succession, afterward, through ambitions and contentions among the Jews, it was established that there should be several and that they should minister by turns in individual years. Perhaps several administered even within one year, and others succeeded them the next year.

Alcuin says that Josephus reports of this Caiaphas that he bought for a price a priesthood of one year. He said to them: "You know nothing, nor do you reflect." It is as if he said: You sit there and still consider the matter sluggishly. If you attend to the salvation of this man, you ought not to disregard the commonwealth. "It is expedient for you that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation should not perish."

He said this with a wicked intention, wishing, as it were, to show that their whole nation would perish if Christ were not killed, because the Romans, if they perceived a very great multitude following Christ as though intending rebellion, would subdue them. But by the grace of the Holy Spirit the utterance from his mouth was drawn toward a presage of the future. Hence the Evangelist adds: "He did not say this of himself, but since he was high priest, he prophesied that Jesus was to die for the nation."

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Five, § IV (continued)

Augustine says: From this let us perceive how great is the dignity of the priestly office or order. It was said of the most wicked Caiaphas, the Savior's killer, "He did not say this of himself, but since he was the high priest of that year, he prophesied." Through this it is shown that the Holy Spirit, giver of graces, follows not the person of the worthy or unworthy man but the order of tradition, so that the ordained person performs the office of ministry while God bestows the effect of the blessing. This is in Cause 1, Question 1, canon *Dictum est*. It speaks of the effect of grace in the sacraments, which is conferred even through evil men.

Origen says: Not everyone who prophesies is, properly speaking, a prophet, just as not everyone who pursues justice is just. It properly belongs to a prophet to understand the things he foretells. Hence Pharaoh is not called a prophet because he saw and expressed the vision concerning the ears of grain and the cattle; rather, Joseph, who understood and expounded what was foretold through them, is the prophet.

It was "expedient," that is, necessary "for us," meaning all who are to be saved, "that one"--the only-begotten Son of God the Father, one God with the Father and Holy Spirit, and one in humanity, that is, wholly united to God in unity of person, whose soul is called unique because it always enjoyed God--"should die" insofar as he was man, and he died as true man. For God is immortal and impassible. He died "for the people," namely to save them. As regards the efficacy of the price, he died for all the people; as regards its effective operation, only for the people of the elect, since the reprobate deprive themselves of the fruit of his death.

"And that the whole nation should not perish." Augustine says: So great was our debt that we could not be saved unless God's only-begotten Son, who was not a debtor to death, died for us who were debtors to death.

The Evangelist adds that he was to die not only for the nation, but also "to gather into one the children of God who were dispersed." Augustine says: There are some children of God who are not yet children of God to us, namely according to present righteousness, but already are so to God, namely through predestination. Of these John says that Jesus was to die not only for the nation but to gather into the unity of love the children of God who were dispersed, namely then in various places and rites of idolatry and in errors. They were certainly to become children by believing through the preaching of the Gospel; yet even before this occurred they were already inscribed in the unshaken stability of their Father's memory. This is in *On Penance*, Distinction 4, canon *Si ex bono*.

"From that day, therefore, they devised how they might kill him." The Evangelist adds: "Jesus therefore no longer walked openly among the Jews, but went into a region near the desert, into a city called Ephraim." Augustine says that Jesus did this not as though he lacked the power by which, had he wished, he could have lived openly among the Jews and suffered no harm, but to give his followers an example showing that it is no sin if his faithful withdraw themselves from their persecutors' sight and avoid the fury of criminals by hiding rather than provoke it further by displaying themselves.

The Evangelist says that the chief priests and Pharisees issued an order that if anyone knew where Jesus was, he should report it so that they might apprehend him.

"Six days before the Passover," namely the Jews' principal feast, "Jesus came to Bethany." This was a village said to have belonged to Martha and Mary, who were of noble birth. It was a little less than two miles from Jerusalem, as appeared above. He came there on the Sabbath before Palm Sunday. As his Passion approached, he wished to approach the place of his Passion, to show that he suffered voluntarily and not under compulsion.

They made a supper for him there on the tenth day of the first month, which the Jews reckon according to lunar months. Accordingly, in our reckoning the first month sometimes falls in March and sometimes in April. The Hebrew year has twelve lunations and sometimes thirteen lunar months, because the excess beyond twelve lunations adds one lunar month at the completion of three years.

On the tenth day of the first month the Jews took the lamb to be sacrificed at the feast of Passover, and then began to celebrate the solemnities of that feast. Theophilus therefore says that on the day which is the ninth of the month and precedes the sixth day before Passover, the Jews feast splendidly and make that day the beginning of the feast. Thus it happened that Jesus, going to Bethany, took part in a banquet.

"And Martha served." Attend to the woman's fidelity. She does not impose the ministry upon servants but undertakes it herself.

Wishing to suggest the truth of Lazarus's resurrection, the Evangelist adds: "Lazarus was one of those reclining at table." Chrysostom says: He lived, spoke, and ate. The truth of the miracle was displayed and the Jews' unbelief confounded. According to some, he related the punishments of hell that he had seen.

"Mary therefore took a pound of precious ointment of pure nard." She was Martha and Lazarus's sister, as appeared above. According to Gregory and Alcuin, as is commonly held, she was that sinful woman who, as Luke alone narrates, at the beginning of

her conversion in the house of Simon the Pharisee washed Jesus's feet with her tears and anointed them, although some say that woman was someone other than this Mary.

She therefore took a pound of ointment, that is, an unction made from the very fragrant and medicinal herb called nard. It is called *pistic*, a Greek word meaning trustworthy, that is, not adulterated by mixture with anything else; or, according to Augustine, it is the name of the place from which the herb came.

"And she anointed Jesus's feet and wiped them with her hair." Matthew and Mark, narrating by recapitulation that this anointing was performed when they begin to describe Christ's Passion, say that she anointed not only Christ's feet but also his head. She had gained confidence from the forgiveness of sins she had received, which John omits here.

They also report that this occurred in the house of Simon the leper, who had formerly been a leper but was afterward cleansed. It could be that, although the village of Bethany belonged to Martha, Simon had a notable house there in which Christ ate, with the aforesaid sisters and Lazarus present.

"And the house was filled with the fragrance of the ointment." Alcuin explains mystically that Jesus's coming six days beforehand signifies that he who made all things in six days and created man on the sixth had come to redeem the world in the sixth age, on the sixth weekday, at the sixth hour.

The Lord's supper is the faith of the Church which works through love. Martha serves when a faithful soul devotes to the Lord the works of its devotion. Lazarus is one of those reclining at table when those raised from the death of sins to righteousness rejoice in the presence of truth together with those who have persevered in their righteousness, and are nourished by the gifts of heavenly grace.

This fittingly occurs in Bethany, interpreted "house of obedience," which indeed is the Church. The ointment with which Mary anoints Jesus is righteousness, and it is therefore a pound. He anoints Jesus's feet who, by living well, follows the Lord's footsteps according to the gloss. He anoints the head who is moved with devotion toward the divinity; he anoints the feet who directs his mind and affection toward the humanity.

He wipes the feet with his hair who gives from his surplus to the poor. The house is filled by this fragrance because the world is sprinkled with the good reputation produced by the Church's works.

One of the disciples, Judas Iscariot, said: "Why was this ointment not sold for three hundred denarii and given to the needy?" The other Evangelists say that the disciples murmured at this. Their accounts are reconciled in two ways: either the plural is placed for the singular because one of the disciples murmured, or both things happened. Judas first murmured and muttered without the others, and afterward induced the others to murmur with him.

But there was a difference: the others were moved by devotion toward the poor, while Judas was moved by avarice so that he might steal part of the things given him to keep. Hence John the Evangelist adds: "He said this not because he cared for the needy," that is, from compassion for the poor, "but because he was a thief and, having the purse, carried what was put therein"--that is, what was given as alms to Christ and the disciples and placed in the purse, a wallet with different pouches like different compartments for the variety of coins.

Alcuin says: He carried it in ministry, namely as purse-bearer or procurator; he carried it away by theft. For he is said to have had a wife and children, to whom he carried things home.

Hence Augustine says in Cause 12, Question 1: Receive the example of the Lord living upon earth. Why did he who was served by angels have a purse, unless because the Church was to have a purse? Why did he admit thieves, unless so that his Church, when it suffers thieves, might tolerate them?

Chrysostom says that Christ entrusted the purse of the poor to Judas, who was a thief, so as to cut off every excuse from him. Judas could not say that he did this because of a desire for money, for he had enough from the purse to mitigate his covetousness. Christ knew this, but out of great condescension toward Judas did not accuse him. Instead, according to Matthew, he offered a general defense, saying: "Why are you troublesome to this woman," namely by murmuring against her? "For she has worked a good work upon me," not an act of wastefulness, as you think, but of devotion.

"For in pouring this ointment upon my body she has done it for my burial": that is, she has done what she will take care to do as a service for my burial, but she will not be able to accomplish it. For after the Holy Sabbath had passed, she came with the other Marys to the tomb early the following morning with spices to anoint Jesus's body, but they did not find it because he had already risen.

Hence John also says: "Let her alone," namely to do what she is doing, "that she may keep it for the day of my burial": that is, let her preserve her intention, and she will perform what she wishes to perform on the day of my burial, although she will not be able to complete it.

"For the poor you will always have with you," according to bodily presence and need, "but me you will not always have," namely according to bodily and visible presence. For according to his majesty, his providence, as Augustine says, his ineffable and invisible grace, and also the truth of the sacrament in the Eucharist, that saying of his is fulfilled: "Behold, I am with you until the consummation of the age."

John says that a great crowd which had come to the feast in Jerusalem, hearing that Christ was in Bethany, came there not only because of him but also to see Lazarus, whom Christ was said by many to have raised. Because many believed in Jesus when they saw Lazarus, the Pharisees planned to kill Lazarus so as to conceal or disparage the miracle. This is in *On Penance*, Distinction 1, canon *Quantuslibet*.

§ V: On Jesus's Entry into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday with Great Glory and Praise, upon an Ass and a Colt

All four Evangelists narrate this and introduce the prophet's testimony about it. John therefore says that on the next day, namely after the aforesaid supper, a great crowd which had come for the feast day heard that Jesus was coming to Jerusalem and went out to meet him with palm branches.

Bede says: The command of the Law was that on the tenth moon of the first month a lamb or kid should be shut inside the house until the fourteenth moon of that month, when it was sacrificed toward evening. Hence the true Lamb also, chosen spotless from the entire flock for the sanctification of the people, went up to Jerusalem five days beforehand, that is, on the tenth moon.

The other Evangelists narrate this more fully. Matthew says that when Jesus approached Jerusalem and came to Bethphage at the Mount of Olives--Bethphage being a village near Jerusalem on the slope of the Mount of Olives, where priests dwelt--Jesus then sent two of his disciples, saying: "Go into the village."

Jerusalem is called a village although it was a royal city, because there was no unity there but a very great division among its inhabitants. "Which is opposite you." This is certainly Jerusalem, or also the world, to which Christ's disciples were sent to preach. It was opposite them because it persecuted them.

"And immediately you shall find an ass and a colt with her," namely tied. "Loose them and bring them to me." Out of devotion toward the poor, the citizens kept a certain common ass near the gate so that poor people who did not possess animals of their own might use it for their necessities and afterward return it to the place. That ass then had a colt.

"And if anyone says, 'Why are you loosing the colt?' say, 'Because the Lord has need of them,' and he will immediately let them go." Obeying him, they brought the ass and colt.

Basil says: Thus it is fitting for us to undertake even the lowest works with the greatest affection and diligence, knowing that whatever is done with regard for God is not small but worthy of the kingdom of heaven.

According to Augustine, one must know that although the other three Evangelists mention only the ass's colt brought to Jesus, on which no human being had yet sat and upon which Jesus mounted, Matthew, as has been said, reports that both the ass and colt were brought. There is nevertheless no contradiction in this; Matthew supplied what the others omitted concerning the ass.

Christ rode upon both: on the ass for one part of the road, and on the colt for another--not because the animals were tired, but for the sake of signification. It signified either that Christ would dwell in both sexes, or, better, in both peoples, the Jewish and the Gentile, brought by the Apostles' preaching and converted to the faith, and that he would lead them into the Jerusalem above.

The ass signifies the Jewish people, subjected to the yoke of the Law and tamed by the burdens of penalties. The young ass or colt signifies the wanton Gentile people, upon whom no one had sat because, according to Ambrose, no one except Christ called the peoples of the nations to grace.

Because the other three Evangelists wrote their Gospels for Gentiles, they took care to mention the ass's colt, which figured the Gentile people. Matthew wrote for converted Hebrews, yet also preached for a long time to Gentiles, namely the Ethiopians; therefore he mentioned both the ass and the colt.

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Five, § V (continued)

Matthew and John introduce the prophecy that foretold this deed, which is found in Zechariah 9, reporting the substance of the event rather than the prophet's exact words. For Zechariah says: "Exult greatly, daughter of Zion; rejoice, daughter of Jerusalem. Behold, your king comes to you, just and a savior. He is poor and ascends upon an ass and the colt of an ass."

John reports it thus: “Do not fear, daughter of Zion,” that is, Jerusalem, which is called the daughter of Zion because Zion was Jerusalem’s fortress, its guard and protection, just as a mother guards her daughter. Jerusalem is therefore called the daughter of Zion. Supply: Rather, exult, Jerusalem, you who are the daughter of Zion, as the prophet says. “Behold, your king comes, sitting upon the colt of an ass,” which occurred during one part of the journey.

Matthew says: “Tell the daughter of Zion,” namely Jerusalem, that is, its inhabitants. You preachers and doctors of the Law, comfort the people and console them at the coming of their Messiah. You will be able to recognize him by his humility and meekness; I give you this sign of the matter: “Behold, your king comes to you, meek and sitting upon an ass and a colt, the foal of a beast of burden,” that is, of an ass.

“Behold”: he is near, and therefore I point him out. Recognize his dignity, because he is king in temporality as regards dominion, for he is King of kings and Lord of lords, although he lived as a poor man in spirituality. He says in the Psalm: “I was established by him as king over Zion,” and so forth, that is, over the Church in heavenly felicity. Hence his power is eternal and his kingdom shall not be corrupted.

He is “yours” through the assumption of humanity, for “he did not take hold of angels, but of the seed of Abraham,” Hebrews 2. He is yours through his origin in the flesh: “Who was made for him from the seed of David according to the flesh,” Romans 10 [read: Romans 1:3]. He is yours through his generosity, for “he gave himself for us,” in Ephesians: as food, as price, and as reward.

“He comes,” that is, he will come soon. Scripture customarily places the present tense for the future, as in John 4, when the Samaritan woman says, “I know that Christ comes,” that is, will come; this is what she intended to say. Or “he comes” is stated in the present tense because, according to Jerome, prophets read the things they prophesy in the book of divine foreknowledge, to which all things are present.

Or *venit* is taken in the past tense, “he has come,” to display the infallibility of this coming. For just as it is impossible for a past thing that occurred not to have occurred, so it is impossible for something foretold by God not to happen.

He comes “to you,” namely for your benefit: to heal you, for “the Son of Man came to save what had perished,” Luke 19; to illuminate you, for “Arise, be illuminated, Jerusalem; your light has come,” Isaiah 60; to give you life and free you from the devil’s hands, for “I came that they may have life,” John 10, and “The Son of God came to destroy the works of the devil,” First John 3. But if you do not receive him, he will come “to you,” that is, against you, to condemn you.

He is “meek”: not angry and armed like Nebuchadnezzar coming to destroy you; not proud like the profane Antiochus coming to abolish the worship of the true God; not pompous and haughty like Rehoboam, Solomon’s son, excessively burdening the people; not like a tyrant coming to dominate, as the Roman people did. Rather, he is meek, and I give you an evident sign of his meekness: he sits not upon a proud horse which smells battle from afar, but upon an ass, the friend of peace and simplicity.

Therefore let every soul which desires Christ to rest upon it and to be led into the Jerusalem above be like a young ass, a lover of peace, because “his place was made in peace,” in the Psalm. Let it be simple, because his conversation is with the simple. Let it be patient and a bearer of burdens, namely labors and afflictions: “I became like a beast of burden before you, and I am always with you,” in the Psalm.

The disciples sent by Jesus went and did what had been commanded them. When they wished to loose the ass and colt as they had been told, their owners found them and asked why they were loosing them. When they answered that the Lord had need of them, the owners let them go.

When both animals had been brought, the Apostles placed their garments upon the ass. As he made the journey, some stripped off their garments and spread them in the road so that the ass might pass over them, out of devotion to him. Others cut branches from olive and palm trees and spread them in the road, as a figure of Christ’s victory over the devil and death.

Luke reports that as they approached the descent of the Mount of Olives, all the multitude of disciples who had come from Jerusalem to meet him began joyfully to praise God with a loud voice for the mighty works they had seen him perform. These are called disciples not only because they were the Twelve Apostles or his seventy-two disciples, but because they included any others who followed him from faith and devotion toward him.

Matthew says: “The crowds that went before and those that followed cried out: Hosanna to the Son of David,” that is, I beseech you, save. “Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord; hosanna in the highest.” This is taken from Psalm 117. Luke adds: “Blessed is the king who comes in the name of the Lord; peace in heaven and glory in the highest.”

Theophilus says: The Jews called him the king of Israel because they dreamed of a sense-perceptible king. They expected a king of more than human greatness to arise and save them from Roman jurisdiction.

Mark says: “Blessed is the kingdom of our father David that comes.” Bede says: He is called king because he rules minds and leads them back to heavenly things.

According to Theophilus, “peace in heaven” means that the ancient war by which we opposed God has vanished. “Glory in the highest” means that the angels praise God in such a reconciliation. For the very fact that God visibly dwells upon the earth of his enemies signifies that he has concord with us.

“The kingdom of our father David comes,” namely Christ’s kingdom, figured in King David’s. He comes “in the name of the Lord” because, according to Bede, either he comes in the name of his Father, the Lord, or in the name “Lord,” that is, he himself came as Lord.

The Pharisees murmured because the crowd called him king, as though this tended toward sedition. And because they praised him as God by crying “Hosanna,” the Pharisees rejected this as blasphemy. Moved by the zeal of envy at so great an honor, they said to him: “Master, rebuke your disciples,” namely, lest they sing such things.

He answered them: “I say to you, if these are silent, the stones will cry out.” According to Theophilus, it is as though he said: I am not the cause of human beings praising me in this way; admonished by the mighty works they have seen, they do this. When the Lord was crucified and those who knew him were silent from fear, the stones also sang when the rocks were split at his death.

Or perhaps, according to Ambrose, when the Jews became silent after the Passion, that is, failed through unbelief to confess his divinity, the living stones--according to First Peter, the Gentiles who had been converted--cried this out.

Mystically, from the Mount of Olives, that is, the height of divine mercy, it came to pass that Christ, anointed with the oil of mercy, sent the Apostles and other doctors of the Church as “two,” that is, furnished with two things: holiness of life and radiance of doctrine.

Hence Jerome says: If we occupy the Apostles’ place, let us imitate not only their speech, as regards doctrine, but also their conduct. This is in Distinction 36, canon *Ecclesiae*. The same author says: Not only bishops, priests, deacons, and all who serve in God’s house must take the greatest care to surpass in conduct and speech all the people over whom they preside, but those of lower rank also, and so forth. This is in Cause 8, Question 1, canon *Qualis*.

For this, a good conscience does not suffice unless, so far as lies in the person, a good reputation is also present. Hence Augustine says: Two things are necessary, conscience and reputation. A good conscience is necessary for you; a good reputation for your neighbor. This is in Cause 12, Question 1, canon *Nolo*.

The second thing required is competent learning, which is completed from two things: knowledge of the Old and New Testaments and knowledge of the canons. Matthew 13 says that one learned in the kingdom of heaven, that is, in the Church, brings forth from his treasure, namely wisdom, things new and old. Hence Distinction 38, canon *Ignorantia*, says: Let priests know sacred Scripture and the canons, and let their entire work consist in preaching and teaching.

He sent these two into the village, that is, the world, which was opposite them because it persecuted them, since its inhabitants lived viciously and contradicted the truth they taught, according to First John 2: “Everything in the world is either the concupiscence of the flesh, the concupiscence of the eyes, or the pride of life.” But the servants of God are not of the world, John 17.

He sent them to loose the bound ass and colt, that is, the Jewish and Gentile peoples bound by the chains of errors and vices, according to Wisdom: “They were all fettered by one chain of darkness,” and in the Psalm: “The cords of sinners have encompassed me.”

Going into the whole world, they loosed from those bonds the people who assented to their teaching. Some resisted them, but did not prevail. They brought to Jesus, that is, to faith in him, people who were generally simple and humble, signified by the ass which is called senseless. The Apostle says in First Corinthians 1: “Consider your calling: not many mighty, not many wise,” and so forth, “but God chose the weak things and the foolish.”

By placing their garments upon them, that is, the examples of their works, they caused Christ to rest in those who imitated them, and Christ led them into the Jerusalem above. The ass and colt signify women and men.

Those who spread their garments in the way so that the ass might walk more firmly are those who trampled and mortified their bodies, which are the garments of souls, through martyrdoms and the afflictions of an austere life and tribulations. These things assuredly lead a person to walk more sweetly in God’s way.

Those who cut branches from olive or palm trees are those who bestow diverse spiritual and bodily alms upon others, or offer diverse sayings of the Fathers so that others may proceed joyfully in God’s way.

All who go before and who follow cry “Hosanna” to Christ, the Son of David, because both the fathers of the Old Testament who preceded Christ in human life and the fathers of the New Testament all expect, desire, and pray to be saved through Christ.

For there is no other name--as regards the reality signified--than the name itself “in which we must be saved,” Peter says in Acts. And again: “To him,” namely Christ, “all the prophets bear testimony that through his name people receive remission of sins.”

The history reported by Luke alone follows. As Jesus approached Jerusalem, “seeing the city, he wept over it,” moved by compassion for the future destruction he foresaw. Expressing this he said: “If you also had known”--supply: you too would weep, if you knew the evils about to come upon you.

Origen says: When you understand Jesus saying such things and lamenting our sins, look also at what is written in the Gospel: “Seeing the city, he wept over it.” If he reasonably wept over that city, he wept still more reasonably over a Church which had been built but was made a den of robbers because of shameful profits. I think the saying about sales of doves applies to those who hand churches over to avaricious, tyrannical, undisciplined, and irreligious bishops and priests. This is in Cause 16, Question 7, canon *Et hoc diximus*.

“And indeed, in this your day, the things that are for your peace”: that is, the things presently available to you are for your temporal peace. “But now they are hidden from your eyes,” that is, the evils about to come upon you because of your unbelief are hidden from your knowledge.

Briefly explaining them, he adds: “For behold, the days will come upon you,” namely forty years from then, “and your enemies will surround you with a rampart,” that is, the Roman armies with their leaders Titus and his father Vespasian, who were sent there because the Jews had rebelled against the Romans to whom they were tributaries.

“And they will surround you,” besieging you so that no one can enter or leave, “and hem you in on every side” by war, famine, and the pestilence that followed from the dead bodies. “And they will cast you to the ground, and your children who are in you.” Those who remained were sold as slaves and dispersed throughout the world.

“And they will not leave in you one stone upon another” which is not thrown down. For that city was overturned from its foundations, since the Jerusalem now standing was built later. A sign of this is that the place of Calvary was outside that city, as is evident from the Gospel and Hebrews--“Jesus suffered outside the gate”--but is now said to be in the middle of the city which presently exists.

Assigning the cause of this destruction, he adds: “Because you did not know the time of your visitation.” Christ had come to visit the people as a physician visits the sick, a master the disciple, and a prelate the subject; the Jewish people refused to recognize this.

Gregory in a homily explains the whole passage morally of a sinful soul which, while rejoicing in its enjoyment of worldly things, does not consider the evils prepared for it when it departs from the body, and therefore does not weep but rejoices in evils. At the end of its life an army of demons besieges it with various temptations, hems it in, and casts it down to the infernal earth. See there.

Thereafter, when he entered the city, as Matthew narrates, the whole city--namely those who had remained in it--was stirred from wonder at the great honor and praise given to Christ. Hence they said: “Who is this?” The crowds answered: “This is Jesus, the prophet from Nazareth of Galilee.” Seeing this and envying him, the Pharisees said among themselves, as John reports: “You see that we accomplish nothing. Behold, the whole world goes after him.”

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Five, § V (continued)

Augustine says: One crowd disturbed another crowd. Why does the blind crowd envy the fact that the world goes after him through whom the world was made? It is as if he said: The more you plot against him, the more his glory is increased and intensified.

Entering the Temple, “he began to cast out those selling and buying in it; he poured out the money changers’ coins and overturned the seats of those selling doves.” Origen says: The Lord casts the sellers and buyers from the Temple for the correction of the people, so that they may not celebrate the Lord’s feasts for worldly things or give themselves to buying and selling in an unfitting place, but only to prayers. This is in Cause 16, Question 7, canon *Hoc diximus*.

Nowhere is it read that the Lord corrected any sin with such severity as this one, expelling such people from the Temple--that is, from the Temple portico--not only by word but also, on the other occasion, with a whip. He did this at the beginning of his preaching, as appears in John 2.

Just as those who sell the imposition of hands, that is, ordinations, are denoted by the sellers of doves, so sellers of ecclesiastical benefices are signified by the money changers. This is in Cause 1, Question 3, canon *Ex multis*.

Gregory says in the following canon: Christ eliminates sellers and buyers from the Temple because he condemns those who bestow the imposition of hands for a gift, or who strive to buy God’s gift, namely any sacrament whatsoever. Those also sell in the Temple who bestow for a reward what by right belongs to certain people. For to sell justice is to preserve it in return for receiving a price. Thus Gregory.

Bede says in the following canon: Sellers of doves are not only those who, when bestowing sacred orders, seek the price of money, praise, or honor, but also those who exercise the rank or spiritual grace in the Church which they received by the Lord's gift, not with a simple intention, but for any human recompense. Thus Bede.

The buyers and sellers of doves can therefore be understood as those who give and receive, for the reward of money, prayers, or service, the sacraments through which the dove--that is, the gift of the Holy Spirit--is conferred. The buyers and sellers of sheep are those of ecclesiastical benefices, which yield wool and milk. The buyers and sellers of oxen, which plow the earth, are those of preaching, by which sinners' earthly hearts are plowed. The money changers are the intermediaries in these things, all of which pertain to simony. This is in Cause 1, Question 1, canon *Sunt nonnulli*; Question 3, canon *Salvator*; and Cause 1, Question 1, canon *Reperiuntur*.

Casting them out, Christ said: "It is written," namely in Isaiah, "My house shall be called a house of prayer, but you have made it a den of robbers."

Origen says: One who considers in many churches both these and other sins of Christians, who suppose gain to be piety, and who, although they ought to live from the Gospel according to the manner fitting God's servants, do not do this but acquire riches and many possessions--will you not say that under such people the Church has been made a den of robbers? This is in Cause 16, Question 7, canon *Et hoc diximus*.

The blind and lame approached him, and he healed them. But the Pharisees, seeing those marvelous things and hearing the children cry "Hosanna," were indignant out of envy at such great praise. They said to Christ: "Do you not hear what these are saying?" It is as if they said: You ought not permit them to praise you so greatly to your face.

Christ answered them: "Indeed. Have you never read what is written," namely in Psalm 8, "'Out of the mouth of infants and nursing children you have perfected praise'?" That is, you caused perfect praise to be uttered from the mouth of the simple. The Psalm continues: "Because of your enemies," namely the Jews, scribes, and Pharisees, "that you may destroy the enemy," that is, confound and convict anyone who opposes you, "and the avenger," that is, one who seemed from zeal to defend the Law. It is as though Christ said: These children do what the prophet foretold; therefore it must be done.

Mark nevertheless says that Jesus's entrance into the Temple to cast out the buyers and sellers, when he also did not permit anyone to carry a vessel through the Temple, occurred on the second weekday, that is, Monday. On the preceding day, Sunday, entering the city with the greatest glory, as has been said, he approached the Temple. Since it was the evening hour, he looked around at everything, perhaps to see whether anyone would invite him to eat. When no one did this, he left the city and went to Bethany with the Twelve.

On the following day, the second weekday, he returned to the city of Jerusalem. On the way he cursed a fig tree which had leaves but no figs, and it immediately withered. Entering the Temple, he cast out the buyers and sellers there.

As John narrates, certain Gentiles who had come to the Temple and had heard his reputation wished to see him although they did not know him. Hearing this, Philip and Andrew told Jesus. Then he said: "Unless a grain of wheat," and so forth; and, "He who loves his soul shall lose it," namely as regards worldly life.

A little afterward he added: "Now my soul is troubled," that is, afflicted in its sensitive part as it considers the Passion to which it was near.

Chrysostom says: Because the Lord had exhorted the disciples toward the Passion, saying, "He who loves his soul shall lose it," lest they say that he himself, existing outside human sufferings, easily philosophizes about death and admonishes us because he is without danger, he shows that he too is in agony, yet does not refuse death because of its usefulness.

Augustine says: You who are troubled by the will of charity console the many who are troubled in your body by the necessity of their weakness, lest they perish through despair. In himself, therefore, our Head undertakes the affection of his members. He was not troubled by another, but, as was said above, troubled himself, that is, was afflicted with sadness.

Chrysostom says: Just as it is no crime to fear, so neither is it a crime to desire present life. Christ had a body clean from sin, but not exempt from natural necessities. This, therefore, belongs to the dispensation, not to the divinity.

Augustine says: What shall I say? Finally, let the person who wishes to follow hear what comes next. Perhaps a terrible hour has approached you; the choice is set before you either to commit iniquity or to undergo suffering. The weak soul is troubled. Hear, therefore, what he adds: "And what shall I say?" It is as if, according to Bede, he said: What else shall I say except that from which the soul may be instructed?

"Father, save me from this hour," namely of the Passion. Augustine says: He taught you whom to invoke and whose will to place before your own will. Do not think that he fails from his height, because he wishes you to advance from the depths. He assumed human weakness so as to teach the saddened person to say: "Not what I will, but what you will."

Hence he adds here: “But for this reason I came to this hour. Father, glorify your name,” namely in my Passion and Resurrection. It is as if he said: I have nothing to say while seeking deliverance, for I came to this hour for that reason. It is as though he said: Even if we are troubled and suffer turmoil, let us not flee death when it is necessary.

For I, now troubled, do not say that I should escape. One must bear what comes upon one. I do not say, “Deliver me from this hour,” but say the contrary: “Glorify your name.” For he shows that he dies for the truth, calling this the glory of God.

And this happened. For after the cross the world was to be converted, to know and worship the Lord’s name--not only the Father’s, but also the Son’s, although Christ remains silent about this here.

John the Evangelist says that a voice came from heaven, saying: “I have glorified it, and I shall glorify it again.” Augustine says: Here God speaks in words through an angel, when nothing is shown in an image. Certainly, when speaking of heavenly things, he formed the words which he wished human beings to hear through the ministry of a rational creature.

“I have glorified it” means before, namely before I made the world; “I shall glorify it” when you rise from the dead. Or otherwise: he glorified it when Christ was born of the Virgin, when he performed miracles, and when, as the Holy Spirit descended upon him in the form of a dove, he was manifested. “I shall glorify it again” when he rises from the dead, when God is exalted above the heavens and his glory above all the earth.

The Evangelist says that the crowd standing there and hearing it said that thunder had occurred. Chrysostom says: The voice was indeed clear and well articulated, but it quickly escaped them because they were more obtuse and carnal, and these retained only the sound. Others, because the voice was articulated, recognized that it was a voice but did not know what it signified. Of these the Evangelist says: “Others said that an angel had spoken to him.”

Christ answered: “This voice came not for my sake,” namely to reveal something to me which I did not know, “but for your sake,” to reveal to them what they did not know, so that they might know he was from God. For how is one who is glorified by God not from God?

Because it was said, “And I shall glorify it,” he next shows the mode of this glory, adding: “Now is the judgment of the world.” Augustine says: Judgment is twofold. One is the judgment expected at the end, when punishments and rewards will be rendered according to human works. He is not speaking of that, but of the judgment which signifies discernment and separation, by which his redeemed were separated and rescued from the devil’s hand.

Hence he adds: “Now shall the prince of this world be cast out.” Augustine says: He calls the devil the prince of the world, not because the devil rules in the world--that is, heaven, earth, and other things--but because he rules in the minds of sinners who consent to his temptations and are called “the world” because of their affection for worldly things.

He was cast out from the minds of those converted to the faith. For although the devil tempts human beings even after conversion, it is one thing for him to reign within through consent to evil and another to assail from without by tempting, as he also does now. Through this, however, he does not reign within.

This judgment was also like the following: someone binds his debtors in prison and afterward, by his own madness, sends in another who owes him nothing, and this person by his own strength leads the others out. Thus it was with Christ.

“And I, if I am lifted up from the earth, shall draw all things to myself.” He was lifted from the earth upon the cross, afterward in the Resurrection, and from there in the Ascension.

Augustine says that he drew all things to himself, that is, those from whom the devil was cast out. He did not say “all people,” because faith does not belong to all, but “all things” that pertain to the integrity of the elect creature: body, spirit, and soul--the body by which we are sensible, the soul by which we live, and the spirit by which we understand.

Or “I shall draw all things predestined to myself,” namely by the power of my Passion, bringing them with me to glory. Or “all things” means all kinds of human beings according to the innumerable differences by which they differ among themselves.

Or, according to Pope Leo, he drew all things by withdrawing the luminaries’ light from all people. Or, rising again, he drew all things which had been separated from him: soul, body, blood, the whole. According to Chrysostom, he says “I shall draw” as of people detained by a tyrant and unable to approach by themselves.

When the Jews understood that he had spoken of his death, they put a question to him, saying: “We have heard from the Law that Christ remains forever. And how do you say that the Son of Man must be lifted up? Who is this Son of Man?”

He had frequently called himself the Son of Man because he was the son of only one human being, namely the Virgin, and not of two people, although now he was not speaking of himself in that form. They suspected that by being lifted from the earth he had spoken of death upon the cross. They understood what they were planning to do. It was therefore not infused wisdom that disclosed the obscurity of these words, but their goaded conscience.

Hence Chrysostom says: See how maliciously they question him. They did not say, “We have heard from the Law that Christ suffers nothing,” for in many places of Scripture Christ’s Passion and Resurrection are set down together. Instead they say, “He remains forever.” This was certainly not contrary to his Passion, for the Passion did not create an impediment to immortality. But they thought by this argument to show that he was not Christ, since Christ remains forever.

“Who is this Son of Man?” It is as though they said: We do not know the one of whom you speak. Christ therefore answered them: “Yet a little light is in you.”

Chrysostom explains it thus: “Yet a little,” that is, for a short time, “the light,” that is, I who am the light of the world, “is in you,” that is, I am with you. It is as if he said: The sun’s light is not destroyed when it sets, but, withdrawing for a little, appears again. So too, if I die for a short time, I shall rise again very quickly.

Augustine explains it otherwise: “Yet a little light,” that is, a small and imperfect knowledge of me, “is in you,” insofar as you understand that Christ remains forever, if indeed you believe Christ’s eternity in such a way that you deny in him the humility of death. “Walk, therefore, while you have the light,” that is, advance in the light of faith while it is with you, and so forth.

After these words he went away and hid himself from them, not by fleeing into a concealed place, but by withdrawing himself from them.

It cannot clearly be perceived whether these events--namely the Gentiles’ wish to see Jesus and the voice from heaven, of which we have spoken--occurred on Palm Sunday or the following day. John nevertheless joins them to the things done on Palm Sunday.

On the evening of the second weekday Jesus again left the city. On the next morning, the third weekday, or Tuesday, as Mark reports, he returned to Jerusalem and taught many parables in the Temple: concerning the vineyard planted and leased to tenants, who killed the lessor’s son; and concerning the king who made a marriage feast for his son.

He resolved the questions whether tribute should be given to Caesar; whose wife at the Resurrection the woman who had seven husbands would be; and concerning the greatest commandment of the Law. Matthew, Mark, and Luke narrate these matters, and they were discussed above.

He also rebuked the scribes and Pharisees for their many kinds of hypocrisy, as Matthew narrates throughout chapter 23. Finally, leaving the city for the Mount of Olives and questioned about the judgment, he foretold many things concerning its signs, as Matthew, Mark, and Luke narrate. He added the parable of the talents entrusted, in which action and an accounting are exacted, and of the ten virgins, five foolish and five wise. Finally he spoke of the examination at the judgment which Matthew records and which was discussed above.

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Six

The Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ was prefigured from the beginning in the first Adam, our first parent. Through his disobedience, when he stretched out his hand toward the forbidden tree at the sixth hour of the sixth weekday and tasted the sweetness of the food, the whole human race was weakened unto death. It was prefigured as the medicine by which that sickness would be healed when, after the Fall, Adam hid himself in the midst of the tree of Paradise, as Genesis 3 says. For this signified that through the wood of the cross, on which Jesus, out of obedience to the Father, stretched out his innocent hands at the sixth hour of the sixth weekday, on March 25, and tasted the bitterness of gall, sin itself would be hidden from God--not so that he would be ignorant of it, but so that it would be forgiven and he would not punish it. Thus Christ brought the remedy from the very place from which the enemy had inflicted the wound.

This most sacred Passion, therefore, was prefigured in the patriarchs, foretold by the prophets, and narrated after the event by all the Evangelists. In setting it forth, whenever one of them passes something over, another supplies it.

To show that Christ endured the Passion voluntarily and was not compelled, in accordance with Isaiah 53, “He was offered because he himself willed it,” he foretold his Passion to the disciples many times. Since he knew it beforehand, he could have avoided it and gone to other places. He foretold not only death itself and the kind of death, but also the day. For, as Matthew, the first of the Evangelists, narrates, he said to his disciples: “You know that after two days the Passover will take place, and the Son of Man will be handed over to be crucified.” If this is understood of two complete days, he said it on the third weekday, Tuesday, before the Passion. If it is understood by taking a part for the whole, this could also have been Wednesday.

“The Passover will take place,” that is, the paschal lamb will be eaten. According to the Law, it had to be sacrificed and eaten after evening, as is clear from Exodus 14 [read: Exodus 12], in memory of the benefit received from God on such a night. For when the lamb had been sacrificed in Egypt and the firstborn of all the Egyptians had been killed by the destroyer, the Jews departed

unharmed from Pharaoh's servitude. This was also a figure of the Passion of Christ, the immaculate Lamb, which began on such a night. Through it the Israelites--that is, the true faithful--are freed from the devil's servitude, their vices are killed, and they are saved, provided that the doorposts of the house are anointed with the Lamb's blood; that is, provided that faith in the Passion is held in mind and deed.

"The Son of Man," that is, of the Virgin, "will be handed over to be crucified." He was handed over by God the Father, who exposed him to death and permitted it because of his exceedingly great charity toward us. Romans 8 says: "He did not spare his own Son, but handed him over for us." John 3 says: "God so loved the world that he gave his only-begotten Son."

He was handed over by himself for our redemption. Hence Ephesians says: "He gave himself for us as an offering to God, for an odor of sweetness."

He was handed over by Judas Iscariot for the satisfaction of avarice. Luke 22 says: "Having received the money, he sought an opportunity to hand him over," namely to the Jews.

He was handed over by the Jews to Pilate because of the infection of envy. Matthew 25 [read: Matthew 27:18] says: "For he knew that the Jews had handed him over through envy," namely Pilate knew this.

To explain the Passion itself according to its history, we shall make seven considerations:

1. The Jews' counsel and determination concerning it.
2. Christ's final meal with the Apostles.
3. His prayer and capture in the garden.
4. His being led before different judges.
5. The examination and decision of his case.
6. The execution of the sentence of the cross.
7. The separation of his soul from his body.

As to the first consideration, § I

Matthew says: "Then"--namely on the day on which Christ had spoken those words--"the chief priests and the magistrates," that is, officials, "assembled in the courtyard of the chief priest, who was called Caiaphas." There counsel was taken concerning his capture, the price of the betrayal was demanded, and an agreement concerning it was confirmed.

They therefore assembled to take counsel and deliberate how they might seize Jesus by deceit and kill him. At another time, when Caiaphas gave the counsel, they had decreed that he should be killed. Now they deliberate carefully about the manner of seizing him, lest he escape. Hence they say: "Not on the feast day," that is, let us not do this--seize him--then. The Evangelist shows that they did not say this out of reverence for the feast, but lest he be taken from their hands by the people. Hence it continues: "Lest perhaps there be a tumult among the people."

Foreseeing their counsel, or rather their conspiracy, and detesting it, the patriarch Jacob said: "Simeon and Levi are vessels of iniquity, waging war. Let my soul not come into their counsel, nor my glory be in their assembly." He assigns the reason when he adds: "Because in their fury they killed a man"; and afterward: "Cursed be their fury, because it is stubborn, and their indignation, because it is hard." This is in the penultimate chapter of Genesis.

It is certain that the priests came from the tribe of Levi. Many of the scribes are said to have descended from the tribe of Simeon, and the scribes were chief among those who counseled Christ's death. Their minds were wicked, waging war against Christ, for they deliberated and took action not from reason but from fury and envy, so that the man--that is, Christ, who was wholly virtuous--might be killed. Their fury was stubborn, because when Pilate wished to free him as innocent, they persisted in crying: "Let him be crucified."

The Evangelists Matthew, Mark, and Luke add here, by recapitulation, the anointing of Christ by Mary Magdalene at the supper and Judas's murmuring. This does not mean that it happened on the day of the Jews' council, but on the preceding Sabbath, as John narrates and as was clear above. The account is nevertheless attached here because that event was the occasion Judas accepted, though it did not cause him, to commit the betrayal.

For, as the Gloss says in Cause 13, Question 1, § 1, Judas was accustomed to steal a tenth of the things given to him for safekeeping. He wanted the ointment that had been poured out to be sold. Its price was three hundred denarii, of which a tenth was thirty. Since he could not steal the tenth because it had not been sold, he committed the betrayal for thirty silver denarii, as though wishing to make good the loss he had sustained.

Thus Judas himself, perceiving that the priests had assembled to discuss Christ's capture, went to those gathered in council when Satan had entered him, as Luke says--not through an affliction of his body, but through a new effect of malice. He said: "What are you willing to give me, and I shall hand him over to you?"

O rash utterance, full of presumption! He promises to hand over to them, as though Christ were under his power, the Lord of all, to whom all things were handed over by the eternal Father. Hence he says: "What are you willing," and so forth.

O utterance most worthy of every punishment! His own Lord and Master had bestowed so many benefits upon him, had called him to the highest dignity of the apostolate, had sent him with the others to preach and perform miracles, and had appointed him his steward. Now Judas exposes him for sale like a cheap slave and leaves the price to the buyers' will, saying: "What are you willing," and so forth.

Is this the teaching the best of masters handed down? He taught you to despise temporal things, to injure no one and to help your neighbor according to your ability; and now, out of avarice, you betray the most innocent one and hand him over to death, saying: "What are you willing," and so forth.

When the assembled Jews heard this, they rejoiced and gave him thirty silver pieces for the deed. Thus was fulfilled the figure found in Genesis 37 concerning Joseph, the most perfect youth, who at the suggestion of his brother Judah was sold for thirty [read: twenty] silver pieces and handed over into the Ishmaelites' hands through envy, lest he rule over his brothers. But the contrary of what they intended happened to them, for by this Joseph was exalted, adored, and called the savior of the world. So too, through that handing over into the Gentiles' hands and through the Passion, God exalted Jesus and gave him the name above every name--Jesus, which is interpreted "Savior"--so that at the name of Jesus every knee should bend.

Having received the money, Judas pledged himself to commit the betrayal and thereafter sought an opportunity to hand him over when he was apart from the crowds. In this deed the most wicked Judas committed not only betrayal and abduction, by selling a free man, but also sacrilege and simony, by selling Christ, the source of every grace.

Hence Gregory Nazianzen says: "Judas sold the Redeemer of all. Soon afterward, suspended from a noose, he did not finally obtain the grace of redemption"; and rightly so, because no one can retain what he has sold. This is in Cause 1, Question 1, canon *Qui studet*.

Here one should also note what Bede says on Mark: Many today shudder at Judas's crime--because he sold God, his Lord and Master, for money--as a monstrous and unspeakable crime, yet do not guard themselves against it. For when they give false testimony against someone for gifts, because they deny the truth for money they certainly sell God for money; for he himself said, "I am the truth." When they defile the fellowship of brotherhood with the infection of any discord, they betray God, because God is charity. This is especially so when the sin is committed not through weakness or ignorance, but, after Judas's likeness, they seek an opportunity to exchange virtue for crime. This is in Cause 11, Question 3, canon *Abiit*.

In *De consecratione*, Distinction 3, canon *Ieiunia*, it is said that on Wednesday Judas devised--that is, negotiated--the Lord's betrayal. Hence in ancient times a fast was observed on that day, as is clear in the cited canon. Now, out of reverence for the Passion, many people abstain from meat on that day, not by precept but from devotion.

As to the second consideration, § II: the Last Supper of Christ

"On the first day of unleavened bread," as Matthew, Mark, and Luke say--that is, Thursday, which is called the first day of unleavened bread because in the evening of that day they ate unleavened and not leavened bread with the lamb, an observance thereafter kept through the following seven days, which were called the days of unleavened bread--the disciples approached Jesus and said: "Where do you wish us to prepare for you to eat the Passover?" That is, the paschal lamb, which all Jews were bound to eat according to the Law. Since Christ and the Apostles did not have a house of their own, they therefore asked about a definite place.

Then Christ, as Luke narrates, sent Peter and John--the first as the more diligent and the second as the one more beloved than the others--saying to them and giving these signs: "Behold, as you enter the city, a man carrying a jar of water will meet you. Follow him into the house which he enters, and say to the master of the house: 'The Master says to you: Where is the guest chamber,'" that is, a private place, "'where I may eat the Passover with my disciples,'" that is, the paschal lamb? "And he will show you a large, furnished upper room," that is, a hall, "and prepare there," namely the necessities for us.

Christ did not wish to name the man lest, according to Chrysostom, Judas hear it and arrange for him to be captured there before the appointed hour. They therefore went, found everything, and prepared what was needed.

At this holy banquet, note three things Christ did: he washed the disciples' feet, instituted the sacrament of the Eucharist, and delivered a most sweet discourse.

John alone narrates the first, saying: "When supper had been made," that is, prepared on Mount Zion, where, when evening had come, Christ was with the Twelve. According to Luke, he said to them: "With desire I have desired," that is, I have greatly desired,

“to eat this Passover,” that is, the paschal lamb, “with you.” For this lamb signifies my Passion, which I have desired to endure for the liberation of the human race. It figures the sacred Communion in which I leave my whole self to you. By the act itself he also intimates the humility necessary for that Communion and for our heavenly glorification.

Hence, according to John, Jesus “rose from supper.” Taking a linen cloth, he poured water into a basin, began to wash the disciples’ feet, and wiped them with the cloth with which he was girded.

When he came to Peter and washed his feet, Peter, astounded at such profound humility, said: “Lord, do you wash my feet?” It is as though he said: It is not fitting that you, the Lord, should wash me, a servant; you, the Master, me, a disciple; you, the most holy, me, a sinner.

Jesus answered him: “What I do you do not know now, but you will know afterward.” Peter did not then understand the mystery signified there. For it was figured in this act that one approaching the Eucharist, which they were about to receive, must have even the feet of his affections cleansed of the dust of vices.

Unable to bear such humility in his Master, Peter answered: “You shall never wash my feet.” Pope Gelasius says: Blessed Peter, out of an affection of divine reverence, answered the Lord, “You shall never wash my feet.” He is not to be thought to have lied--which God forbid--or in the least to have failed to stand by his declaration, for he soon yielded to the divine will; and, bound by the reasons of human salvation, he suffered what he had said he would not do to be done from a good will. This is in Cause 22, Question 2, canon *Beatus*.

Christ said to him: “If I do not wash you, you shall have no part with me,” namely in the Kingdom. Peter immediately acquiesced, saying: “Lord, not only my feet, but also my hands and head.” For to communicate worthily, the feet of the power of willing must be washed of disordered affections, the hands of the power of execution from depraved actions, and the head of the power of understanding from every error.

While washing Peter’s feet, Jesus therefore said: “He who is washed,” that is, baptized, “needs only to wash his feet,” that is, his affection from unlawful desires. It is as though he said: It is not fitting to be baptized again, but to be cleansed by penance from sins committed afterward.

Augustine says: That the Apostles themselves were baptized could become known to us from the Lord’s saying to the baptized Apostle Peter: “He who is washed needs only to wash his feet.” This is in *De consecratione*, Distinction 4, canon *Si eos*.

It continues: “And he is wholly clean. And you are clean, but not all.” He said this because of Judas, who was intent upon betrayal. After Peter he also washed the feet of the others, even Judas. Indeed, some say he began to wash with Judas, so that by greater kindness he might the more draw him back from evil.

When the washing was completed, he resumed his garments, sat down at table, and said: “Do you know what I have done to you? You call me Master and Lord,” and so forth. “If therefore I, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet, you too ought to wash one another’s feet,” that is, render the services of humanity even to enemies. “For I have given you an example.”

Thereafter, when the paschal lamb had been eaten, as Jerome says in *De consecratione*, Distinction 2, canon *Accipite*, with the disciples he took bread into his hands, gave thanks, broke it, and said: “Take and eat; this is my body.” Likewise, near the end of the supper, he took the cup after he had supped and said: “Take and drink from this, all of you. For this is the cup,” and so forth.

Through these words Christ converted that bread and wine into the substance of his body and blood. He gave the Apostles and all who are ordained to the priesthood, both good and bad, the power to confect through those words the sacrament of his body and blood.

Hence Eusebius Nisenus [read: Eusebius of Emesa] says in *De consecratione*, Distinction 2: Because Jesus was about to remove the body he had assumed from the eyes of the faithful and carry it to the stars, it was necessary that on the day of the supper he consecrate for us the sacrament of his body and blood, so that what was offered once as a price might be continually venerated through a mystery. And below: The invisible priest, namely Christ, by his word and secret power converts visible creatures into the substance of his body and blood. Thus Eusebius.

After the consecration he himself also received the sacrament, not because he needed it or acquired from it a new effect of grace, but so that he might furnish us an example of receiving it. Hence Jerome says in *De consecratione*, Distinction 2, canon *Non Moyses*: “Not Moses gave you the true bread, but the Lord Jesus: himself both guest and banquet, eating and eaten.”

He also gave it to all the Apostles, including Judas. Hence Augustine says in Cause 1, Question 1: What did Christ do for you--that is, what kind of example did he give--when with such great patience he endured his betrayer that he gave him, as he gave the other Apostles, the Eucharist confected by his own hands and commended by his own mouth?

Jesus added: “But I say to you that I shall not drink of this fruit of the vine,” that is, of this wine, “until I drink it new in my Father’s kingdom,” that is, in a new manner, because after the Resurrection he ate and drank with them. That wine was not converted into the nourishment of his body as it was when he was mortal.

Isaiah foretold this sacred banquet, saying: “The Lord will make upon this mountain,” namely Zion, “a banquet”--a banquet by excellence--“a banquet of fat things and things full of marrow, a banquet of purified vintage, and he shall cast death down forever.”

Of the word “banquet,” Thomas says: What can be more precious than this banquet, in which the true God is set before us to be consumed?

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Six, § II (continued)

“A banquet of fat things.” Genesis 49 says: “His bread is fat, and he shall furnish delicacies to kings.” Thomas says: What is more healthful than this sacrament, in which sins are forgiven, virtues are increased, and the mind is enriched with an abundance of every charism?

“A banquet of things full of marrow,” that is, of things chosen and most delightful. Wisdom 16 says: “You provided them bread from heaven, having every delight and every taste of sweetness.”

“Of purified vintage,” that is, of the purest wine, namely the most pure blood of Christ. Canticles 5 says: “Drink and be inebriated”--not with material wine, but with the fervor of Christ’s blood, with the wine which, in the Psalm, “gladdens the heart of man.”

Here he casts down death, because “he who eats this bread shall live forever,” John 6. Hence Solomon too says: “I praised that there was no good”--that is, no better good--“for a man under the sun,” that is, in the present life, “except to eat and drink,” namely to receive this sacrament worthily, “and to rejoice,” namely spiritually. This is in Ecclesiastes 8. “What is better than the Lord’s body and blood?” Jerome asks in Cause 1, Question 1, canon *Multi*.

This banquet was also figured by the banquet Ahasuerus made for his princes and others in the third year, that is, in the state of grace. This is in Esther 1 and 2.

After these things Jesus said, as Luke reports--although Matthew and Mark report this before the institution of the sacrament, which can be understood as said by them through recapitulation--“Amen, I say to you that one of you is about to betray me.” John says that Jesus was then troubled in spirit.

Augustine says at this place: Let the arguments of the Stoics perish, who deny that disturbances of the emotions occur in a wise person. They surely esteem truth as vanity just as they account insensibility to be soundness. Let the Christian’s spirit be troubled, but let it not fail.

Deeply saddened, they began individually to say: “Is it I, Lord?” It is as though they said: Although our conscience does not reproach us with the thought of so great a crime, nevertheless, you who know the secrets of hearts, reveal it so that so great a wickedness may be prevented.

Judas, lest by remaining silent he render himself suspect, also said: “Is it I, Rabbi?” Christ answered him: “You have said it.” This is not to be understood as though Christ said, “You speak the truth, for you are the one”; for in that way he would have disclosed Judas to the others. Instead, “You have said it” means: You say this; I do not say that you are the one.

He adds: “He who dips his hand into the dish with me will betray me. But woe”--namely the woe of eternal damnation--“to that man through whom I shall be betrayed. It would have been better for that man if he had not been born.” For if he had died in his mother’s womb, he would have descended to limbo; but, having been born and not repenting of this crime, he will descend to hell. Or again, although existence is better than nonexistence, nevertheless nonexistence appears better than an evil existence, because being deprived of evil has the character of good. It would therefore have been better for him if he had not been born, even in the womb, that is, if he had not existed.

Yet the betrayer was not disclosed by these words, because they were all dipping at once into the single dish in which there was a sauce of wild lettuces to serve as a condiment according to the commandment of the Law. This shows how greatly secret sins ought not to be disclosed to others.

Hence Augustine says in Cause 2, Question 1: “One of you is about to betray me.” He rightly said “of you,” not “of us.” For he belongs to you, from whom he has not been excluded by judicial authority after confession or conviction; but he is separated and divided from me, who need no arguments and know all things with complete certainty. It is as if Christ said: Although I hold him condemned by the sentence of a hidden judgment, nevertheless continue to bear with him through tolerance. Thus Augustine.

Peter, desiring out of zeal for his Master to know the betrayer--because, as Chrysostom says, he would have killed him had he known him--did not dare ask by himself, but sent his companion, John the Evangelist, to ask Christ about the betrayer.

When John asked who it was, Christ answered quietly so that the others would not hear: “It is the one to whom I shall give a dipped morsel.” Peter Damian says: O incomparable man! Christ brings forth a word in the midst, and the whole senate of the Apostles is silent. John alone approaches as counselor.

John is said at that time to have reclined in Jesus’s bosom or upon his breast. According to the letter, because he stood beside him at the table or opposite him, John inclined his head upon Jesus’s breast so that he might speak more privately. Mystically, according to Bede, this signified that he was to drink from the fountain of the Lord’s breast, where the treasures of God’s wisdom are hidden, so that he might utter that divine mystery: “In the beginning was the Word.”

When Jesus had dipped the morsel, he handed it to Judas; and after the morsel Satan entered into him--not for the first time, since he had already entered him, but through a new effect of malice, so that Judas might put into execution the betrayal he had conceived. That morsel was not the sacrament, for Christ had already given it, but it was a figure of the person who approaches the sacrament unworthily.

Augustine says in *De consecratione*, Distinction 2: Just as Christ, when he handed the morsel to Judas, gave him a place for the devil not by giving him an evil thing but because Judas received it evilly, so whoever receives Christ’s body unworthily does not cause what he receives to be evil because he himself is evil, nor does he receive nothing because he does not receive it unto salvation.

Jesus said to Judas: “What you do, do more quickly.” It is as though he said: Since neither threats nor entreaties call you back from your evil purpose, do more quickly what you do--that is, what you are arranging to do by betrayal. He was not urging Judas to evil, but displaying his own desire for human redemption.

Nevertheless, John says, none of the disciples understood why he said this. Because Judas kept the purse, they thought he was telling him to buy the necessities for the feast or to give something to the needy.

Augustine says in Cause 12, Question 1: The Lord had a purse, preserving the offerings made by the faithful and distributing them for his followers’ necessities and to others in need.

After the morsel, Judas went out to execute the betrayal, night having already fallen.

This progress of Judas--entering and leaving to negotiate the betrayal and execute it--is described in the Psalm: “If he entered,” namely the house, in order to see its suitability for the deed, “he spoke vain things,” that is, evil and false things, murmuring about the pouring out of the ointment. “His heart gathered iniquity to itself,” by proposing to himself many iniquities to commit, such as sacrilege and the others. “He went outside” to seize an opportunity, “and spoke to the same purpose,” that is, to complete the evil. “And he who ate my bread magnified supplantation against me,” that is, committed a great betrayal against me.

Then Jesus said: “Now the Son of Man is glorified, and God is glorified in him.” That is, now, in my very Passion, which Judas has gone out to negotiate, I, insofar as I am man, will appear glorified by vanquishing the powers of the air and pacifying the things in heaven and on earth. From this, God was glorified in him, the man Christ, because this will be done by the power of God himself.

And if God is glorified in him, as was said, since he is one person, God and man, and is of one essence with the Father, “God has glorified him in himself,” that is, through himself and not through another. “And he will immediately glorify him,” namely in the Passion itself through the miracles then performed, and afterward in the Resurrection by manifesting the glory of his divinity.

Or, according to Augustine, “Now he is glorified,” and so forth, because, when the unclean Judas had been excluded, only the clean remained with the one who cleansed them. It is as though Christ said: This is a figure of the future universal glorification in which no evil person will be there and no good person will depart. “And God is glorified in him,” that is, God’s glory will be perfectly manifested, and this by his own power.

Thereafter Christ delivered a long discourse which John alone describes in four chapters, from chapter 14 through chapter 17 inclusive. In it he exhorted them and commanded fraternal charity, set forth the majesty of divine things and especially of the Holy Spirit, and finally ended in the humility of prayer, praying for himself, for the Apostles, and for all the elect.

As to the third consideration, § III: his capture

Matthew says that after supper and the discourse, when a hymn had been said in thanksgiving--teaching us by this to give thanks to God after eating--they went out to the Mount of Olives and came to the village called Gethsemane. They first crossed a certain brook called Kidron, which was at the foot of the Mount of Olives. John begins his narrative of the Passion with this crossing of the brook Kidron.

In that village there was a garden in which Jesus was sometimes accustomed to assemble with the disciples to pray and teach more secret things.

Matthew and Mark report that the Lord foretold Peter’s denial after he had left the house for the Mount of Olives, whereas Luke and John narrate that this occurred in the house where they had eaten. Augustine reconciles this in two ways. In one way, Matthew and Mark said those things by recapitulation, recounting what they had omitted among the things done in the house; or Luke and

John did so by anticipation, narrating first what was done afterward--a mode frequently employed by the Evangelists. In another way, it may be said that Christ foretold Peter's future denial and Peter's presumptuous answer several times: in the house, as Luke and John relate, and afterward again in the garden on the Mount of Olives, as Matthew and Mark relate.

Concerning this third consideration, note Peter's denial, which Christ foretold; the prayer which he poured forth three times; and the multitude which came to seize him.

Jeremiah prophesied of his capture, saying in Lamentations 4: "Christ the Lord was captured for our sins, to whom we said: In your shadow," that is, in your obscure Passion, "we shall live."

Going out, therefore, with the eleven disciples, he said to them: "All of you will suffer scandal because of me on this night." He calls "scandal" the loss of faith in his divinity into which they fell upon seeing his capture, which was so ignominious. Hence they also fled.

He confirms his statement through Zechariah's prophecy, which foretold this in Zechariah 13: "Strike the shepherd, and the sheep will be scattered." The prophet speaks to God the Father: "Strike," that is, permit the shepherd, namely Christ, to be struck with the Passion by the Jews; and from this will follow the scattering--that is, the flight--of his sheep, that is, his disciples.

But the Evangelist, seeing the prophecy fulfilled, speaks in the person of the Father to the prophet, saying: "I shall strike," that is, I shall permit him to be struck, "and thus the sheep of the flock," that is, the Apostles, "will be scattered." But, comforting them, he adds: "After I have risen," namely on the third day, as he had foretold elsewhere, introducing the figure of Jonah, who remained three days in the whale's belly, "I shall go before you into Galilee," namely appearing to you.

Peter answered him: "Even if all are scandalized, I shall not be." But Jesus said to Simon Peter, who seemed to trust more in his own strength: "Simon, behold, Satan has demanded you, that he might sift you like wheat"; that is, he sought and received permission from God, for otherwise he could not have had the temptation of shaking you and separating you from the wheat of God's elect. For through the sieve's great shaking, even some wheat sometimes falls to the ground with the darnel.

"But I," Christ adds, "have prayed for you," insofar as I am man, "that your faith may not fail," namely by a final failure. For he did not say: I have prayed that you may not deny me.

Christ prayed not only for Peter, but for the whole Church entrusted to Peter; and it is impossible that he was not heard. The Church's faith has never failed. For although some fall away from the faith, some always remain in it. Hence at the time of the Passion, even if it failed in the Apostles, it nevertheless remained in the Virgin Mother.

"And you, when you have been converted," he adds, "strengthen your brothers"--converted, namely, to penance after your fall.

Peter said: "Lord, I am ready to go with you to prison and to death." Jesus answered: "I say to you, Peter, that before the cock has crowed twice on this night," as Mark says, "you will deny me three times." Peter answered: "Even if I must die with you, I shall not deny you." Peter did not tell a lie, because this was what he then intended; but he spoke far too presumptuously, ignorant of his own weakness, which Jesus knew and was intimating to him. All the others spoke similarly.

Ambrose says: These things were said so that we may know that no one ought to boast of himself. For if Peter fell, who said, "Even if the others are scandalized, I shall not be," who else may presume concerning himself? This is in Cause 6, Question 1, canon *Imitare*.

Luke reports that a dispute arose among them over which of them seemed to be the greater. The Greek says that the cause of this dispute could have been that they had heard that the Lord was to depart from them, and therefore they asked who after this would act in his place. But the Lord immediately led them back to humility, showing that those who preside over souls ought not be like the rulers of the world who seek to dominate their subjects; rather, whoever was greater should minister to all. In this he gave the example of himself, who, though Lord, had served them by washing their feet.

Then, as Luke alone writes, Jesus said to the disciples: "When I sent you without purse, bag, and shoes, did anything lack for you?" They answered: "Nothing." He said: "But now let the one who has a purse," namely for keeping money, "take it, and likewise a bag," namely for provisions; "and let the one who does not have one sell his tunic and buy a sword."

It is as though he said: Until now, without keeping the things just named in reserve, you possessed necessary things in abundance while I was present. From now on, however, because you will suffer persecution, these things will not be given to you. I therefore permit you to provide these things for yourselves according to necessity--not only provisions for living, but also weapons for defense when needed.

The disciples said: "Lord, behold, here are two swords": one which would cut off the servant's ear so that the Lord's power might appear in healing it, and the other which would not be unsheathed, so that it might be shown that not every defense that could have been made for the Lord was made. Jesus therefore said: "It is enough." The Church possesses both swords.

Thereafter Jesus entered that garden in the village of Gethsemane, taking Peter, James, and John with him. He began to grow weary, to fear, and to be sorrowful, thereby showing that he possessed true humanity, which is afflicted by considering the pains it sees prepared for it.

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Six, § III (continued)

Hence he also said to them: “My soul is sorrowful unto death,” that is, I feel a mortal sadness and affliction. “Remain here and watch with me.”

Because in straits nothing is more fitting than to have recourse to God through prayer, he therefore withdrew from them about a stone’s throw, as Luke says, fell upon his face, and prayed, saying: “Father, if it is possible, let this cup pass from me.” He calls the Passion a cup.

This is explained in three ways. In the first way, he asks that the power of his Passion pass from him to all the martyrs and to those who suffer affliction for Christ, so that by his merit they might be given the constancy to suffer which he himself possessed. This is Augustine’s explanation.

In the second way, because he knew that the Jewish people, for whose salvation he had labored so greatly, would be blinded and condemned through the Passion itself because of their perfidy, he has compassion upon them. He asks not that he should not drink the cup of the Passion, but that it should pass from that people and be brought about through others. This is Ambrose’s explanation.

In the third way, according to Dionysius of Alexandria, he does not ask that the cup should not come to him; for unless it came, it could not pass away. Rather, when he perceived the Passion already present, he began to be affected and saddened, and as though it were already drawing near, he said: “Let this cup pass.” He therefore asks that the temptation gently beginning to assail him be driven away. This is not to enter into temptation, for which he counsels us to pray.

“Nevertheless, not my will, but yours be done.” Athanasius says: Here he shows two wills: one human, which belongs to the flesh, that is, the sensitive part; and the other divine. For his humanity, because of the flesh’s weakness, refuses the Passion, but his divine affection eagerly underwent it. Thus Athanasius.

What he says, therefore--“Not my will”--is understood according to the natural and sensitive impulse. What he adds--“But yours be done,” namely your will--is the one will of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, to which his human will was always wholly subject according to the rational impulse.

As the Master says in the Third Book of the *Sentences*, Christ knew that the prayer would not be heard, nor did he wish that prayer to be heard; nevertheless, he did not pray it in vain. Hence the Psalm says in his person: “My God, I shall cry by day and by night, and you will not hear; nevertheless it shall not be imputed to me as foolishness.” Rather, he prayed to give us the form showing that in straits we may lawfully ask to be delivered from them if that is according to God’s will. If we are not heard, we ought to judge that God does not will it, and therefore we must bear it patiently.

When the prayer had been made, he returned to the place where he had left the disciples--those three, Peter, James, and John. Approaching them and finding them asleep, he said to Simon, who had promised more fully to die for him: “Simon, are you sleeping? Could you not watch one hour with me?”

To all the others as well he said: “Watch and pray, lest you enter into temptation,” that is, lest you succumb to temptation. “The spirit indeed is willing,” that is, reason and fervor are willing to suffer and to act well, “but the flesh is weak,” that is, sensuality is too feeble to execute what the spirit dictates and urges.

Leaving them, he again went to the place where he had prayed before and poured forth the same prayer. Returning to the disciples a second time, he found them asleep, for their eyes were weighed down by sorrow and sleep. He left them and returned to the place a third time, expressing the same words in prayer.

As Luke alone says, “An angel from heaven appeared to him, strengthening him,” that is, speaking words of consolation to that sensitive part which was terrified by the representation made to it of the immense punishment he was now to endure: O Lord, our Lord, this Passion will pass quickly, and from it the greatest fruit will follow--the redemption of the human race, which you have loved so greatly, and the restoration of our ruin. Therefore let your heart be strengthened.

“And being in agony,” that is, anxiety, “he prayed more earnestly.” He felt such great affliction in that agony from considering the imminent Passion that “his sweat became like drops of blood running down to the ground.”

When he afterward came to the disciples and found them asleep, he said: “Sleep now and take your rest. It is enough.” To show, after laying aside every fear, that he suffered voluntarily, he said: “Rise; let us go toward our adversaries.” Judas had not slept in pursuing the betrayal. “Behold, the one who will betray me will draw near.”

While he was still speaking, behold, a crowd came, and Judas, one of the Twelve, went before them. Judas knew the place, John says, because Jesus frequently assembled there with the disciples, especially on feast days, teaching them something sublime. He preferred them to be removed from the people’s tumult when he taught them such things.

Therefore, as Theophilus says, Judas imagined that, since the solemnity had already begun [i.e., Theophylact], Jesus would be there with the disciples to teach them. For Jesus often remained outside the city at night, and Judas therefore did not go to the house where he had left him.

He did not come alone. As John says, he received a cohort--that is, soldiers from the governor--and attendants from the chief priests and Pharisees, with lanterns and torches, lest Jesus be able to flee secretly, and with weapons for resistance and attack in case the crowds devoted to him should wish to free him from their hands. Therefore they brought Gentile soldiers, induced by money, so that they might be more greatly feared.

Jesus therefore went forward to meet them and said, as John alone testifies: “Whom do you seek?” He did not say this as though he did not know, but wishing to show that even though he was present, they could neither see him nor distinguish him from the others.

When they answered, “Jesus of Nazareth,” Jesus said: “I am he.” Chrysostom says that, although he stood in their midst, he blinded their eyes. When Jesus said, “I am he,” at this utterance they all fell backward to the ground together with Judas. According to Chrysostom, Jesus did this to show that they could not only not seize him, but could not even see him unless he himself permitted it.

Augustine says: What will he do when he comes to judge, seeing that he did this when he was to be judged? Even now Christ says everywhere through the Gospel, “I am he”; and Antichrist is awaited by the Jews, so that they may go backward and fall to the ground, since they abandon heavenly things and desire earthly ones.

He asked them again: “Whom do you seek?” Chrysostom says: Lest someone say that Christ himself induced the Jews to kill him by handing himself over into their hands, he manifestly showed them all the things which were sufficient to call them back. But because they persisted in malice and had no excuse, he then handed himself over into their hands.

Hence, when they answered a second time, “Jesus of Nazareth,” he said: “I told you that I am he. Therefore, if you seek me, let these go,” namely my disciples. It is as though he said: I hand myself over to you; release these men. Chrysostom says that to the final hour he thereby displayed the constancy of his love toward his own.

Then, as Luke says, Judas approached to kiss him. For, according to Mark, the betrayer had given them a sign, saying: “Whomever I shall kiss, he is the one; seize him and lead him away carefully.”

The Master says in the *Scholastic History* that James the Less was very like Christ in appearance, to such a degree that one who had not enjoyed familiar association with them would not have known how to distinguish one from the other. Judas, however, who had long associated with them, knew how to distinguish them. Therefore, lest the others, after being given signs concerning Jesus’s appearance, seize James in his place, he gave the sign of a kiss.

He added: “Lead him away carefully,” lest Jesus escape from their hands, although this most wicked man had experienced that, when Jesus willed it, no one could touch him even when he stood in their midst.

Approaching, therefore, Judas kissed him, saying: “Hail, Rabbi.” Jesus said to him: “Friend, for what have you come?” It is as though he said: Although I have regarded you as my dearest friend, to what a great offense have you come? “Judas, do you betray the Son of Man with a kiss?” as Luke reports. A kiss is the sign of love and peace, and you commit betrayal with this sign.

Chrysostom says: We must not cease from admonishing our brothers even though nothing comes about because of our words. If you do not persuade today, perhaps you will persuade tomorrow. A fisherman who draws empty nets all day catches a fish in the evening. Hence, although the Lord knew that Judas would not be converted, he did not cease to do what pertained to him. He sets down Judas’s own name first, saying “Judas,” which belonged more to one who grieved and called him back than to one provoked to anger.

When the disciples saw what was about to happen, namely Jesus’s capture, they said, according to Luke: “Lord, shall we strike with the sword,” namely in order to defend you? Peter, more fervent than the others, did not wait for the answer. Drawing his sword from its sheath and striking the high priest’s servant, whose name was Malchus, as John says, he cut off his right ear.

Ambrose says: When the Lord’s Passion is read, if we refer the weakness of bodily suffering to his divinity, the ear is cut off--and it is cut off by Peter, who did not suffer Christ to be regarded as a prophet, but taught by faithful confession that he should be marked as God’s Son. This is in Cause 24, Question 1, canon *Si Petrus*.

That servant, being more audacious than the others, wished to stretch out his hands to seize Jesus. For this reason Peter, intending to strike his head, cut off his ear when he ducked away from the blow.

All the Evangelists narrate this cutting off, but John and Matthew add the rebuke Jesus gave Peter, saying: “Return your sword to its sheath.” For the prelates of the Church may not use the material sword, as was permitted in the Old Testament, as is clear in Phinehas and others, but the spiritual sword.

“Do you not wish me to drink the cup my Father has given me?” That is: Do you not wish me to endure the Passion? “For everyone who takes the sword,” namely by his own authority and without its being given to him by God or by law, “will perish by the sword”--by the temporal sword if he is justly judged, or at least by the sword of the divine sentence in the other life if he does not repent.

Augustine says in Cause 23, Question 4: He takes the sword who, without any superior and legitimate authority either commanding or granting it, is armed to shed another person’s blood.

“Do you think that I cannot ask my Father, and he will furnish me”--that is, for my defense--“more than twelve legions of angels?” A legion is a number containing six thousand six hundred sixty-six. And if one angel alone killed one hundred eighty-three thousand [read: one hundred eighty-five thousand] men from Sennacherib’s army in one night, what would so many thousands of angels do?

Now, therefore, is not the time of vengeance but of humiliation. For how will the Scriptures which speak so many things concerning the Passion be fulfilled if I do not permit them to inflict it, since God has foreordained and foretold that it must so happen?

Luke alone records the healing of the servant. Jesus said: “Suffer thus far,” namely, permit him to come to me. When he had touched his ear, he healed him. The fountain of piety could not restrain himself from bestowing benefits even upon his enemies.

Jesus said to the chief priests, magistrate of the Temple, and elders: “You have come out with swords and clubs to seize me as though against a robber, although I was with you daily and you did not seize me.” It is as though he said: You have seen by experience that you could not apprehend me if I did not will it. It was therefore unnecessary for you to come to capture me as one goes against a robber, lest he be able to escape. “But this is your hour,” that is, permitted by me for you to seize me, “and the power of darkness” granted to those held in the darkness of sins.

Then they laid hands upon Jesus and bound him so that they might lead him away captive. When this was done, all the disciples fled, leaving him.

As to the fourth consideration, § IV: his being led before different judges

It should be known that he was presented first before Annas; second before Caiaphas, where Peter denied him and false testimony was given against him; and third he was handed over to Pilate.

Thus, as John says, the chief priests, the magistrate of the Temple, and the scribes, who had come not in person, as Augustine says, but through their attendants, finally bound Jesus as a robber. They led him away captive, it is credible, with many insults, mockeries, shouts, and blows, holding him as their mortal enemy. The way was fairly long.

A certain young man followed them, as Mark alone reports, clothed with a linen cloth over his naked body. The attendants, thinking he was a disciple of Jesus, attempted to seize him, but, leaving the cloth with them, he fled naked from them. Some say that this young man was John, others James the Less; but the more common and truer opinion is that he was neither of them, but a certain man whose dwelling was on the road by which Jesus was being led. Since he had already gone to sleep, when he heard the noise of those passing he arose. So that he could perceive the cause of the shouts more quickly, he took a linen garment over his flesh and left the house. Seeing Jesus led away captive, he followed them, moved by devotion or curiosity.

Entering the city, the attendants led Jesus to the chief priest Annas, father-in-law of Caiaphas, who, as chief priest that year, had given counsel concerning Jesus’s death. There were several chief priests who exercised the office of high priest for a time, either by lot or for a price, as Caiaphas did according to Josephus.

They therefore first led him to Annas, which John alone reports. Either they did this because Annas’s dwelling was on the way by which they went to Caiaphas’s house, so as to please them both--for they were related not only in the flesh but also in crime--or so that Caiaphas, if accused of having proceeded against Jesus, might be better excused by the counsel of the elder man as well.

Peter followed at a distance, and so did another disciple who is believed to have been John.

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Six, § IV (continued)

Peter followed at a distance because he feared that he might be thought one of Jesus's disciples. According to Ambrose, he followed at a distance because, led by fear of the Passion, he was already withdrawing from Christ in his mind. According to Bede, he followed at a distance because, although the Church signified in Peter follows Christ in his sufferings, it nevertheless does so from afar: Christ's Church suffers for its own sins, but Christ suffers for the Church, and the two sufferings differ as greatly as an injury to the Creator differs from an injury to the creature.

The attendants entered the courtyard of the chief priest Annas and stationed Jesus, bound, before Annas. John entered with that crowd because he was known to the chief priest, perhaps because before his discipleship, while he was a fisherman, he reserved selected fish for him and carried them to him. Peter did not dare to enter, but his companion John approached the maidservant who kept the door and asked her to permit him to enter.

When she did so, she looked at Peter and said: "Are you not also one of this man's disciples?"

According to the Doctor, note that the first cause of the Lord's Passion was the fault of both our parents, Adam and Eve. To intimate that both sexes were to be liberated through that Passion, divine dispensation therefore provided that not only the male but also the female sex should take part in it. What the maidservant could not do against the person of Christ because she was of a lower condition, she contrived to do against his disciple by instigating him to denial; or rather, when he was discovered to be a disciple, she intended that he should be seized and afflicted.

Peter immediately denied it, saying: "Woman, I do not know him." Chrysostom says: What are you doing, Peter? Your voice has suddenly changed. No scourges, no harsh torments have been inflicted upon you. No one who can terrify you by the authority of the court is questioning you. It is a woman who questions you, and a lowly maidservant, for she is the doorkeeper.

Ambrose says: Peter denied because he made his promise incautiously.

Augustine says in Cause 12, Question 3: Not only does the person who says that Christ is not Christ deny Christ, but so too does one who, although he is a Christian, denies that he is a Christian. For the Lord did not say to Peter, "You will deny that you are my disciple." He therefore denied Christ himself when he denied that he was Christ's disciple. But what else did he do in this way except deny that he was a Christian? Did Peter not deny Christ, as some try to excuse him with perverse favor, because, when questioned by the maidservant, he answered that he did not know the man? Thus Augustine.

The Gloss also says there that although someone believes in Christ in his heart, if he denies him with his mouth, he is not excused from mortal sin. Thomas says the same in the *Summa*.

Annas the chief priest began to question Jesus about his teaching and his disciples, as John alone writes. He did this not from a desire to understand the truth, but for an occasion to calumniate him, as though his teaching were contrary to the Law or as though he had assembled disciples because he sought sedition.

Christ answered him most gently, saying: "I have spoken openly to the world. I have always taught in the Temple and in the synagogue, where all the Jews assemble, and in secret I have spoken nothing"--without, that is, at least some disciples being present. "Why do you question me? Question those who heard me. Behold, all these know what I have said." He also spoke nothing in secret as one trembling or inciting sedition, as some supposed. "Question those who heard me," and so forth.

It is as though, according to Chrysostom, he said: Why do you question me about my followers? Question my enemies who plot against me. These are the words of one confident in the truth of the things that were said. For this is an incontrovertible demonstration of truth: when someone brings his enemies forward as witnesses.

Then one of the attendants standing by struck Jesus with the palm of his hand, as John alone reports. Chrysostom says that this was Malchus, whose ear Jesus had restored after Peter cut it off. The attendant said: "Do you answer the chief priest thus?"

Jesus, like the gentle lamb led to the sacrifice, answered most gently: "If I have spoken evil"--either in answering the chief priest or in teaching in the Temple--"give testimony concerning the evil."

Augustine says: What is truer, gentler, and more just than this answer? Could not the one who received the blow have willed the person who struck him either to be consumed by fire from heaven, swallowed when the earth opened, rolled about by a demon, or punished with some other, even graver penalty? Which of these things could he who made the world not have commanded by his power? Yet he did none of them.

Cyprian says in Distinction 93: The Lord Jesus, our King, Judge, and Lord, subjected to the Passion, spoke nothing insulting against the person of the chief priest when he received a blow. Rather, he defended his innocence, saying: "If I have spoken evil, give testimony concerning the evil." All these things were done humbly and patiently so that he might furnish us an example of humility and patience.

But note that the Lord did not present his other cheek to be struck. Rather, piously rebuking the injury inflicted, he said: “But if I have spoken well, why do you strike me?”

Here, according to Augustine, note that the Lord did not present the other cheek to the person striking him, but rather prohibited him from doing it and from increasing the injury. Nevertheless, he had come prepared not only to be struck in the face, but also to be killed by crucifixion for those on whose behalf he suffered this.

From this he showed that the precepts he had given concerning that patience--“If someone strikes you on the right cheek, present to him the other also,” and so forth--are to be retained in the heart’s preparation more than executed in the deed. The soul’s patience with benevolence should be preserved in secret, while openly that should be done which appears to benefit them. This is in Cause 23, Question 1, canon *Paratus*.

Finally Annas sent him, bound, to his son-in-law Caiaphas. There, because of the cold, a fire had been lit in the middle of the courtyard. Peter entered with the others so that he might see his Master’s end without being recognized as a disciple of Jesus, and warmed himself with the others at the fire. For because the fire of charity in him was already extinguished, Peter warmed himself at the fire lit in the midst of the synagogue of vices.

Another maidservant looked at him and said to those standing by: “This man also is one of his disciples.” Her words moved the hearers, one of whom said: “Truly you too are one of them.” Peter denied him a second time, saying: “O man, I am not.” Although Peter intended to say that he was not a disciple of Jesus, he nevertheless spoke the truth in another sense, namely that he did not possess spiritual existence.

It should be observed that John places Peter’s first denial in Annas’s house, at which time the cock first crowed, and the second and third in Caiaphas’s house, immediately after which the cock crowed a second time. But the other Evangelists describe all three denials as occurring in Caiaphas’s house.

It can be said that they narrated it in this way because those three Evangelists did not care to mention Jesus’s presentation before Annas, for it was an extraordinary proceeding, since Annas was not the high priest who had authority to examine the case. Rather, to please the two men, who were related, they regarded the proceedings as one judgment; or perhaps both were high priests together for that year, although contrary to the Law. Hence each had authority to examine the case, and they were regarded as one tribunal. Therefore the Evangelists report that the whole denial occurred in Caiaphas’s house, where the matter was concluded.

“After a little while”--how long this little while was Luke expressed, saying: “After an interval of about one hour”--certain people said: “Truly you are one of them, for you are also a Galilean; your speech makes you manifest.” The Galileans did not have a language different from the Jews, for the one Hebrew language was common to them. Rather, their mode of pronunciation or accent differed, just as between the Sienese and Florentines.

When Peter wished to excuse himself, a relative of Malchus, whose ear Christ had healed, said: “Did I not see you in the garden with him when we seized him?” Then Peter, so that he might be believed more readily, began to swear, anathematize, and protest that he had not known him. Immediately the cock crowed a second time.

There are several mysteries here. First, this denial by Peter signifies the mortal offense of anyone in the Church. For, as Jerome says, whenever we are conquered by vices and sins, we deny God. This is in Cause 11, Question 3, canon *Existimant*.

The threefold denial signifies a threefold offense of heart, mouth, and deed. This denial of offense occurred at the instigation of the maidservant and of vices, that is, at the suggestion or incitement of sensuality and of demons, either by themselves or through the persuasion of evil men.

At the cock’s crow Peter recognized his excess--not at the first crow, but at the second, because the sinner is pierced and repents when the preaching or admonition of the good reaches not only the ears but the mind.

Second, one should know, according to Gregory in a homily, that almighty God permitted the one whom he had arranged to preside over the whole Church to fear a maidservant’s voice and deny himself, surely by a great dispensation of piety, so that, as the future shepherd of the Church, he might learn from his own fault how he ought to have mercy on others. This is in Distinction 50, canon *Considerandum*.

Luke says that the Lord turned and looked upon Peter. It is as though he said: Recognize your sin. Here also his immense compassion is shown. Placed amid mockeries and torturers, as though forgetful of his own punishments, he looks upon Peter in sorrow for Peter’s fall, so that he may weep.

Augustine nevertheless says that this look and turning should be understood more of the conversion and spiritual regard of divine mercy than of a bodily look. Of such a regard it is said by the prophet: “Turn, O Lord, and deliver my soul,” and also: “Look upon me,” and so forth.

“And Peter went outside and wept bitterly.” While conversing with the good, with the disciples, he confessed Christ to be the Son of God. Finding himself among the evil Jews, he denied him. Separated from the wicked, he wept over the denial.

During that night, the most wicked and cruel attendants who held Jesus bound afflicted him in many ways, according to the saying, “My chastisement is in the mornings.” For, as Luke says, they mocked him while striking him; they veiled him and struck his face, saying: “Prophesy to us, Christ: Who is it who struck you?”

O ineffable humility and patience of Jesus Christ! O indescribable cruelty of the Jewish people! They were not ashamed to disfigure with spittle that face full of every grace, upon which the angels desire to gaze. They afflicted with blows that head, the treasury of the treasures of God’s wisdom and knowledge. They covered with veils the Lord’s eyes, brighter than the sun and full of compassion. His ears, which hear the instruments of the saints and the thrones of angels, were filled with the insults and blasphemies of the wicked. Hence Luke himself says: “And they spoke many other things against him, blaspheming.”

When morning came, all the chief priests, elders of the people, and scribes assembled promptly in council, seeking false testimony against Jesus so that they might hand him over to death, but they did not find it.

Finally two false witnesses came, as Matthew and Mark report, who said: “We heard this man say: ‘I am able to destroy this Temple made by hand and in three days to rebuild another not made by hand.’” Their testimonies did not agree.

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Six, §§ IV-V (continued)

And rightly so, because he had never said this. Rather, he had said: “Destroy this Temple,” that is, you will destroy this Temple, “and in three days I shall raise it up,” speaking of the temple of his body, not of Solomon’s Temple.

The chief priest, namely Caiaphas, rose and said: “Do you answer nothing to the things these men testify against you?” But Jesus remained silent, knowing that he questioned him not for the sake of discovering the truth but for the sake of calumniating him.

Certain others among the more prominent men said: “If you are Christ, tell us.” Christ answered, as Luke reports: “If I tell you, you will not believe me. If I question you, you will not answer me or release me. But from this time the Son of Man will be seated at the right hand of God’s power.” It is as though he said: Because I am judged unjustly, through this I will be given the power to judge the world.

Because he had not openly said that he was the Son of God, the chief priest rose, indicating the madness of his mind by the movement of his body, and said, as Matthew and Mark report: “I adjure you by the living God to tell us whether you are Christ, the Son of the blessed God.” Jesus was not bound to answer him, because he was not his superior. Hence Caiaphas also sinned gravely by adjuring him in this manner. Nevertheless, out of reverence for the divine name invoked, Jesus answered: “You have said it, because I am the Son of God.”

Then the chief priest tore his garments, saying: “He has blasphemed. What further need have we of witnesses? Behold, you have all heard the blasphemy. What does it seem to you?” They all answered: “He is guilty of death.”

Although those men were exceedingly wicked and were falsely moved when they said that Jesus blasphemed by calling himself the Son of God--in which he spoke the supreme truth--they nevertheless so abhorred blasphemies against God that they could not bear to hear them patiently, but judged such a person guilty of death and tore their garments as a sign of detestation. In this was also figured the coming destruction of the Jewish priesthood, as Gratian says in Cause 2, Question 7.

Then they led Jesus, spat upon, beaten, and bound, to Pilate.

When Judas the betrayer saw that Jesus was to be adjudged to death, he was moved to penance, as Matthew reports, and returned the thirty silver pieces to the chief priests and elders, saying: “I have sinned by betraying innocent blood.” But they answered: “What is that to us? See to it yourself.” It is as though they said: If you have done evil, undergo the penalty yourself.

Augustine says: Judas, who repented, went to the Pharisees, abandoning the Apostles, and found no help, but only an increase of despair. For they said: “What is that to us? See to it yourself. If you have sinned, let it be your concern. We shall not aid you, nor receive your sins in charity, nor teach you how to lay down the burden.” What have we to do with mercy, we who do not even follow the works of justice?

He should have gone to his brothers. He should have gone to those who prayed for Peter’s mother-in-law when she was feverish, and who presented the importunate Canaanite woman to mercy. He should have asked Peter, who was pouring out tears on his own behalf. He should not have fled Mary and Martha, who obtained life for Lazarus. He went to those who were divided, namely the Pharisees, and, himself divided, he perished. This is in *De penitentia*, Distinction 6, canon 1.

Casting the thirty silver pieces into the Temple, he departed and hanged himself with a noose. Acts 1 says: “Being hanged, he burst asunder in the middle, and all his bowels poured out; and this matter became known to all who dwelt in Jerusalem.”

Jerome says in *De penitentia*, Distinction 3: It profited Judas nothing to perform a penance through which he could not correct his crime. For if a brother sins against a brother in such a way that he can make amends, it can be forgiven him. If the deeds remain, penance is undertaken in vain. Thus Jerome.

Pope Leo likewise says: O Judas, you proved more wicked than all and more unhappy; penance did not call you back to God, but despair drew you to the noose, and so forth. This is in *De penitentia*, Distinction 3.

Taking the silver pieces, the chief priests said: "It is not lawful to put"--that is, return--"them into the *corbona*," that is, the place of offerings, "because it is the price of blood." Having taken counsel, they bought with them the potter's field for the burial of foreigners. They wished to cover the cruelty of their crime beneath a work of piety, namely the purchase of a field for burial. But lest their crime remain hidden from the world, by God's dispensation that purchased field was called Acheldemach, which in Latin means "Field of Blood."

In this deed Matthew the Evangelist shows that Jeremiah's prophecy was fulfilled, which says: "They took"--namely the chief priests--"the thirty silver pieces, the price of the one appraised"; that is, thirty silver pieces were the price of Christ, who was appraised. "Whom they appraised," that is, whom the Jews themselves offered for a price. "And they took them from the children of Israel," that is, from Judas, who was one of the children of Israel. The plural is put for the singular, because he cast them into the Temple. "And they gave them for the potter's field," namely to buy the field for the burial of foreigners. This prophecy is also found in part in Zechariah 13 [read: Zechariah 11:12-13].

As to the fifth consideration, § V: the examination and decision of his case before Pilate

John says that the attendants of the Jews led Jesus "to Caiaphas into the praetorium," and they themselves did not enter the praetorium, lest they be defiled, but so that they might eat the Passover. Pilate therefore went out to them.

A praetorium means the praetor's seat, that is, a place for giving judgment. The expression is obscure, because when it is said that the Jews did not enter the praetorium, it appears to speak of Pilate's praetorium. Since he was a Gentile, they thought that entering his house during that solemnity would defile them, that is, make them unclean. But how was it said just before that the Jews led Christ into the praetorium to Caiaphas?

Augustine reconciles this as follows. In Caiaphas's house, which was broad and spacious, there was both Caiaphas's praetorium, where he judged certain matters, and, in another part of the house, Pilate's praetorium, where he also judged in cases of blood. Thus Christ was led from one praetorium, namely Caiaphas's, to the other, namely Pilate's.

Or it may be that Caiaphas, leaving Jesus in his own palace, went to Pilate's house to give him some information. Caiaphas nevertheless did not wish to enter Pilate's praetorium with his companions because Pilate was a Gentile; rather, Pilate went out to him and his associates. Then Caiaphas, returning to his own palace, sent Jesus bound to Pilate.

Pilate therefore went out to them and said: "What accusation do you bring against this man?" But they answered, as John reports: "If this man were not an evildoer, we would not have handed him over to you." Pilate said to them: "Take him yourselves and judge him according to your Law," namely, since you do not state his wrongdoing to me.

They answered: "It is not lawful for us to put anyone to death." For because they were subject to the Romans, the Jews did not possess jurisdiction in a capital case. Rather, this belonged to the governor whom the Romans sent there to rule them. At that time Pontius Pilate was governor on behalf of the Romans.

Pilate said to them: "What evil has this man done?" They then explained, saying according to Luke: "We have found this man subverting our nation, forbidding tribute to be given to Caesar, and saying that he is Christ, a king."

All these things were false. He was not subverting the nation by seeking to gather a people for sedition, but was converting it to salvation by instilling humility and subjection. Nor did he forbid tax or tribute to be given to Caesar. Rather, when a question on this subject had been put to him by certain people, he answered: "Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's." Nor did he make himself a king. When the people whom he had satisfied with five barley loaves and two fish wished to make him king, he fled; and he walked as a poor man among the poor and meek.

Pilate therefore passed over the first two charges as frivolous and false. Entering the praetorium, he questioned Jesus about the third, saying: "Are you the King of the Jews?" Jesus answered, as John reports: "Do you say this of yourself, or have others told you about me," namely that I am King of the Jews?

Pilate answered him: "Am I a Jew? Your nation and your chief priests have handed you over to me." It is as though he said: I am not a Jew, so as to know your manner of life; but the Jews, who know your deeds, have given you into my hands. "What, therefore, have you done? Explain for what cause they led you to me bound as a guilty man."

Jesus answered him, as John alone narrates: "My kingdom is not of this world." It is as though he said: I do not conduct myself as a temporal king, nor do I usurp royal dignity for myself as my nation charged. Rather, I walk as one poor, needy, and abject. "For if

my kingdom were of this world, my attendants would certainly strive that I not be handed over to the Jews." They would fight for me and defend me, lest my adversaries prevail against me. "But now my kingdom is not from here." For the spiritual kingdom of virtues, which leads to the eternal kingdom, was what he sought for us and what he suffered in order to confer upon us.

When Pilate asked him, "What have you done?" Jesus could have answered: These are the things I have done among this people. I brought their father Abraham out of Ur of the Chaldeans. I was the protector of him, Isaac, and Jacob wherever they walked. I sent Joseph ahead into Egypt to sustain them during the Egyptian famine, establishing him there as though a lord. I led them out of Pharaoh's harsh servitude, after the Egyptians had been struck with many plagues and finally submerged in the sea. I chose this people as my peculiar people from all nations, giving them my Law. I fed them with manna in the desert for forty years. I led them into the Promised Land after its inhabitants had been conquered, and so forth.

Finally, assuming flesh from them, I associated humbly among them. I bestowed benefits upon them all, performing innumerable healings. I restored sight to the blind, walking to the lame, hearing to the deaf, speech to the mute, cleanness to lepers, and life to the dead. I gave pardon to sinners, joy to the sorrowful, grace to many, and the teaching of wisdom to the ignorant. These, Pilate, are the things I have done, for which they can accuse me, if these things are worthy of accusation.

Then Pilate said to him: "Therefore you are a king," namely because you have a kingdom, even if it is not of this world. Jesus answered: "You say it," namely the truth, "because I am a king," and rightly so. For I possess all dominion and am above all things; to me every knee of those in heaven, on earth, and under the earth is bent.

"For this I was born," he adds, "and for this I came into the world: that I might bear witness to the truth" by reproving vices and confuting errors. Because truth produces hatred, the Jews, unwilling that their vices be reproved, contrived his death out of hatred. "Everyone who is of the truth"--that is, one who delights in truth, or who is begotten by grace from God, who is truth--"hears my voice" by observing my most true teaching.

Pilate said to him: "What is truth?" Pilate did not wait for an answer, panting for his release. For Matthew and Mark say that he knew they had handed him over through envy.

Pilate therefore went out to them, saying: "I find no cause of death in this man." But they cried out, saying: "He has stirred up the whole people," namely by making seditions and gathering peoples to himself for rebellion, "teaching from Galilee as far as here," namely in Judea.

Hearing Galilee named, as Luke reports, Pilate asked and learned that Jesus was a Galilean, that is, that he had been brought up and had lived in Galilee. He sent Jesus, bound and accompanied by his accusers, to Herod, king of Galilee, who had then come to Jerusalem for that solemnity, as one belonging to Herod's jurisdiction and judgment because he was his subject.

When Herod saw Jesus brought before him, he greatly rejoiced, for he had long desired to see him because he had heard many things concerning him and hoped to see some sign performed by him. The chief priests also stood before Herod, accusing Jesus of many things. Herod questioned him on many matters, but Jesus answered none of them, because Herod sought those things not for the sake of truth but from curiosity.

When Herod perceived this, he despised Jesus together with his army. Clothing him in a white linen garment as a madman, he sent him back to Pilate. From this bestowal of honor which Pilate made to Herod, Herod and Pilate became friends with each other, although they had previously been enemies.

That hostility had arisen because Pilate seemed to have disturbed Herod's jurisdiction by killing a certain Judas the Galilean, who had gathered many men to himself as though making himself prince of the Jewish people, while they were occupied with sacrifices on a certain mountain.

When Jesus was returned to Pilate, Pilate said: "You have brought me this man as though he were subverting the people; and behold, questioning him before you, I find no cause in him concerning the things of which you accuse him. Nor does Herod, for he sent him back to us, and behold, nothing worthy of death has been done by him. I shall therefore correct him and release him."

But they cried out, saying: "Crucify him, crucify him." Pilate therefore thought that if he caused Jesus to be scourged harshly, the Jews, moved by compassion, would seek no further penalty or punishment for him. Pilate therefore seized Jesus and scourged him, as John reports. The Psalm shows that this scourging was prolonged, saying in his person: "I was scourged all day," that is, for a great part of the day. Isaiah 52 [read: Isaiah 53:5] says: "The chastisement of our peace was upon him, and by his bruise," namely from the dreadful blows, "we are healed."

Pilate led him outside after he had been scourged and said: "Behold the man." It is as though he said: Does he not seem sufficiently chastised to you? But they cried: "Crucify him, crucify him." Pilate said: "I find no cause of death in him. Yet you have a custom that I release to you one of those bound," namely one worthy of death.

The Jews had introduced this custom so that, in memory of the benefit received from God in such a solemnity--namely the liberation of that people from the death of the firstborn and from the deadly Egyptian servitude--one of the captured evildoers who

was to be punished with death would be granted free to the people, while the others would be judged to death. The Roman governors preserved this custom for them.

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Six, §§ V-VI (continued)

Pilate therefore said to them: “Which of the two do you wish to be released: Jesus, who is called Christ, or Barabbas?” According to John, Barabbas was a robber; according to the others, also a murderer, because he had committed murder during a sedition.

But the chief priests persuaded the crowds to ask for Barabbas. They all therefore cried: “Not this man, but Barabbas.” Pilate said to them: “What then shall I do with Jesus, who is called Christ?” They answered: “Let him be crucified.” Pilate said: “Take him yourselves and crucify him, for I find no cause in him.”

They answered: “We have a Law, and according to our Law he ought to die because he made himself the Son of God.” Seeing that Pilate was striving for his release, they said: “If you release this man, you are not Caesar’s friend. For everyone who makes himself a king opposes Caesar.”

When Pilate heard this, he feared more--but with worldly fear, lest he incur Caesar’s indignation if accused and be deprived of that dignity. Pilate therefore entered the praetorium again and asked Jesus: “Where are you from?” But Jesus gave no answer.

Pilate said: “Do you not speak to me? Do you not know that I have power to crucify you and to release you?” Jesus answered: “You would have no power at all over me unless it had been given you from above,” namely by God’s permission. “Therefore, the one who handed me over to you has the greater sin.”

It is as though he said: Even if you do this with God’s permission, you are nevertheless not excused from sin in condemning me, since you yourself say that you have power to release me, and you have already confessed publicly that you found no cause of death in me; yet you do not release me. Your sin, however, is not so grave, since it proceeds from weakness, as that of the Jews who handed me over to you for death, since theirs proceeds from malice.

Seeing therefore that he accomplished nothing, but that a greater tumult arose as they demanded with loud voices that Jesus be crucified, Pilate released Barabbas to them as they asked. He led Jesus outside and sat at the tribunal in a place called Lichostratos [read: Lithostrotos], and in Hebrew Gabbatha. It was the Preparation of the Passover, at about the sixth hour.

Mark, however, says that they crucified him at the third hour. Augustine resolves this apparent discrepancy in a perilous way in *De penitentia*, Distinction 1, as follows: Christ was crucified at the third hour by voices, namely by the Jews’ tongues as they demanded it, which Mark records; but he was actually crucified by the hands of the Gentiles at the sixth hour, as John reports.

As to the sixth consideration, § VI: the execution of the sentence of the cross

While Pilate was seated at the tribunal, his wife sent to him, as Matthew testifies, saying: “Have nothing to do with that just man.” It is as though she said: Take care not to pass sentence against him. “For I have suffered many things this night because of him,” namely terrible visions and threats.

It is believed that because the devil began to perceive that Jesus was the Redeemer of the human race and to sense the power of the cross, since he felt the fathers in limbo already exulting over the liberation they awaited, he therefore tried to impede it. Accordingly, in dreams he sent Pilate’s wife visions threatening evils that would happen to Pilate if he condemned Christ, so that after hearing these things Pilate might withdraw. But the devil could accomplish nothing.

For when Pilate said, almost in mockery, “Behold your king,” they cried: “Away with him, away with him; crucify him.” Pilate asked them: “Shall I crucify your king?” They answered: “We have no king but Caesar.”

Then, as Matthew says, Pilate took water before the people and washed his hands, saying: “I am innocent of the blood of this just man.” It is as though he said: Insofar as it rests with me, I do not condemn him, knowing that he is just; but your insistence compels me to condemn him. “See to it yourselves.”

Certainly this did not excuse him, because a judge must never condemn an innocent person contrary to the order and form of law in order to avoid any evil or scandal whatsoever, as happened here.

The people cried: “His blood be upon us and upon our children.” It is as though they said: If you sin in this, let the penalty and vengeance for this sin come upon us and our children. This imprecation certainly befell them. For in punishment of so great a crime Jerusalem was captured, countless thousands of people died by the sword, pestilence, and famine, and those who remained were sold as slaves and dispersed throughout the world.

When sentence had therefore been given against Jesus that he should be crucified, the governor's soldiers gathered the whole cohort around him, as Matthew testifies. Stripping him of his garments, they placed around him a scarlet cloak, namely of a red color, like a purple robe. Plaiting a crown of thorns, they placed it upon his head in place of a crown. This crown or wreath is said to have been made of hard, long thorns which pierced his head as far as the brain. They gave him a reed in his hand and struck his head.

Finally, after these insults and mockeries, they removed the scarlet cloak, dressed him in his own garments, and led him to the place of Calvary, accompanied by two robbers who had also been condemned to the cross for their crimes. Thus Isaiah 53's prophecy was fulfilled: "He was numbered among the wicked."

He carried the cross for himself according to the figure of Isaac, who carried upon his shoulders the wood upon which he was to be stretched out and killed. Chrysostom says that at that place where Jesus was crucified, not Abraham's son but a ram whose head was caught in thorns was also killed, because not the Son of God the Father, but the humanity of the Church's leader, crowned with thorns, died.

"And carrying the cross for himself." Theophilus [i.e., Theophylact] says that here Isaiah's saying is fulfilled: "The government was placed upon his shoulder." For Jesus's government is the cross, because of which God exalted him, according to the Apostle. Just as others carry a belt or a miter as the sign of their dignity, so Christ carried the cross. If you inquire, you will find that Jesus reigns in us in no other way than through hardships, from which it follows that those devoted to pleasures are Christ's enemies.

But because Jesus had been weakened by the scourges, thorns, and night watches with which he had been afflicted, he walked slowly with the cross. The Jews feared lest, because of this delay, Pilate--whom they had seen pass sentence as though unwillingly--revoke it and grant him life. Finding on the way a certain man named Simon of Cyrene, coming from a village, the father of Alexander and Rufus, as Matthew and Mark report, they compelled him to carry Jesus's cross so that Jesus could walk more quickly.

Simon carried the cross behind Jesus because, according to Ambrose, it was fitting that Christ first raise the trophy of the cross himself and afterward hand it over to the martyrs to be raised. This Simon was not a Jew, but a foreigner and pilgrim, because he was a Cyrenian. Nor did he carry the cross before Jesus, but after him; for the Gentile people, not the Jewish, follows and bears the cross, fulfilling the saying: "Let him take up his cross and follow me."

Coming from a village, he embraces the cross and, leaving pagan rites behind, follows Christ's footsteps, Bede says. For *villa* is said in Latin and *pagos* in Greek; hence pagans are named from *pagos*. Simon is interpreted "obedient," because he obeys the divine precepts.

A great multitude of the people's women followed him, who lamented and bewailed him, compassionating him out of devotion. Jesus turned to them and comforted them, as Luke alone reports, saying: "Daughters of Jerusalem, do not weep over me as I am about to die, because a glorious Resurrection will quickly undo death, and my death itself will destroy death and the author of death, the devil," Bede says. "Rather, weep over yourselves and your children," namely because of the evils that will come upon you.

"For behold, days will come in which they shall say: Blessed are the barren, and the wombs which have not borne, and the breasts which have not nursed." He said this because of the future siege by the Romans, during which they came to such a calamity of famine that some mothers ate their own children.

"Then," seeing themselves in such great straits, "they shall begin to say to the mountains: Fall upon us; and to the hills: Cover us." Bede reports that Josephus says that when the Romans pressed upon them, the Jews sought the caves of mountains and hills in troops in order to escape.

"For if they do these things in the green wood, what will be done in the dry?" According to Theophilus [i.e., Theophylact]: If the Romans do this to me, who am green wood bearing fruit through virtue, what will they do to the Jewish people, dry and fruitless? Or, according to Bede: If I, who am without sin and am called the wood of life, do not depart from this world without the fire of the Passion, what torment do you think hangs over those who are empty of the fruits of good works?

After they came to the place called Calvary, they crucified him there. Some, like the Hebrews, wished to say that it was called the place of Calvary because Adam's skull--that is, the head of the first man--was buried there. But Jerome rejects this because Adam's tomb is said to be in Hebron. Bede says instead that outside the gate were places where the heads of condemned people were cut off, and therefore it was called the place of Calvary. Thus the innocent one is crucified as though guilty among the guilty for the salvation of all, so that where sin abounded, grace might abound yet more.

Before fastening him to the cross, they gave him myrrhed wine, that is, wine mixed with the most bitter myrrh; or, as Matthew says, wine mixed with gall. The Jews had a custom, still observed among Christians in many places, that when weakened guilty persons were led to death, they should be fortified against its horror with confections and the best wine. In place of this, to increase Christ's punishment, they gave him myrrhed wine.

When they stripped him of all his garments, they renewed his wounds. For since his whole body had been torn or flayed by the harshest scourges, the garments he had put on again adhered firmly to his flesh. They could not now be separated from it without great pain and wounding, as happens to wounds when their bandages are removed.

None of the Evangelists explains the manner of the crucifixion. Hence, according to some, it could have been done by laying the cross upon the ground, fastening Jesus's body to it by his hands and feet, and then raising it. Or they may first have raised the cross and set and secured its trunk in the earth, and afterward fastened his body upon it, someone supporting the body while his hands and then his feet were fastened with iron nails, which were quite thick, as is shown.

Because from the fastening and the greatest pain the sinews were drawn back and the limbs shortened, when they fastened the second hand and the feet they also drew the other arm and the feet violently with a rope to such a degree that all the bones of his body could be counted. Thus was fulfilled what the Psalm foretold in Christ's person: "They pierced my hands and my feet; they counted all my bones." No history teaches that this was fulfilled in David or another person of that people, but in our Lord Jesus Christ.

The title containing the cause of death was written on a small tablet in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew letters, so that those who had assembled from every nation on the feast day could read it. The tablet was fastened to a peg placed in the middle of the upper part of the cross, toward which Jesus's head hung. For the cross was by itself in the shape of a tau and had nothing above the transverse beam; rather, a peg with the tablet was added, as has been said.

The writing of the title was: "Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews." John alone reports that because the place where he was crucified was near the city, though outside Jerusalem, almost everyone from the city went to see it. This was for Jesus the greatest punishment of shame, according to the Psalm: "All day my shame is before me, and the confusion of my face has covered me," and so forth.

When the chief priests read the inscription, judging it an injury to themselves that their king had been crucified, they said to Pilate: "Do not say that he is the King of the Jews, but that he said, 'I am King of the Jews,'" so that it might appear that he was crucified for this arrogance and ambition by which he wished to make himself king.

Pilate answered: "What I have written, I have written," that is, I will that inscription to remain established in this form. God arranged this because Christ truly is King of the Jews--literally, both of the Jews and of all nations; morally, King of the Jews, that is, of those who confess, for "Judas" is interpreted "confession" or "one who confesses." He is in a special manner the King--that is, the one who reigns by grace and afterward by glory--of those who confess by believing the articles of faith, disclosing their own defects to a priest, and giving thanks in divine praises.

The Gentile soldiers who fastened him to the cross, Pilate's executioners, divided his garments among themselves by lot, determining who should receive what. All the Evangelists narrate this, but John does so more fully. He says that the four soldiers who crucified him made four parts of the garments, giving his part to each. But they did not divide his tunic, which was seamless and woven from above throughout, that is, made with a needle, saying: "Let us not tear it, but let us cast lots for it, whose it shall be."

John adduces the Psalmist as having foretold this, saying in Christ's person: "They who crucified me parted," or divided, "my garments among themselves, and upon my garment they cast lots," that is, upon the seamless tunic.

Augustine says: By saying, "They divided his garments, casting lots," Matthew wished it to be understood that the tunic concerning which they cast the lot also belonged to the entire division of the garments. Luke's statement is of the same kind: "Dividing his garments, they cast lots." In dividing, they came to the tunic about which the casting of the lot was done. By saying "lots" in the plural, however, he put the plural for the singular.

Mark alone appears to have introduced a question. By saying, "Casting a lot over them, who should take what," he seems to have spoken as though the lot was cast over all the garments, not only over the tunic.

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Six, § VI (continued)

But this brevity also creates obscurity. For "casting a lot over them" was said as though it meant: casting a lot while the garments were being divided. What he says, "who should take what," means who should take the tunic, as though he had stated the whole matter thus: "Casting a lot over them, who should take the tunic which remained beyond the equal parts."

Spiritually, the fourfold garment of our Lord Jesus Christ figured his fourfold Church, spread throughout the four parts of the world and distributed equally--that is, harmoniously--among them. But that tunic assigned by lot signifies the unity of all the parts, which

is held together by the bond of charity. Since charity possesses a more excellent way and rises above knowledge and above all the commandments, the garment that signifies it is rightly woven from above. John added "throughout," because no one who is found to belong to the whole is without charity; from that whole the Church is called catholic. It is seamless so that it may never be torn, and it comes to one man because it gathers all into one.

In the lot, moreover, the grace of God was commended. For when a lot is cast, the outcome is decided not according to anyone's person or merits, but by a hidden judgment. Thus Augustine.

I omit here an account of why Christ endured death on a cross rather than another death.

Matthew and Mark say that the crowds passing by blasphemed him, saying: "Ha! You who destroy the Temple of God and rebuild it in three days!" The chief priests also mocked him with the scribes and elders, saying: "He saved others; he cannot save himself." It is as though they said: Now it appears that he did not truly heal the sick, but did so by the power of Belzebub [i.e., Beelzebub]. "If he is the Son of God, let him now come down from the cross, and we shall believe him. For he said, 'I am the Son of God.'" Pilate's soldiers likewise mocked him, saying: "If you are the King of the Jews, save yourself."

Remaining upon the cross, Jesus endured so many immense pains, so many mockeries and insults. According to Luke alone, the first word he spoke upon the cross instructed us in the love of enemies, for he said: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

Contrary to all justice, it is shown that he, most innocent and without any sin, was injured to the utmost in every respect by those whom he had always benefited, and by the people whom he had taken as his peculiar people: in his substance, when his garments were taken from him; in his reputation, by insults and blasphemies; and in his person, when he was condemned to a most shameful and bitter death. Yet he prayed for them, saying: "Father, forgive them," and so forth. Thus Isaiah 53's prophecy was fulfilled: "He prayed for transgressors," that is, for those acting against the Law, lest they perish.

When two robbers had been crucified with him, one on the right and the other on the left, Matthew and Mark say briefly that those crucified with him cast the same reproaches at him and reviled him. But Luke expresses this more fully, saying that one of the robbers, namely the one on the left, blasphemed him, saying: "If you are Christ, save yourself and us."

It must therefore be said either that when Matthew and Mark speak of both robbers reviling Christ, the plural is put for the singular, because only one of them did so, as Luke says; or, if both reviled Christ, they did so at the beginning. Afterward, however, the one on the right, moved to repentance, rebuked his companion and commended himself to Christ, saying, "Remember me," and so forth, as Luke relates.

Hence Luke adds: "But the other, answering, rebuked him, saying: Do you not even fear God, since you are under the same condemnation," namely as these faithless Jews who crucified this man so innocently? "And we indeed justly," that is, we have been condemned because of our crimes, "for we receive things worthy of our deeds; but this man has done no evil." And he said to Jesus: "Lord, remember me when you come into your kingdom."

Jesus said to him, in what was the second word: "Amen I say to you, today you shall be with me in paradise." This certainly was true. For when Jesus died, on that day his soul, separated from his body and joined to the divinity, descended to the limbo of the fathers. After Christ's death, the soul of this robber, itself separated from his body, also descended--not to the hell of the damned or to purgatory, but to limbo. There, seeing Christ's divinity clearly, it was blessed. This is truly paradise: namely, a place which prepares one for the vision of God.

"Today you shall be with me," and so forth. Jerome says: That you may esteem the little highly, and that, as a rich shepherd, you may not despise a diseased sheep, Christ carried the robber from the cross into paradise; and lest anyone think repentance ever too late, he made the punishment for homicide into martyrdom. This is in *De penitentia*, Distinction 1, canon *Importuna*.

Pope Julius says here: True confession can be made at the very end, just as the robber, by the repentance of one moment, merited to be in paradise at the hour of his last confession. This is in Cause 26, Question 6, canon *Si presbyter*.

Augustine says: He who is abandoned by his sins before he abandons them condemns them not freely, but as though by necessity. For although the robber merited pardon at the end for every crime, he did not thereby give the baptized authority to sin and persevere in sin. He was then baptized for the first time, namely with the baptism of the Spirit, because he then confessed Christ for the first time upon the cross. This is in *De penitentia*, Distinction 7, canon *Nullus*.

Truly marvelous, however, was this robber's devotion and faith. He had not seen Christ perform a miracle, nor seen him preaching or surrounded by crowds thirsting for his teaching, but only crucified with him, while all the leading men--namely, the chief priests, soldiers, and doctors of the Law--mocked and reproached him, and while his own companion did the same. Yet he venerated him as God, confessing his own offenses, rebuking his companion and all who injured Christ, not fearing the Jews' savagery, but humbly commending himself to him and saying: "Remember me," and so forth.

The Apostle Peter and the others deny him, and the people deride him, but this man commends himself to him, acknowledges him as king, and thus commends himself. Jesus, as though forgetful of his own torments, comforted him because of his conversion and faith, promising him the greatest reward: “Today,” he said, “you shall be with me,” and so forth.

The great labor of Christ’s Passion was sufficient for the redemption of all--not only of this world, but of a thousand worlds, if they existed. Yet Jesus, now seeing no fruit follow except the conversion of a single robber, did not despise even this least one, but gathered him also.

The mother of Jesus stood beside the cross, together with his mother’s sister, Mary of Cleophas, and Mary Magdalene. John alone reports this concerning Jesus’s mother and John himself. She stood distressed by grief and wounded by bitterness, but erect in mind and understanding and confirmed in the will of God, which she knew to be that her Son should suffer for the redemption of the human race.

Although all the male and female disciples had fallen away from faith in his divinity, she alone stood firm in faith. Because she knew that the one who suffered was the Son of God, she grieved most deeply at so great an offense committed against God. No mother ever loved her son as much as she loved hers: not only because he was her only-begotten, but because he was generated wholly from her without a father; because he was the best and holiest; and because he was true God. Likewise, no mother ever experienced so great a grief at her son’s death.

Then Simeon’s prophecy was fulfilled: “A sword shall pierce your own soul,” namely the sword of his Passion. Hence the pains which other women endure in childbirth were reserved for her in her Son’s Passion, so that the Psalm’s words might fittingly apply to her: “There were pains as of a woman in labor.” Nor did any martyr ever endure so great a punishment in his torments as the Virgin Mary did beside her Son’s cross. Hence, as Jerome says, she was more than a martyr.

When Jesus saw his mother, lest he seem to have forgotten her, he showed in this the devotion which children ought to display toward their parents and the provision they ought to make for them, as far as possible, when they depart from them. He said to his mother: “Woman, behold your son.” He did not wish to say “Mother,” lest by naming her so he wound her heart more deeply with grief. Rather, “woman” expresses her sex, not a violation of her virginity.

“Behold your son.” It is as though he said: This humanity which is seen is your son who suffers; and because this humanity is to be dissolved through death, behold, lest you remain alone, John shall be your son in my place. He, a virgin, shall be joined to a virgin. For it is believed that her spouse Joseph was then dead; otherwise Christ would not have commended her to anyone other than her spouse, had he been living, as is said in Cause 27, Question 2.

Then he said to the disciple, namely John--although John does not name himself, just as elsewhere he does not name himself when speaking about himself--“Behold your mother,” that is, have her commended to you as a mother. The greatest treasure which I leave on earth I leave to no one other than you, loved above the rest: behold your mother. From that hour John received her as his own mother, or into his care.

Incomparable indeed was this exchange, in which a disciple is given to Mary in place of the Master, a servant in place of the Lord, a little stream in place of the fountain of wisdom, a nephew in place of her Son, and a creature in place of the Creator. Yet she humbly acquiesced in what her Son instituted.

From the sixth hour until the ninth, as all the Evangelists report, darkness came over the whole earth, for the sun suffered an eclipse. This could not have happened naturally. A natural eclipse occurs through the moon’s interposition between the sun and us when the sun itself, in its course, is above our hemisphere. But it was then the fifteenth day of the first month, because according to the Law the feast of Unleavened Bread then began, and the moon stood directly opposite the sun. Thus, when the sun was in the middle of our hemisphere at the sixth hour of the day, the moon was in the middle of the hemisphere beneath or below us. Therefore, an eclipse could not occur naturally.

When Dionysius the Areopagite, a very great philosopher, saw this while he was then in Egypt, and perceived that the eclipse was not natural, he said: “Either the God of nature suffers, or the structure of the whole world shall soon be dissolved.” The second has not yet happened, but the first was indeed fulfilled, because Jesus, true God and man, suffered. The Athenians then constructed an altar in honor of the one who suffered at that time, inscribing upon it: “To the unknown God.” Moreover, while other eclipses of the sun do not last for an hour, this one remained for three hours.

According to the literal sense, the Jews’ iniquity and cruelty were so great that the sun itself, as though unable to bear so great an injury to its Creator, withdrew its rays from them and, as though compassionating his death, clothed itself in darkness as in black.

Spiritually, the pain of this Passion was so great that the sun of our understanding is eclipsed and darkened in trying to understand it, nor can it comprehend it fully. Because of the immensity of this pain, Christ cried out with a loud voice, according to Matthew and Mark: “Eli, Eli,” and so forth, that is, “My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?”

These words are originally taken from Psalm 21, where David speaks in Christ's person throughout the whole Psalm concerning his Passion. For he says: "My God, look upon me; why have you forsaken me? The words of my offenses cause me to be far from my bodily salvation." He calls the sins of his members--that is, of the human race for whom he suffered--his own offenses.

He says that he was forsaken by God, not because the divinity was separated from the humanity, for it never abandoned the humanity after assuming it, but because the divinity withheld its power: it did not prevent them from that deed or deliver him from their hands, but permitted them to do to him what pleased them. Or he says that he was forsaken by God because the intellectual part, which even then enjoyed God with the highest joy, caused no refreshment or consolation to flow into the sensitive part.

When he was distressed and dried up in his spirits by his immense pains, he spoke the fifth word, as John alone reports: "I thirst." He thirsted not only bodily but also mentally, ardently desiring that the fruit of his Passion be extended to all, and that its power be communicated to all martyrs and to those suffering adversities for him, so that by the merit of his Passion they might be made patient and strong.

As the Apostle says in Hebrews, Jesus, praying with tears upon the cross and with a strong cry, "was heard for his reverence," so that all who devoutly receive the sacraments in which the power of the Passion remains may attain salvation.

When he had thus cried out, a certain man carrying a vessel full of sour wine mixed with gall or with the bitterest myrrh dipped a sponge and filled it with that most bitter liquid. Placing the sponge upon a reed of hyssop, he put it to Jesus's mouth for him to drink.

Certain others among the Roman attendants, who did not understand the Hebrew language, had heard Jesus previously cry, "Eli, Eli," and so forth. They said to the man offering the sponge for him to drink: "This man calls Elijah. Let him be, to see whether Elijah may come to take him down." But when Jesus had tasted it, he would not drink because of its bitterness.

David's prophecy in Christ's person was fulfilled: "They gave me gall for my food, and in my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink." When the Jews condemned someone to that death, they were accustomed to carry a vessel of the best wine to strengthen him. But now, to afflict Christ more greatly, they gave him sour wine mixed with gall, in which they signified their own malice.

That people was like a sponge: empty of virtues, cavernous with pretenses, full of the vinegar of cold malice where previously, in the fathers, there had been the good wine of charity, and mixed with the gall of most bitter hatred and envy. Jesus therefore refused to drink--that is, to incorporate such a people into his Church--but cast it away from himself.

When he had therefore taken the vinegar, not by drinking but by tasting, he said, as John alone testifies: "It is consummated," the sixth word; that is, what was foretold and prefigured concerning my Passion has been fulfilled. Hence, in the preceding days, when he foretold his Passion to the Apostles, he had said: "Behold, we go up to Jerusalem, and all things written concerning the Son of Man shall be accomplished." Knowing, therefore, that all things had been fulfilled, he said: "It is consummated."

All those sacrifices commanded in the Law, and many other ceremonies, prefigured this Passion.

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapters Six-Seven

Once all those things had been fulfilled, they all ceased and lost their power. Hence he said: "It is consummated": the true and prefigured sacrifice has been consummated.

He had been afflicted upon the cross in all his other senses: in touch, because his hands and feet, in which touch is especially vigorous, were fastened with nails; in sight, by seeing the mockeries and cruelties of the Jews; in hearing, by hearing the insults and blasphemies directed against him; and in smell, by sensing the stench of the corpses which were in that place. Taste alone remained unharmed upon the cross. The whole rest of his body had been tormented and broken by the scourges and the crowning.

The first Adam, when he brought death upon the whole human race, offended sight by looking upon the tree or fruit and seeing that it was beautiful to behold; and it is likely that it was fragrant, affecting smell. He offended hearing by listening to the serpent's words, to God's injury; touch when he took the forbidden apple; and taste when, by eating, he experienced the food's sweetness. Through these senses, as though through gates, sin entered the world. It was therefore fitting that the manifold art of the traitorous devil should be deceived by art, and that a remedy should be brought from the place where the enemy had wounded.

Therefore, after tasting the bitterness of the drink, Christ said: "It is consummated," that is, the payment of the human race's debt has been completed.

Moreover, the marriage contracted between Christ and the Church--initiated among the patriarchs and prophets through promises, even sworn promises, and ratified in his Incarnation--was consummated upon the cross, by whose power the Church, cleansed,

was united to Christ. There the fullness of his love toward us was shown most fully, which is the end of every consummation according to the Psalm.

§ VII

Finally, bowing his head and saying, “Father, into your hands I commend my spirit,” which was the seventh and final word, as Luke alone testifies, he gave up his spirit--that is, his soul. It was then separated from his body and, joined to the divinity, descended to the limbo of the fathers.

“I commend it,” he said, “into the hands of your power,” so that I may reassume the flesh; “into the hands of your mercy and kindness,” so that I may visit the souls who were in the punishments of darkness; “into the hands of your will,” so that it may always serve you according to that will.

This word is taken from the Psalm, where it says: “Into your hands I commend my spirit; you have redeemed me, O Lord, God of truth.” This appears to be explained thus: O Lord, who are God, the author of truth, you have redeemed me by your death, in which you said: “Into your hands I commend my spirit.”

Then all insensible things seemed to suffer with him and to grieve at the death of their Lord. The earth was moved; the rocks were split; and the Temple veil which stood before the Holy of Holies was divided from the top to the bottom, so that the Holy of Holies lay open, signifying that the heavenly kingdom, previously closed to us, had now been opened. Darkness came over the whole earth. The tombs were opened.

As Matthew says by anticipation, however, many bodies of the saints arose. This certainly happened, not then, but when Christ arose. They came into Jerusalem and appeared to many, reporting--as may piously be believed--the divinity of Christ, the redemption of the human race accomplished through his Passion, and the visitation of the fathers in limbo.

Many of the simpler Jews or Gentiles, seeing signs of this kind, were pierced in heart. Returning to repentance, they struck their breasts, confessing the sin they had committed by cooperating in Christ’s Passion and saying: “Truly this man was just.” The centurion whom Pilate had sent to carry out the sentence was himself pierced in heart and said: “Truly this man was the Son of God.”

When evening came, the Jews approached Pilate because they did not wish those bodies to remain on their crosses on the following Sabbath, which was more solemn than the other days of that feast, so that the feast might not appear dishonored. They asked that they be permitted to kill those on the crosses by breaking their legs and then take them down.

When Pilate granted this to them, his attendants came. Because the robbers were still alive upon the cross, they broke their legs, and the robbers died from the vehemence of the pain caused by this breaking of their bones.

The soul of the one who was on the right, commonly called Dismas, descended to the limbo of the fathers and was immediately glorified by the vision of the divine essence, to which Christ’s soul was united. Thus he possessed the paradise promised to him. The other robber, called Gesmas, died impenitent and descended to the place of the damned.

In these two robbers all elect and reprobate human beings were figured. We were all robbers in our first parents, existing in them according to seminal power, because they sought to steal divinity, so far as lay in them, when the serpent said to them: “You shall be as gods.” Augustine says that, in desiring this, they wished to seize dignity and lost happiness.

Because of this robbery, we are all condemned to the cross of the penalties of this life and to death, but with this difference: the reprobate suffer the cross of their punishments without the fruit of salvation, because they neither repent nor acknowledge themselves. At the end of their life they blaspheme, and therefore they are damned. But the elect, confessing their sins and humbling themselves before God, attain glory--not by their own power, but by Christ’s mercy and by the power of his Passion.

Christ, like the bronze serpent--that is, without the venom of sin, yet possessing flesh like ours who are sinners--was suspended upon the wood of the cross in order to pay the debt of our theft, according to the Psalm: “What I did not steal, I then paid,” Christ says, namely upon the cross.

Hence the Apostle says in Philippians 2: “Although he was in the form of God”--namely Jesus, that is, true God--“he did not consider it robbery to be equal with God,” as the first parents did, inasmuch as he was man; “but emptied himself, becoming obedient unto death, even the death of the cross.”

When the attendants came to Jesus and saw that he was dead, they did not break his legs, so that the Scripture concerning the lamb that figured him might be fulfilled, as John says. This is found in Exodus 12: “You shall not break a bone of it.” Rather, one of those Gentile soldiers thrust his lance directly against Christ’s side, inflicting a great wound, and immediately blood and water came out of his side, as John alone testifies.

That prophecy of Zechariah was fulfilled: "They shall look upon him whom they pierced." This soldier was called Longinus. Afterward, converted to the faith, he endured martyrdom for Christ. Some also say that because he was nearly blind--that is, he saw little or nothing--he suddenly saw perfectly when a drop of the blood touched his eyes.

Christ's true humanity, like ours, was also shown by these things. Hence it is said in First John 5: "There are three who give testimony on earth," namely concerning Christ's true humanity--for man originates from earth--"the Spirit, the water, and the blood." That Christ possessed a spirit, that is, a soul, is evident because, bowing his head as stated above, he gave up the spirit, commending that spirit, namely his soul, to God. The water and blood which came from his side, the two fluids best known and most abundant in our body, showed that his body was true and not imaginary, because an imaginary body does not possess blood or water.

Spiritually, they signify the Church's sacraments, because these possess their power from Christ's Passion. Baptism, which is the first of the sacraments and greatest in effect, is signified in the water. The Eucharist, which is the last and the end of the other sacraments and greatest in being, is indicated in the blood. Hence Chrysostom says: "Because the heavenly sacraments take their beginning from here, see that you approach them as though about to drink from Christ's side."

A certain man of the Jews, a noble councilor and a rich man, came from the city of Arimathea, that is, Ramatha. He was a disciple of Jesus and had not consented to the Jews' deeds and counsel concerning Jesus's death, but had instead opposed them. He approached Pilate and asked that Jesus's body be given to him so that he might take it down from the cross and bury it.

Pilate marveled that Jesus had died so quickly. He summoned the centurion who had carried out the sentence and asked whether the matter was so. Having learned that it was, he gave Joseph permission to take the body down.

Therefore Joseph came with Nicodemus, a legal expert who was a secret disciple of Jesus and who had come to him at night to be instructed concerning him. Pulling out the nails, they took him down from the cross.

Who can doubt that his mother received the body after it was taken down, in her lap and in her arms, and bathed it with most abundant tears, now gazing upon the head pierced by thorns, now the most holy hands--by whose touch the sick had been healed--pierced by nails, now the feet which had run daily to seek human salvation, and now the side opened by the lance? Mary Magdalene also watered those feet with tears, not forgetting the benefit of her Master, at whose feet she had received the remission of sins; and so did the other Marys and Jesus's female disciples.

Luke's statement that "his acquaintances and the women stood afar off," and so forth, took place before he suffered upon the cross. At the beginning, Jesus's mother and John stood beside the cross; but after his word to her, "Behold your son," and so forth, as the crowd increased, his mother and the other acquaintances withdrew farther from the cross.

Finally, because night was approaching, Joseph and Nicodemus brought a mixture of myrrh and aloes weighing one hundred pounds to prepare Jesus's body, as was customary for the bodies of noble persons in order to preserve them from corruption. Wrapping the body in a clean shroud--that is, linen cloths--with a face-cloth placed over his face according to Jewish custom, they laid him in Joseph's new tomb, hewn from rock, in which no one had yet been laid. This tomb was in a certain cave in a garden beside Mount Calvary, where he had been crucified.

The fact that the other Evangelists narrate only concerning Joseph is not contrary to what John also says concerning Nicodemus. Rather, as Augustine says, John expressed what they had passed over in silence. And where the others speak of a shroud, John wrote of linen cloths.

The chief priests and Pharisees approached Pilate and said: "Lord, we have remembered that while that deceiver was still alive, he said: 'After three days I shall rise.' Command, therefore, that the tomb be guarded until the third day, lest perhaps his disciples come at night and steal him, and say to the people, 'He has risen from the dead,' and the last error shall be worse than the first."

Pilate said to them: "You have a guard. Go and guard it as you know how." They went away, sealed the stone with a seal, and left guards there so that no one might steal him.

After Jesus's body, which was always united to the divinity, had been placed in the tomb, the Marys accompanied Jesus's mother back into the city. That evening they bought precious spices and prepared a costly ointment with which afterward to anoint Jesus's body as that of a most holy man, in order to preserve it; they did not believe that he was God. On the following Sabbath, while Christ's body lay in the tomb, they remained quiet because of the Sabbath's solemnity, awaiting the Lord's day.

Chapter Seven: On the Lord's Resurrection and His Ascension into Heaven, Briefly According to the History

We shall narrate these matters according to what all the Evangelists describe. The Apostles also, as is said in Acts, "with great power gave testimony," namely by preaching the Resurrection of Jesus Christ our Lord.

The patriarch Jacob foretold it when he said in the penultimate chapter of Genesis: “You have gone up to the prey, my son.” You have ascended from hell, taking away from the devil the prey of the souls who were in limbo. “Resting, you have lain down like a lion and as a lioness; who shall rouse him?” It is as though he said: No one shall rouse him by assistance, because he shall rise by the proper power of his divinity. Just as a lion never closes its eyes when it sleeps, so although Christ underwent the sleep of death, he did not close the eyes of his providence; rather, his soul, continuously by the light of its understanding, beheld God and all things in him.

Saint David also prophesied concerning the Resurrection, saying in Christ’s person: “I slept,” namely through death, “and took my rest,” as though taking a long sleep, because, as is said, he remained dead for a space of forty hours. When he expired at the ninth hour on Friday, six hours of that day remained. The following night together with the Sabbath amounted to twenty-four hours. Ten hours of the Lord’s night followed, because he arose at dawn.

The Psalmist adds: “And I arose because the Lord received me,” which Augustine, in Book 18 of *The City of God*, says was fulfilled in Christ’s Resurrection.

The prophecy of Hosea expressly named the day of his Resurrection from death, saying: “He shall revive us after two days, and on the third day he shall raise us up.” For in him, who assumed our mortal nature, our final resurrection began, since his Resurrection occurred on the third day. Thus he himself had foretold it to the disciples, saying: “The Son of Man shall be handed over to the chief priests,” and so forth; “they shall kill him, and on the third day he shall rise.”

Joseph also figured the Resurrection when, led out of prison--namely, from limbo--with his head shaven, that is, clothed in mortal conditions, he manifested his wisdom in the royal garment of bodily glory, became lord of Egypt, and was called savior.

Samson also figured it when, shut in the city while his Philistine enemies thought they held him captive, he rose in the depth of night, took its gates and bars upon his shoulders and, unharmed, carried them onto the mountain. And just as by his death Samson killed very many Philistines, so by his death Christ laid the demons low.

Passing over innumerable other testimonies, Christ’s Resurrection to immortal life was celebrated on the Lord’s day, which was the seventeenth day of the moon and the twenty-seventh day of March. For his Passion and death occurred on Friday, the twenty-fifth day of March, namely on that day on which he had also been incarnate of the Virgin, thirty-three years having afterward revolved since his Incarnation.

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Seven (continued)

For this reason, out of reverence for the Lord’s Resurrection, every Lord’s day throughout the year is commanded to be celebrated. This is in *De consecratione*, Distinction 3, canon *Pronuntiandum*. As Pope Leo says: “Whatever notable deed was performed by the Lord is found to have been done on this day. For the world received its beginning, death its end, and life its beginning.” This is in Distinction 75, canon *Quod die*.

When Christ is said to have risen on the third day, or to have remained dead for three days, a part is taken for the whole by a general manner of speech, through synecdoche. The space of time from the ninth hour, when he expired, until night is taken for one day. The following night of the Sabbath together with its artificial day was the second complete natural day, namely twenty-four hours. The space of the following night until midnight--or, as is more commonly said, until dawn, when Christ arose--is taken for the third day.

A natural day is the space of twenty-four hours in which the sun completes its course through the whole circuit of heaven, namely through our hemisphere and that which lies beneath us, returning to the east. An artificial day is the space in which the sun passes from east to west through our hemisphere.

As Bede says, in the Resurrection itself the order of days was changed with respect to their beginning. From the beginning of the world until the Resurrection, a day began at sunrise and ended at the close of the following night, as is clear in Genesis 1. Thus the artificial day preceded and the night followed, to signify that man would fall from the light of grace into the night of guilt. But after Christ arose, the natural day begins at night and ends in the evening of the following artificial day, to signify that through Christ’s Resurrection we pass from the night of guilt to the light of grace.

Athanasius says: He could have raised his body from the dead sooner, but someone would have said that he had not died at all or that death had not fully taken hold of him. Perhaps, too, if the Resurrection had been delayed, the honor of incorruption would have lain hidden. Therefore, so that Christ’s body might be shown to have died, he allowed the interval of one day and on the third day displayed his body incorrupt.

Bede and Gregory say: He also lay in the tomb for one day and two nights because he joined the light of his single death to the darkness of our double death, namely of soul and body. As the Church sings: “By dying he destroyed our death, and by rising he restored life.”

Christ therefore arose from the dead at dawn on the Lord’s day, according to the Church’s words in the hymn: “The dawn glows red with light; heaven resounds with praises,” and so forth. Christ’s soul then departed from limbo, leading all the souls out of it, and returned to his body, which was enclosed in the tomb. Christ, raised to life, came out of the tomb while it remained closed and sealed, just as, when made mortal in his Nativity, he came out of the Virgin’s womb with the virginal seal intact.

When he arose, a great earthquake occurred. The guards of the tomb were terrified by it and became like dead men, as Matthew says. An angel of the Lord descended from heaven and rolled the stone away from the tomb’s entrance.

When the guards recovered, they saw the stone rolled away, looked inside, and did not find Jesus’s body. They returned to the city and told the chief priests and scribes what had happened. To conceal the mystery of the Resurrection, the latter gave the guards a large sum of money, as Matthew reports, so that they would spread among the people this lie: that during the night, while they slept, his disciples came and stole his body. If Pilate wished to punish them for neglecting their guard, the priests would secure their safety by excusing them. Thus it was done: this great lie was made known among the people, and the Jews remain in this error to the present day.

The Evangelists identify the day on which he arose by different forms of speech. Mark says: “Very early on the first of the sabbaths”; and John: “On the first of the sabbaths.” Matthew, however, says: “In the evening of the Sabbath, which dawns toward the first of the Sabbath,” which is more obscure.

It must be known that among the Hebrews the week ended on the Sabbath, which was their principal and festive day. Hence they named or numbered all the days of the week from it, saying that the first day after the Sabbath was “the first of the Sabbath” or “one of the Sabbath,” the second day “the second of the Sabbath,” and so with the others. “One of the sabbaths” therefore means the first day of the week whose days are named or numbered from the Sabbath. This is the Lord’s day.

When Matthew says, “In the evening of the Sabbath,” he speaks of the evening--that is, the late part--not of the day, but of the night following the Sabbath. Hence, explaining himself, he says, “which dawns toward the first of the Sabbath,” that is, the evening hour which tends toward the light of the first day after the Sabbath. This is the Lord’s day, at its dawn.

“Mary Magdalene came to the tomb,” John says, naming her alone because, as Augustine says, she was more fervent than the others in seeking the Lord. Nevertheless, she did not come alone, but, as Mark reports, with Mary the mother of James the Less and Salome, the mother of James the Greater and John, both of whom were sisters of the Virgin Mary. She came to anoint Jesus’s body with the spices which they had bought on Friday evening and from which they had made ointments that would preserve it from corruption.

According to Mark, they came when the sun had already risen, that is, when signs of the sun’s impending rise appeared and the air was already growing white. Thus he does not disagree with John, who says that it was still dark, because the day was not yet bright.

There was certainly spiritual darkness in the minds of these women. They believed that Christ had been a mere man, though a most holy one, and out of devotion toward him they intended to perform this pious work.

When they approached the place, they began to say among themselves: “Who will roll the stone away for us from the tomb’s entrance?” For, as Mark says, it was exceedingly large. Looking up, they saw the stone rolled away from the tomb and an angel clothed in a white robe sitting upon it. Matthew adds that his appearance--that is, his face--was like lightning and his garments like snow.

Mark and Matthew narrate that the Marys saw only one angel, but Luke and John speak of two. Augustine reconciles them by saying that in the space outside the rocky tomb, which was like a cave, they saw the one angel reported by Matthew and Mark; afterward, looking inside the rocky tomb, they saw two angels, according to Luke and John.

They were stupefied with great fear, but the angel comforted them, saying: “Do not be afraid. I know that you seek Jesus of Nazareth, who was crucified. He has risen; he is not here. Come and see the place where the Lord was laid. Go quickly and tell all his disciples, and Peter, that he has risen. He shall go before you into Galilee, appearing there as he foretold you.”

He named Peter especially because Peter was in great grief over the sin of his denial, and therefore the angel wished to console him in a more particular way.

The Marys therefore went to the place where they knew the Apostles were living together and announced these things. Mary Magdalene, being more fervent, arrived more quickly than the others. Hence John reports concerning Mary alone, yet does not exclude the others. But, as Luke says, these things appeared to them like delirious tales.

Peter and John, however, more fervent than the others, heard these things and went to the tomb, running together. Although John, because he was younger, reached the tomb more quickly, he did not dare enter the cave, which contained the tomb like a little

house. Peter, coming afterward, entered, and they looked into the tomb and saw the linen cloths in which Jesus's body had been wrapped lying there, together with the face-cloth that had been placed over his face. They did not find the body.

As Luke reports, Peter, to whom the message had first been given, ran; and because Peter was before John, Luke therefore speaks of Peter alone, saying that he arrived, stooped down, saw the linen cloths, and withdrew a little. When John, who had run after him, came up, Peter entered the tomb, and after him John, as John himself reports.

Bede says according to the mystical understanding: The women's coming to the tomb very early gives us an example that, once the darkness of vices has been dispersed, we should approach the Lord's body. That tomb also bore the figure of the Lord's altar. Upon it the mysteries of Christ's body must be consecrated not in silk or dyed cloth, but in pure linen, like the shroud in which Joseph wrapped him. Thus, just as Christ offered true earthly substance to death for us, so in commemoration of him we should place upon the altar linen that is pure, white from the earth's growth, and chastened as though by a kind of mortification.

The spices which the women carry signify the fragrance of virtues and the sweetness of prayers, with which we ought to approach. The rolling away of the stone signifies the revelation of the sacraments which were hidden under the veil of the letter of the Law written on stone. When that covering is removed, a dead body is not found, but a living one is proclaimed by the Gospel.

Just as angels stood beside Christ's tomb, so they now stand beside the mystery of Christ's body and blood. Following the example of the holy women, whenever we stand beside Christ's mysteries, let us bow our faces with all humility because of the presence of the angels or of the Lord, recognizing that we are dust and earth.

§ I: On the appearances of the risen Christ made to the disciples, of which the Evangelists narrate

Although it is not contained in the Gospel, it is nevertheless believed that before all others Christ first appeared to his mother. Since she grieved more than all, she would more quickly and more greatly be consoled by seeing him; and she merited this more because, when all others failed in faith in his divinity and Resurrection, she alone remained firm in faith.

This may be the reason why she did not go to the tomb with the other Marys: not only because she was greatly weakened by grief at her Son's death, according to Bernard, but because she was certain that his Resurrection would take place that day. Hence she did not wish to seek the living among the dead. Ambrose also expressly says that he first appeared to his mother. The Church likewise appears to hold this, because on that morning the pope celebrates in Saint Mary Major.

The Evangelists did not take care to relate this either because they judged it to be presupposed and believed by everyone, or because, when describing witnesses of the Resurrection, they did not wish the mother's testimony concerning her Son to be held suspect because of natural affection. They therefore indicated not her, but the others to whom he appeared.

Mark says that he appeared first to Mary Magdalene, from whom he had cast out seven demons, that is, vices. John, however, describes the manner of this appearance more fully.

After the Marys returned from the tomb, while the others remained around the place, Magdalene stood weeping at the tomb. Gregory says: Mary Magdalene, who had been a sinner in the city, had loved the truth and washed away her crimes with tears. The great force of love had inflamed her mind, and she did not depart from the tomb when the disciples departed. For one sight is not enough for one who loves, because the force of love multiplies the intention of the search. She who first sought and did not find persevered in seeking; hence it happened that she found.

Some, however, such as Jerome and Theophilus [i.e., Theophylact], appear to say that this Mary to whom Christ appeared was not the woman who had been the sinner in the city.

Looking in, she saw two angels in white sitting where Jesus's body had been laid, one at the head and the other at the feet. It may be that these were the angels whom she had previously seen with the other Marys. The other Evangelists, when narrating concerning one angel, put the singular for the plural because the angels appeared for a single purpose. Or first one angel appeared, and afterward these two angels appeared to Magdalene and the other Marys.

They questioned her, saying: "Woman, why do you weep? Whom do you seek?" It is as though they said: Do not weep. She answered, indicating the cause of her grief: "They have taken away my Lord," that is, the Lord's body, "and I do not know where they have laid him." In these words she showed a defect of faith, because if she had believed him to be God, she certainly would not have thought him taken away. Yet she also indicated her intense love for him, saying: "I do not know where they have laid him," as though to say: I do not know where to seek him.

Because she burned more than the others with desire to see him, she merited first to possess the joys of seeing his Resurrection. This also occurred to give confidence to truly penitent sinners, because where sin abounded, grace also superabounds, if the sinner is truly converted. Moreover, because a woman in paradise was the first messenger of death to the man, it was fitting that a woman should be the first messenger of the life begun in Christ's Resurrection.

“Mary turned,” the Evangelist says, “and saw Jesus standing, but did not know that it was Jesus.” Chrysostom assigns the following cause for this turning. When Mary answered, she was turned toward the angels. When Jesus appeared behind her, the angels showed by the expression and movement of their gaze that the Lord was present, displaying reverence. Mary therefore turned backward to see what was there.

Jesus said to her: “Woman, why do you weep? Whom do you seek?” Gregory says: The cause of her grief is asked so that the seeker’s desire may be increased, and so that, when she named the one she sought, she might burn more ardently with love for him.

She thought that he was the gardener. Gregory says: Perhaps this woman did not err even in erring when she thought him the gardener, namely with respect to the signification. Was he not spiritually a gardener to her, since by the force of his love he planted flourishing seeds of virtues in her breast?

She therefore said: “Lord, if you have taken him away, tell me where you have laid him, and I shall take him.” But why, before she had expressed what she sought, did she say to him, “Lord, if you have taken him,” and so forth? Because the force of love is accustomed to act in this way in the lover’s soul: the person upon whom the lover is always thinking, the lover believes no one else can fail to know.

“Tell me where you have laid him.” Theophilus [i.e., Theophylact] says that she feared lest the Jews rage even against the lifeless body if it were found, and therefore she wished to carry it to another, unknown place.

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Seven, § I (continued)

“I shall take him.” Great indeed was the woman’s boldness born of love. For what, Origen says, if he had been placed in the house of Caiaphas or of Annas, his enemies? “I shall certainly take him,” fearing neither death nor threats.

Jesus then called her by name, saying: “Mary,” as though to say: Recognize him by whom you are recognized. Mary, turning toward him, said: “Rabboni,” which is interpreted “Master.”

But how did she turn toward him, since she had already been facing him when she said, “Lord, if you have taken him away,” and so forth? Chrysostom answers: It seems that after Mary had spoken those words to the gardener, she immediately turned her face again toward those angels to ask why they had been stupefied, namely at the gardener’s appearance.

Or, according to Augustine, previously turning in body she supposed him to be what he was not; now, turning in heart, she recognized what he was.

Although the Evangelist does not say what the woman then did, what she attempted is nevertheless indicated by what she heard. For Jesus said to her: “Do not touch me.” Gregory says that these words show that Mary wished to embrace the feet of the one she recognized.

But why was she not permitted to touch him? The cause is added: “For I have not yet ascended to my Father.” Chrysostom says: This woman wished to be with Christ as she had been before the Passion and, because of her great joy, she thought of nothing great, although Christ’s flesh had been made much better by rising. Therefore, drawing her away from this understanding, he said: “Do not touch me,” so that she might speak to him with great reverence. Hence, when appearing to the disciples, he no longer conversed with them continually as before, but only from time to time, so that they might attend to him more reverently.

“For I have not yet ascended to my Father.” He showed that he was hastening and hurrying there and that she therefore ought not to look upon him with the same mind as before.

Or, according to Augustine, this was said so that in that woman might be figured the Church from the Gentiles, which did not believe in Christ until after he ascended to the Father. Or Jesus wished himself to be believed in this way--that is, to be touched spiritually in this way: that he and the Father are one. For he ascends in a certain manner to the Father within a person’s inmost senses when that person has so advanced in him as to recognize him as equal to the Father. This woman did not believe in him in this way, for she mourned him carnally as a man.

Touch makes, as it were, the limit of knowledge. Therefore, he did not wish the intention of her heart toward him to end in such a way that he would be thought to be only what was seen.

Jesus added: “Go to my brothers,” namely the disciples, “and tell them: I ascend to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God.” Hilary says in Book 9 of *On the Trinity*: The Lord, remaining in the form of God, assumed the form of a servant. When Jesus Christ speaks all these things in the form of a servant--“I ascend to my Father,” and so forth--there is no doubt that the Father is his, as he is the Father of the others, with respect to that part by which Christ is man; and that God is his, as he is God of all, with

respect to that nature by which Christ is a servant. Finally, he began this very instruction by saying: “Go to my brothers.” They are his brothers from the flesh; but the only-begotten God is without brothers.

Mary then went out from the tomb, that is, from the place where the garden was, some distance before the stone hollowed out as a tomb. Finding the other Marys and relating what had happened, she went with them to announce the Resurrection to the disciples. On the way Jesus met them and manifested himself to them, as Matthew alone narrates. Greeting them, he said: “Hail.” They approached and held his feet, piously kissing them, as may be believed, with the greatest devotion. Because they had now recovered faith in his Resurrection, Christ permitted himself to be touched by them. Magdalene therefore came with the others, announcing to the disciples what had been commanded her.

Jesus appeared a third time to Peter, as is clear from the last chapter of Luke, where it is said: “The Lord has truly risen and has appeared to Simon”; and from First Corinthians 15: “He was seen by Cephas.” But when, where, or in what manner he appeared is not clear from the Gospel. It is nevertheless believed to have occurred that same day, when Peter was alone and perhaps came again to the tomb after Mary’s announcement. That it was before the final appearance is evident from the Gospel’s extended narration of the history.

Mark also refers to the next appearance in two words, saying: “After this”--namely, after the appearance which Jesus made to Magdalene--“he appeared in another form to two disciples from among them as they were going into a village. They went and announced it to the others, and they did not believe them.” Luke, however, expresses it clearly. What Luke calls a fortified town, Mark calls a village, because a fortified town is also called a village by many.

Jesus appeared a fourth time to two disciples going to the fortified town of Emmaus near Jerusalem, which is sixty stadia distant from it. A stadion was one-eighth of a mile. Luke testifies to this appearance in his final chapter.

Luke gives the name of one of the two, namely Cleopas, who is thought to have been one of Christ’s seventy-two disciples. The other’s name is withheld, on account of which some say it was Luke himself, who out of humility did not wish to express his own name. Gregory touches upon this opinion in the prologue to the *Moralia*. But this does not appear correct, because Luke was not one of Christ’s disciples, but a disciple of the Apostles, converted by them. Hence Ambrose gives the other man another name, namely Amaon.

As they traveled, they spoke with each other concerning all the things which had happened around Jesus, not truly believing but marveling at them as at strange things. While they were conversing and inquiring among themselves concerning them, Jesus himself approached and walked with them, just as some traveler, seeing other travelers before him, often joins himself to them.

According to Bede, he did this both to implant the truth of the Resurrection in their minds and to fulfill what, existing as mortal, he had promised he would do when he said: “Where two or three are gathered in my name”--namely, to speak about me or about their salvation--“there am I in the midst of them.”

Having now obtained a spiritual--that is, glorified--body, Theophilus [i.e., Theophylact] says, distance of place did not prevent him from being present to whom he wished. Nor did he any longer govern his body by natural laws, but spiritually and above nature. Hence Mark also says that he was seen in another form, by which recognition of him was impeded.

It follows: “Their eyes were held so that they would not recognize him,” namely so that they might disclose their whole doubtful intention and, revealing the wound, receive the medicine; and so that they might know that although the same body which had suffered arose, it was no longer such that it was visible to everyone, but only to those by whom it wished to be seen.

Gregory says: Fittingly, Christ also did not show them the form which they recognized, outwardly doing in the eyes of the body what was being done inwardly among them in the eyes of the heart. For within themselves they both loved and doubted. To them as they spoke about him, he displayed his presence because of their love; but to them as they doubted about him, he concealed the form by which they would know him. This is in Cause 1, Question 1, § *Dominus*.

He therefore said to them: “What are these words which you exchange with one another, and why are you sad?” The Greek commentator says: They were conversing among themselves as though they no longer expected Christ to be alive and grieved because their Savior had been killed.

Cleopas said to him: “Are you alone a stranger in Jerusalem and do not know the things which have happened there in these days?” It is as though he said: Are you alone such a stranger that you dwell outside Jerusalem’s borders and have no share in the things which happened in its midst?

Bede says: They thought him a stranger because they did not recognize his face. But in truth he was a stranger to them: the glory of reason he possessed stood far from the frailty of nature, and he remained foreign to their faith, since it was ignorant of his Resurrection. It does not belong to the present work to explain how Christ morally possessed the conditions of a pilgrim, in which all the elect imitate him, according to the Psalm: “I am a sojourner and a pilgrim before you, as all my fathers were”; and according to Peter’s exhortation to all the faithful in his First Canonical Epistle: “I beseech you as strangers and pilgrims to abstain from carnal desires which war against the soul.”

Jesus the pilgrim answered Cleopas: “What things?” He certainly knew them all, because he had suffered them all in his own body. Yet he questioned as though ignorant, to signify that the glory and reward of the blessed for the labors endured here are so ineffable that, because of that glory’s exceeding joy, they shall seem to have forgotten everything. This accords with Gregory’s example: “Often in joy we remember sorrowful things”; and with Isaiah’s words: “The former distresses have been given to oblivion and shall no longer rise into the heart.”

Cleopas therefore said: “Concerning Jesus of Nazareth, who was a man, a prophet.” He called him a prophet, not the Son of God, either because they did not believe him to be the Son of God, or because, since they did not recognize the one to whom they spoke, they feared falling into the hands of the persecuting Jews. He was “powerful in deed and word.”

Theophilus [i.e., Theophylact] says: No discourse of teaching is approved unless the person who teaches first shows himself its author. Deed precedes appearance, for unless you cleanse the mirror of the understanding through works, the desired beauty does not shine forth. The same point is found in Distinction 81, canon *Nemo*: “Before God and all the people.”

Theophilus [i.e., Theophylact] says: First God must be pleased, namely through a pure intention directed toward him. Then, as far as possible, one must take care concerning innocence before human beings, so that, with divine worship preceding, we may live without scandal to others. This is also treated in Cause 12, Question 1, canon *Nolo*.

Cleopas then assigned the cause of their sadness, namely Christ’s betrayal and Passion, saying: “How they handed him over,” and so forth. Afterward he disclosed their despair, saying: “We were hoping,” as though to say: We no longer hope that he is the one who will redeem Israel, that is, save it from threatening evils and from Roman servitude. For they believed that he would become an earthly king. “And now, besides all these things,” and so forth.

Because these disciples labored under excessive doubt, Jesus rebuked them, saying: “O foolish and slow of heart to believe all the things which the prophets have spoken.” Theophilus [i.e., Theophylact] says: It is not enough to believe certain things about Christ individually, but one must believe universally all the things the prophets foretold--not only what is said concerning the cross and the Passion’s ignominy, such as, “They pierced my hands and my feet,” but also what is said concerning the Resurrection and other glorious things, such as: “You shall not permit your holy one to see corruption. You have made known to me the ways of life.” For through his Passion he entered into glory.

Hence he added: “Was it not necessary that Christ suffer these things and so enter into his glory?” Bernard says: If it was necessary that Christ suffer thus and so enter into his glory, how shall we wretches enter into glory--not our own--unless we first suffer? The Apostle says: “If we suffer with him, we shall also reign with him.”

Isidore says: Although it was necessary that Christ suffer, those who crucified him are nevertheless liable to punishment. For they did not labor to accomplish what God ordained. Hence their execution was impious, but God’s dispensation was most prudent: he converted their wickedness into a benefit for the human race, as though using vipers’ flesh to prepare a saving antidote.

Beginning from Moses, that is, from Genesis, and from all the prophets, Christ interpreted to them in all the Scriptures the things concerning himself. It is as though he said: Since you are slow to believe, I shall make you ready by explaining the Scriptures. There are very many prophecies and figures in the Law and the prophets which quite openly foretold Christ’s Passion and Resurrection; we omit an explanation of them all.

As he explained these things, they approached the fortified town to which they were going, and he made as though he would go farther. Augustine says: This does not pertain to a lie. Not everything we feign is a lie; rather, when we feign something which signifies nothing, then it is a lie. But when our feigning is referred to some signification, it is not a lie but a figure of truth. Otherwise, all the things spoken figuratively by wise and holy men and by the Lord himself would be counted as lies, because in such words the truth does not consist according to the customary understanding. Just as things are spoken, so deeds are also feigned without a lie in order to signify something. Thus Augustine.

Christ therefore did not say that he wished to go farther, because that would have been a lie, which is always a sin. This is in Cause 22, Question 2, canon *Primum*. Rather, he feigned--that is, composed himself to perform an act--as though he wished to proceed farther. This signified the disposition of their minds, because they were still far from true knowledge of him.

“They compelled him,” namely to enter with them. By this example it is indicated that strangers and poor people are not only to be invited, but sometimes compelled to receive necessities. They said: “Stay with us, Lord, because it is growing toward evening,” and so forth. He entered with them.

When the table had been prepared, as they reclined and Jesus took bread, blessed it, broke it, and extended it to them, their eyes were opened and they recognized him. Gregory says: They recognize in the breaking of bread the God whom they did not recognize in the explanation of Scripture, because the mind is illuminated through pious works.

“They recognized him” is said not of their sensible eyes, but of mental perception. Chrysostom says: The Evangelist does not say that they walked with closed eyes; rather, there was something which did not permit them to recognize what they saw, as a mist or

some moisture is accustomed to do. This was not because the Lord could not have transformed his flesh into another appearance, as in the Transfiguration, but because this was not what happened now.

It is not unfitting to understand that this impediment in their eyes came from Satan, so that they would not recognize Jesus, but that permission for it came from Christ only until the sacrament of the bread. Thus, when they participated in the unity of his body, the enemy's impediment is understood to have been removed so that Christ could be recognized. Thus Chrysostom.

Theophilus [i.e., Theophylact] indicates another point as well: the eyes of those who receive the sacred bread are opened so that they may recognize him, for the Lord's flesh possesses a great and ineffable power.

He vanished from their eyes, that is, he withdrew his appearance. It lies within the power of a glorified body to present itself visibly by suspending its brightness so that mortals can behold it, and to withdraw its appearance from those present. He did not possess such a body that he ought to remain with them any longer; and so that he might likewise increase their affection, he vanished.

They said to each other: "Was not our heart burning within us on the way while he spoke," and so forth? Theophilus [i.e., Theophylact] says: Their heart burned either with the fire of the Lord's words, to which they attended as true, or because, while he opened the Scriptures, their heart was struck inwardly with the conviction that the one who discoursed was the Lord.

They rejoiced so greatly that, suffering no delay, they immediately returned to Jerusalem. Hence it follows: "And rising in that same hour, they returned to Jerusalem. They found the eleven gathered together and those who were with them, saying: The Lord has truly risen and has appeared to Simon." Those whom the two disciples entered were saying these things.

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Seven, § I (continued)

"The Lord has risen," and so forth. Bede says: From what the four Evangelists and the Apostle Paul have commemorated and narrated concerning the events, it is understood that, among all the men, the Lord appeared first to Peter. Mark's statement that the two disciples announced it to the others and that the others did not believe them must be referred not to all but to some of them, such as Thomas, one of the company of eleven, who happened for some reason to have withdrawn from the others.

Jesus then appeared for the fifth time, as Luke and John relate, although Luke does so more fully. Chrysostom says: He appeared first to Peter, who was more worthy and faithful than all the others. For the most faithful soul needed to be the first to receive this sight, so that it would be troubled as little as possible by the unexpected vision. Therefore, he was seen first by Peter, so that the man who first confessed him to be the Christ might merit to see the Resurrection first--that is, before all the other men. And because Peter had previously denied him, Christ also wished to appear to him in order to console him, lest he despair.

Ambrose says in Distinction 50: Peter became more faithful after he wept over having lost his faith, and therefore he received greater grace than before. As a good shepherd of Christ, he received the flock to guard, so that the man who had formerly been weak in himself might become a support to others.

Gregory says that, by the dispensation of divine mercy, Peter was permitted to sin so that from his own weakness he might learn how he ought to show mercy to others who were weak. This is in Distinction 50, canon *Consider This*.

Christ also appeared to James the Less, as the Apostle says in First Corinthians 15. The Evangelists make no mention of this appearance, but it is not therefore to be disbelieved, since it was revealed to Paul by Christ himself, as Paul says. For the Evangelists do not narrate everything the Lord did, as John says at the end of his Gospel. It is not known when or where this appearance occurred. The Apostle, however, relates it after the appearance in Galilee to five hundred brethren.

In the Gospel of Nicodemus--although that work is apocryphal--it is said that, when Christ had died, James vowed that he would not eat unless he first saw Christ risen. The risen Jesus appeared to him and said: "Rise, my brother, and eat, because the Son of Man has risen from the dead."

But one may reasonably ask where the souls whom Christ had led out of limbo were or remained before Christ ascended into heaven. For no one ascended before him. Although a soul, because it is a spirit, is not circumscriptively in a place--for it is not bounded by place--it is nevertheless definitively in a place, namely, in one place in such a way that it is not in another.

Although I do not find this question determined, one may more fittingly and piously suppose that they accompanied Christ, seeing his divinity clearly, which indeed they would have seen wherever they were. Yet they were not seen by anyone, because a soul cannot be seen by the bodily eye. Thus, when Christ appeared, the disciples and others saw only Christ's risen body, not his soul or the souls of the fathers, if they were with him.

But since many bodies of the saints arose at Christ's Resurrection, as Matthew says, and appeared to many, one may ask what became of them and whether they ascended with Christ.

At the end of Book 14 of the *Moralia*, Gregory says that Job indicated Christ's Passion when he said, "I know that my redeemer"--for Christ redeemed through death. Job likewise indicated the Resurrection when he added, "lives," that is, has risen. He uses the present for the future--"lives" for "will live"--because of the certainty of faith arising from the infallibility of God's foreknowledge, in which the prophets read as in a book.

Because Christ's Resurrection is the cause of our resurrection, Job immediately added: "And on the last day I shall rise from the earth." Because he will rise in a true and proper body, he added: "And in my flesh I shall see God my Savior." Lest it seem impossible to anyone that bodies reduced to dust should rise, many bodies of the saints arose when Christ rose and appeared to many. In this event there were many examples of the resurrection to come.

There are two opinions about whether the bodies of those saints ascended with Christ or returned to dust as before. Some say that, glorified in soul and body together, they ascended with Christ. Jerome touches upon this opinion at the beginning of his sermon on the Assumption, but leaves the matter undetermined.

For this reason some say, as the gloss notes in Cause 13, Question 2, § *Likewise Joseph*, that Joseph and others commanded that their bodies be buried not in Egypt but in the Promised Land. They knew in spirit that, when Christ arose, many buried in that region would arise, and they wished to be among them.

They also adduce the words of the Apostle Peter in Acts concerning David: "His sepulcher is with us," as though Peter meant: not his body, because David was one of those who arose with Christ and ascended into heaven; therefore, it was not his body that remained there, but only the sepulcher.

Others, however, say that after those who arose had fulfilled their office--that is, after appearing and speaking to others--they returned bodily to ashes. Augustine and Thomas in the Third Part appear to incline toward this as the more reasonable opinion.

It can also be proved from the authority of Peter cited above. When Peter had brought forward the testimony of the Psalm, "You will not permit your holy one to see corruption," to prove Christ's Resurrection, he wished to show that David had spoken those words not about himself but about Christ. Therefore he said: "His sepulcher is with us," as though to say: David himself saw corruption, since his bones and ashes are in his sepulcher, which is among us, and so his corruption is evident. The question therefore remains doubtful.

But if they remained immortal, they accompanied Christ when he appeared. They were not seen by the others, because it lies within the power of a glorified body to permit itself to be seen or not to be seen.

Concerning the fifth appearance John says: "When it was evening on that day, the first day of the week, and the doors were closed where the disciples had gathered for fear of the Jews"--for they feared that they might be seized because they had been Jesus' disciples--and, as Luke says, while they were speaking of these things, namely of how Christ had already appeared to several people, Jesus came and stood in the midst of the disciples, appearing and showing himself visibly. Thomas, however, was not then with them, because for some incidental reason unknown to us he had withdrawn from them.

Augustine says: Some people are so disturbed by this event that they almost endanger their faith, advancing their rational arguments against divine miracles. If it was a body, they say, and if this body rose from the tomb--the body which had hung upon the wood--how could it enter through closed doors? If you comprehend it, it is not a miracle. Where reason fails, there faith is built up. Closed doors did not obstruct the bulk of the body in which divinity was present. He who could enter without their being opened was the one at whose birth his mother's virginity remained inviolate. Thus Augustine.

Neither by the power of nature nor by the power of a glorified body precisely as glorified can one body, without another power, be in the same place at the same instant as another body. Nor can one body pass through another unless the latter yields, opens, or is broken--just as the air yields when a human body walks and the water does so when someone swims. Therefore, when the risen Christ came out of the tomb in his body, or now entered among the disciples while the doors were closed, this occurred by a special miracle of divine power beyond the customary course or power of nature.

"He stood in the midst of the disciples." He stood in the midst so that he might be seen by all and, slighting no one, might not appear to show partiality if he were seen nearer to one than to another. He also did so to show that he dwells among the virtues, which consist in a mean.

"He said to them: Peace be with you." The Greek commentator says: Let us therefore be ashamed to abandon the gift of peace which Christ leaves us as he departs from here. Peace is both a reality and a sweet name, since we have learned both that it belongs to God, according to the words "the peace of God"; that its God is God, according to the words "the God of peace"; and that it is itself God, according to the words "He is our peace." Peace is a good commended by all and preserved by few.

What is the cause of this? Perhaps ambition for dominion or possessions, envy, hatred, contempt, or something of that kind, among the things into which we see those who do not know God fall. Peace belongs chiefly to God, for it binds all things together; nothing is so proper to God as unity of nature and a peaceful state. It passes from him to the angels and divine powers, who are peacefully disposed toward God and toward one another. It is spread throughout the whole creation, whose beauty and tranquility it is.

In us it abides in the soul through the pursuit and sharing of virtues, and in the body through the proportion of its members and elements, the former being called beauty and the latter health. Thus the Greek commentator.

Christ added: "It is I," namely, your teacher, your Lord, and indeed your God, whose most proper name is "I am," because he alone is immutable according to his divinity. "Do not be afraid."

The troubled and terrified disciples thought that they were seeing a spirit, that is, some fantastic and airy body. They could have been troubled because he had entered while the doors were closed. Since the turmoil in their souls was not calmed by his word of peace, he showed in another way that he was the Son of God, for he knew the secrets of their minds. Hence he said to them: "Why are you troubled, and why do thoughts arise in your hearts?"

Good thoughts descend into the heart, because they are sent down from God like good seed. But evil and false thoughts arise, because they rise into the heart from below--from the devil or from sensuality--like weeds from the earth. Because what they supposed was false, namely, that Christ's body was fantastic, he said that thoughts of this kind were arising.

When he had said this, he showed them his hands and feet, that is, the marks of the nails, proving that death had been conquered, that human nature in him had now put off corruption, and that he had truly risen in the very same body which had been pierced by the nails.

He added another proof, namely touch, saying: "Touch and see," that is, know, "because a spirit does not have flesh and bones," that is, a phantom such as many apparitions of the dead have been accustomed to be seen around tombs. Yet those apparitions do not have flesh and bones as you see that I have.

Gregory says in the *Moralia*: In the glory of the Resurrection our body will not be impalpable and more subtle than winds and air, as the heretic Eutitius said [i.e., Eutychius]. Rather, it will be subtle through the operation of spiritual power, yet palpable through the truth of its nature.

When he had said this, he showed them his hands and feet and also his side, according to John. In them the marks made by the nails and lance shone clearly, so that by displaying the scars of his wounds he might heal the wound of their doubt.

Gentiles are accustomed here to raise the accusation that the Lord was unable to heal the wounds inflicted upon him. But since it is proved that he did what was greater--namely, rise--he consequently could also do what was less, namely, remove the signs of death such as the scars. Yet he preserved them for five reasons, as blessed Thomas notes in the Third Part.

John then says: "The disciples rejoiced when they saw the Lord." Thus was fulfilled what he had foretold before his death: "I shall see you again, and your heart will rejoice."

Augustine says in Book 22 of *The City of God*: The brightness with which the just will shine like the sun in the kingdom of their Father, as Christ says, should be believed to have been hidden rather than absent in Christ's body when he arose. Human and frail sight could not have endured it when he had to be looked upon by his own people so that he could be recognized.

Because, as Chrysostom says, the disciples had an impregnable conflict before them against the Jews, Christ again announced peace to them, saying: "Peace be with you." Bede says: The repetition of peace is its confirmation. Or he repeats it because the virtue of charity is twofold, or because he himself is the one who made both one.

Chrysostom says: At the same time he demonstrates the efficacy of the Cross, through which he dissolved all sorrowful things and conferred every good; and this is peace. Because all impediments had been destroyed, he therefore added: "As the Father has sent me."

Gregory says: The Father sent the Son when he determined that the Son should become incarnate for the redemption of the human race. "So I send you," that is: I love you with the charity with which I send you among the scandals raised by persecutors, just as the Father loved me with the charity which caused me to come to endure the Passion.

Augustine says: We know the Son to be equal to the Father, but here we recognize the words of the mediator. He shows himself to be in the middle when he says: "He sent me, and I send you."

Chrysostom says: To show them his dignity and power, he gives them power by his own authority. Hence it follows: "When he had said this, he breathed upon them, saying: Receive the Holy Spirit."

Chrysostom says: That bodily breath was not the substance of the Holy Spirit, but a demonstration by a fitting sign that the Holy Spirit proceeds not only from the Father but also from the Son. For who, Augustine says, would be so senseless as to say that the Spirit whom Christ gave by breathing upon them was one spirit, and the Spirit whom he sent after his Ascension another?

Gregory says: Why is the Spirit first given to the disciples on earth and afterward sent from heaven, unless because there are two commandments of charity, namely, the love of God and the love of neighbor? The Spirit is given on earth so that one's neighbor may be loved, and from heaven so that God may be loved. He is first given by the Lord dwelling on earth and afterward sent from heaven, because through love of neighbor one learns how to attain the love of God.

"Whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven them," and so forth. Chrysostom says: No one will sin by saying that the disciples then received a certain power of spiritual grace, not so that they might raise the dead and work miracles, as on the day of Pentecost, but so that they might forgive sins.

Gregory says: It should be known that those who previously had the Holy Spirit so that they might live innocently and benefit some people through preaching openly received this power after the Lord's Resurrection so that they might benefit not a few but many. Those who have been called take care not only of themselves but also receive the authority of the supreme judgment, so that in God's place they may retain the sins of some by not absolving them and release the sins of others by duly absolving them.

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Seven, § I (continued)

Chrysostom says: If a priest governs his own life well but does not attend to the lives of others with diligent care, he goes to hell with the wicked. Yet it is not just for those who are subject to authorities to judge them; even if the authorities' lives are exceedingly blameworthy, that life causes no harm to the things given by God. For neither a priest, nor an angel, nor an archangel can effect anything in the things given by God. Rather, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit dispense all things; the priest, however, supplies his tongue and hand. Thus Chrysostom.

The same point is supported by what Ambrose says in Book 1 of *On Penance*: The Word of God forgives sins, namely, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, and the priest is the judge. The priest indeed presents his service, but exercises the rights of no power of his own.

All these statements must be understood of God as the principal and efficient cause, for God alone acts in this way, as is stated in *On Consecration*, Distinction 4, canon *No One*. The minister of the sacrament acts as an instrumental cause, and the power of the sacrament is not stained by a wicked minister, as is stated in Cause 1, Question 1, canon *If He Has Been*.

It follows: "Thomas, however, was not then with them." While the disciples who saw Christ were still marveling for joy and some did not yet believe perfectly, as Luke says, Jesus said: "Have you anything here to eat?" They offered him a piece of roasted fish and a honeycomb. Taking it, he ate before them.

Here one should note that Christ ate in one way when mortal and in another when risen and immortal. When he existed as passible and ate, he truly ate, digesting the food and converting part of it into nourishment as other human beings do. But when risen he did not eat because he needed food, just as other glorified bodies will not eat, because they will not need it. They could eat if they wished, although they would not wish to because they would not need it.

The risen Christ ate in order to demonstrate in many ways the truth of his bodily Resurrection. He truly chewed and swallowed, but he did not digest, because he did not need nourishment and was incapable of alteration. Therefore, in the act of being swallowed, the food was dissolved into preexistent matter or into airy vapors.

Bede gives an example, saying: The thirsty earth absorbs water in one way, for the water is converted into the earth; the sun's hot ray absorbs it in another. The former does so from need, the latter from power. The water or vapor is not converted into a ray of the sun, but is dissolved into air by its power.

"A piece of roasted fish," and so forth. According to Theophilus [i.e., Theophylact], the roasted fish signifies the active life, which consumes our humanity--that is, our cupidity--upon the coals of labor. The honeycomb signifies the contemplative life because of the sweetness of its discourse. The eating of each, therefore, is the incorporation of each life into oneself.

"And taking the remains, he gave them to the disciples." According to Gregory and Bede, the roasted fish signifies Christ's humanity. He deigned to lie hidden in the waters of the human race, wished to be caught in the snare of death, and to be roasted in the fire of the Passion. The honeycomb--that is, honey in wax--signifies divinity in humanity. He offers these things to his own people to be eaten through meditation upon their mysteries.

He said to them: "These are the words which I spoke to you," and so forth, "because all things written about me in the Law of Moses, the Prophets, and the Psalms must be fulfilled." Then he opened their understanding so that they might understand the Scriptures.

Augustine says: Let those who rave that Christ accomplished such great things by magical arts and by that art consecrated his name in order to turn the Apostles toward himself consider this point. Could he by magical arts fill prophets with the divine Spirit on earth before he was born? Even if he caused himself by magic to be worshiped after his death, he was not a magician before his birth, when one nation had been appointed to prophesy his future coming.

“For thus it is written,” he said, and so forth. And a little later: “That penance and the remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations.” Eusebius says: It had been said to him, “Ask of me, and I shall give you the nations for your inheritance.” Those converted from the nations had to be cleansed by his power from every contagion and stain, since they had been contaminated by the error of demons and by an execrable and impure life.

After this Luke relates that Jesus led his disciples outside the city of Jerusalem to Bethany, which was on the side of the Mount of Olives. Appearing to them on the day of the Ascension, he raised his hands and was carried into heaven while blessing them. When his Ascension had been completed, the Apostles returned to Jerusalem and were in the temple blessing God. Thus Luke ends his Gospel.

Chapter Seven, § II

On the eighth day of his Resurrection, as John alone relates, the disciples were gathered together--the ten Apostles and Thomas, who was the eleventh, with them. For when Jesus had appeared to the disciples on the evening of the day of the Resurrection, Thomas was not with them. When he returned and his companions told him that they had seen the risen Lord, he answered them: “Unless I see in his hands the mark of the nails and put my hand into his side, I shall not believe.”

First, one should note that Thomas did not see Jesus because he was not with the others when Jesus came. In this, the vice of singularity is tacitly reproved. Hence Bernard says: What do you say, lover of singularity? Why do you disdain common places, a common life, and common observances? At his birth Christ was placed between two animals because there was no room for him in the inn. When risen, he stood in the midst of the disciples as a person shared by all, loving neither the corner of duplicity nor of singularity, but the midst of community.

Second, one should consider what Gregory says in his homily and in Cause 27, Question 2: After his Resurrection, Christ indeed permitted his disciple to doubt, but he did not will him to persevere in doubt. In the same way, before his Nativity he wished Mary to have a spouse, who nevertheless did not consummate her marriage. Just as the disciple who doubted and touched became a witness of the true Resurrection, so the mother’s spouse was the most incorrupt guardian of her virginity. The unbelief of Thomas was more profitable to our faith than the faith of the believing disciples, because when he is led back to faith by touching, our mind is made firm in faith with every doubt set aside.

“And I shall put my hand into his side.” Chrysostom says: Thomas, being coarser than the others, sought faith by means of the coarsest sense, namely touch. Hence he said: “And I shall put my hand, or my finger, into the place of the nails.”

After eight days Jesus therefore came to the disciples while the doors were closed and, after greeting them with peace, said to Thomas: “Put your finger here and see my hands.” Chrysostom says: Consider the ruler’s clemency--how, even for one soul, he showed himself bearing wounds and approached in order to save one. The disciples who announced it and Christ himself who promised were indeed worthy of belief. Yet because Thomas sought more, Jesus did not deprive him even of this.

He did not appear immediately, but after eight days, so that, after being admonished in the meantime by the disciples, Thomas might be moved to greater desire and remain more faithful in the future. Jesus did not wait to be questioned by Thomas. Rather, to show that he had been present while Thomas spoke with his fellow disciples, he used Thomas’s own words. First he rebuked or reproached him, saying: “Put your finger here.” Second he instructed him, adding: “Do not be unbelieving, but faithful.”

“Put your finger here,” and so forth. Augustine says: If the Lord had wished, he could have wiped every blemish of every scar from his risen and glorified body, but he knew why he preserved the scars. Just as he showed them to Thomas, who would not believe unless he touched and saw, so at the end he will show them to his enemies, so that Truth may convict them, saying: Behold the man whom you crucified. You recognize the side which you pierced, which was opened by you and for you; yet you did not wish to enter.

Modern authors ask whether the marks of the wounds which remained in Christ’s risen body involved a discontinuity or opening in the flesh. Some say they did not, others that they did. Yet no deformity follows from this; rather, there is great beauty and an indication of virtue. This latter opinion appears to accord more closely with the letter of the Gospel, which says: “Put your hand into my side,” namely, into the opening, as Thomas says in the Third Part.

Thomas answered and said: “My Lord and my God.” Augustine says: He saw and touched the man, and he confessed the God whom he neither saw nor touched. Through what he touched, with his doubt removed, he confessed what he did not see.

According to Theophilus [i.e., Theophylact], the one who had previously been unbelieving showed himself an excellent theologian after touching Christ's side, for he expressed Christ's twofold nature united in one hypostasis. By saying "My Lord," he confessed the human nature; by adding "My God," the divine nature; and he confessed one and the same person as God and man.

Jesus said to him: "Because you have seen me." Augustine says: It could be maintained that the disciple did not dare to touch him even though Christ offered himself to be touched, and that Christ therefore said, "Because you have seen," not "because you have touched." Yet this does not prevent us from understanding that Thomas could also have touched him, so that by feeling him he might more effectively testify to the truth of his risen flesh.

Sight is in a certain manner the general sense, because it is the principal and keenest one, and in common speech it is used for any sensation. Thus, "Because you have seen" means "because you have touched; you have believed."

Gregory asks: Since faith concerns things not seen, how did Thomas see and believe, when sight is opposed to faith? Thomas answers: Although he saw the humanity, he also confessed the divinity, which he could not see, and this he believed.

Gregory says that what follows brings us joy: "Blessed are those who have not seen," namely, even the humanity, "and have believed," namely, both natures. This is to be understood if we follow our faith with works. For the one who truly believes is the one who practices what he believes.

Chrysostom says: Because John the Evangelist had related fewer things than the other Evangelists, he added: "Jesus did many other signs in the sight of his disciples which are not written in this book." The other Evangelists likewise did not write everything, but only what was sufficient to draw their hearers to faith.

It nevertheless seems to me that John is speaking here of the signs which Jesus worked after the Resurrection. Therefore, he adds "in the sight of his disciples," since after the Resurrection he associated with them alone. Then, so that you may learn that the signs were performed not only for the sake of the disciples but also because it is useful for us to believe these things, he adds: "These things are written so that you may believe that Jesus is the Son of God, and so that, believing, you may have life in his name," that is, through him; for he himself is life.

Chapter Seven, § III

John alone describes another appearance of Christ, identifying its place but not its time. He says: "Jesus manifested himself again at the Sea of Tiberias." He says "manifested himself" because, according to Chrysostom, Christ would not have been seen unless he condescended to be seen, namely, by suspending the brightness of his glorified body.

They had now left the house and gone into Galilee, avoiding danger from the Jews. Chrysostom says that because the Lord was not continually with them, because the Spirit had not yet been given abundantly at Pentecost, and because they had nothing, since they had left everything, they practiced the fishermen's trade.

Peter, Thomas, Nathanael, the sons of Zebedee--that is, John and James the Greater--and two others whose names are withheld were together. Peter said: "I am going fishing." The others answered: "We are coming with you." They therefore went out with him to fish.

Gregory asks in a homily why Peter, who had been a fisherman before his conversion, returned to fishing after the Resurrection, when Truth says: "No one putting his hand to the plow and looking back is fit for the kingdom of God." He answers his own question in *On Penance*, Distinction 5: It was no fault after conversion to resume an occupation which had been without sin before conversion. There are indeed many occupations which can hardly or in no way be practiced without sins. The mind must not return after conversion to those things which implicate it in sin. Thus Gregory.

This must be understood of mortal sin. Hence Matthew the publican did not return to the tax office after his conversion, because that profession was unlawful, whereas fishing was lawful.

Fishing that night, they caught nothing. When morning came, Jesus stood on the shore, but they did not recognize him when they saw him. In answer to his question they said that they had caught nothing. He ordered them to cast the net on the right side of the boat. When they had done so, they enclosed such an abundant multitude of fish that they could not draw the net because of their number.

From this act John recognized that it was the Lord who had commanded them and said to Peter: "It is the Lord." Hearing this, Peter, who was more fervent, put on a garment because he was naked--or because he was not wearing all his clothes--and cast himself into the water so that by swimming he might come more quickly to Jesus. The others came in the boat, drawing the net with them, for they were near the shore.

Peter went up and drew the net ashore, full of one hundred and fifty-three large fish; yet the net was not torn by so great a multitude. When they came down, they saw coals on the ground with a fish laid upon them and bread, which Jesus, as God, had then made miraculously without preexistent matter.

Augustine says: Mystically, in the catch of fish the mystery of the Church is commended as it will exist in the final resurrection of the dead. The fact that there were seven disciples in that fishing expedition signifies by their sevenfold number the entire course and end of time, for time revolves in seven days.

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Seven, § III (continued)

The fishermen who preside are teachers and preachers. But when it was night--that is, before the presence of the sun, namely Christ--the prophets caught nothing. For although they attempted to correct the life of the nation of Israel, it nevertheless frequently slipped into idolatry. Thus Theophilus. [i.e., Theophylact]

“Jesus stood on the shore.” Augustine says: The shore is the end of the sea and therefore signifies the end of the world. Just as in this passage the Lord signified what the Church will be like at the end of the world, so in another catch of fish he signified what it is like now. In that passage Jesus did not stand on the shore; rather, entering one boat, which belonged to Simon, he asked him to draw away a little from the land, as is related in Luke 5, because he was then mortal and therefore upon the sea. Here he had been made immortal by the Resurrection and therefore stood upon the firm shore, not upon the flowing sea.

In that catch the nets are not cast to the right, lest they signify only the good, nor to the left, lest they signify only the wicked. Rather, he says without distinction: “Let down your nets for a catch,” so that we may understand the good and wicked intermingled. Here, however, the net is cast to the right so that those who are to be placed at the right hand--that is, the good alone--may be signified.

He performed the former catch at the beginning of his preaching, but this one after the Resurrection, signifying in the former catch those whom the Church now possesses, and in this one those whom it will possess eternally when the resurrection of the dead has been completed at the end of the world. Those who belong to the resurrection of life--that is, to the right hand--and who are fastened within the nets of the Christian name, namely evangelical doctrine, will appear only upon the shore, that is, when they rise at the end of the world.

For this reason they were unable to draw the nets in such a way as to pour the fish they had caught into the boat, because the elect are not known to the present Church. Yet after the end of this life the Church possesses those on the right hand as though they lay hidden in the depth, in the sleep of peace, until the net reaches the shore.

What was represented in the first catch by two boats is represented here by the two hundred cubits separating them from the shore, namely one hundred and another hundred, on account of the elect of both peoples, circumcision and uncircumcision. Or, according to Bede, the two hundred cubits express the virtue of twofold charity, for through love of God and neighbor we approach Christ.

The roasted fish is Christ in his Passion, who deigned to lie hidden in the waters of the human race and wished to be caught by the snare of death. He who became fish for us in his humanity became bread that restores us from his divinity. The whole of this is indicated by the roasted fish and the bread which the disciples saw placed there.

Gregory says: Holy Church was committed to Peter, for it was said especially to him: “Feed my sheep.” What is afterward openly expressed in words is here signified in the deed. Peter draws the fish to solid ground, because he shows the faithful the stability of the eternal homeland. He did this by his words, he did it by his epistles, and he does it daily by signs of miracles.

It follows: “The net was full of one hundred and fifty-three large fish.” Augustine says: In the other catch the number is not expressed, as though what the prophet foretold is accomplished there: “I have announced it, and they have been multiplied beyond number.” Here, however, there is a definite number, the reason for which must be given.

The number signifying the Law is ten, on account of the Decalogue. When one comes to the law of grace [read: grace comes to the Law]--that is, the Spirit to the letter--seven is in a certain manner added to ten. The Holy Spirit is signified by the number seven on account of his seven gifts, for sanctification belongs properly to him. Sanctification first sounded in the Law on the seventh day; Isaiah likewise commends him by a sevenfold work or gift.

Thus, when the Holy Spirit, represented by seven, is added to the ten of the Law, seventeen results. This number, increasing by the addition of every number from one through itself, reaches one hundred and fifty-three.

Gregory says: Let us also multiply seventeen by three, and fifty-one results. In the fiftieth year all the people rested from every work, but true rest is in unity. Where there is a rupture of division, there is no true rest.

Augustine says: All who belong to the grace of the Holy Spirit and will rise to eternal life are therefore signified by this number. It contains the number fifty three times and, in addition, the three themselves on account of the mystery of the Trinity. Fifty is completed by multiplying seven by seven and adding one. The one is added so that we may know them to be one.

It was not said without purpose that the fish were large. For when the Lord had said, “I have not come to abolish the Law, but to fulfill it,” intending to give the Spirit through whom the Law could be fulfilled, he said a few words later: “He who shall do and teach thus shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven.”

In the first catch the net was torn because of the schisms it signified. Here, because there will be no schisms in that supreme peace of the saints, it was fitting for the Evangelist to say: “Although there were so many”--that is, so many large fish--“the net was not torn.”

When the fishing was completed, the Lord called them to the meal, saying: “Come and eat.” Augustine says: The roasted fish is Christ in his Passion; he is also the bread which descended from heaven. The Church is incorporated into him so that it may participate in eternal beatitude. For this reason it was said: “Bring some of the fish you have just caught,” so that all of us who bear this hope may be understood.

Gregory says: By preparing this final meal for seven disciples, he also declares that only those who are filled with the sevenfold grace of the Holy Spirit will be with him in the eternal refreshment. All this time revolves through seven days, and perfection is signified by the number seven. Thus that refreshment in the future Resurrection will consist in the bread of divinity, in the fish of Christ’s humanity, and in the fish caught here--that is, in the glory and fellowship of the blessed.

“And none of those reclining dared to ask him, ‘Who are you?’ knowing that it was the Lord.” There is no doubt or ignorance in the heavenly homeland, but clear knowledge. Or, according to Chrysostom, John says this because from that time forward they did not have the same confidence to speak with him as before, but sat in silence and with great reverence, attending to him. Seeing his form altered and being filled with great wonder, they were exceedingly astonished and wished to ask him. But the fear arising from their knowledge that it was the Lord restrained their questioning, and they merely ate what he gave them.

The Evangelist says next: “This was now the third time Jesus was manifested after he had risen.” Augustine says this does not refer to the individual manifestations but to the days. On the first day, namely the day of the Resurrection, he appeared five times; on the eighth day he appeared again, when Thomas was with the other ten Apostles; and for the third time--that is, on one other day--he appeared to these fishermen.

After this meal the Lord Jesus established Peter as ruler of the Church when he said, “Feed my sheep,” concerning which we spoke above. He then foretold Peter’s martyrdom. When Peter asked about John himself, “What of this man?” Christ answered: “Thus I will him to remain until I come.” Consequently the report went out among the brethren, that is, the Apostles, that this disciple would not die. But the saying is not to be explained in the present work.

John the Evangelist thus ends his Gospel, saying: “There are many other things which Jesus did. If each of them were written, I suppose that not even the world itself could contain the books that would be written.” Augustine says this should not be understood to mean that the world could not contain them in physical space, but that they could not be comprehended by the capacity of readers. Or, according to Chrysostom, it refers to the power with which Christ acted. Just as it is easy for us to speak, so it was as easy--and much easier--for him to do whatever he wished.

Chapter Seven, § III: The Eighth Appearance

Matthew alone describes the eighth appearance. Although he himself says that the eleven disciples went into Galilee, which was another province from Judea, many others were also present. According to Eusebius, this is the same appearance of which Paul says in First Corinthians 15 that Christ was seen by more than five hundred brethren at once, among whom the eleven Apostles were the chief men.

Matthew says that they went into Galilee, to the mountain which Jesus had appointed for them, that is, Mount Tabor. This is the appearance he had promised them before the Passion when he said: “After I have risen, I shall go before you into Galilee.” When, after rising, he appeared to the women who were going to announce the Resurrection to the disciples, he likewise said: “Tell my brethren to go into Galilee.” The angel who appeared to the Marys at the tomb also said: “Behold, he goes before you into Galilee. There you shall see him, as he told you.”

Ambrose says: I judge the more fitting explanation to be that the Lord commanded the disciples to see him in Galilee, but because they remained within a locked room from fear, he first offered himself to them there.

The Greek commentator says: This was not a transgression of his promise, but rather its fulfillment hastened out of kindness because of the disciples’ faintheartedness. Afterward, when their souls had been strengthened, the eleven went to Galilee.

Therefore, Luke and John write that Jesus appeared only to the eleven in Jerusalem, while the other two Evangelists relate that they hastened to Galilee and that he appeared to all the disciples and brethren. According to Eusebius, the truer resolution is that after he had been seen once or twice for their consolation while they hid in Jerusalem, he showed himself in Galilee not secretly, or merely once or twice, but with great power, presenting himself alive to them after his Passion by many signs, as Luke testifies in Acts.

Or, according to Augustine, the angel's words, "He goes before you into Galilee," must be understood prophetically. Galilee is interpreted "transmigration." He is therefore understood to meet them in Galilee under the signification of transmigration, because they were to migrate from the people of Israel to the nations. Those nations would not believe the preaching Apostles unless the Lord himself prepared the way in human hearts. This is what is meant by his going before them into Galilee.

According to the other interpretation, by which Galilee means "revelation," he must be understood not in the form of a servant but in that form in which he is equal to the Father, which he promised to those who love him. That revelation will be, as it were, Galilee, when we see him as he is. It will also be the more blessed transmigration from this world into that eternity. Coming to us, he did not depart from there; and going before us there, he did not abandon us.

Matthew says that when he appeared to them in Galilee, "they worshiped," namely, as their true God and Lord, "but some doubted," namely, the truth of his Resurrection. Gregory says this should be attributed less to the guilt of their slowness than to our future benefit. Mary Magdalene, who believed quickly, profited me less than Thomas, who doubted for a long time. For when the doubting Thomas touched the body's wound--that is, the opening in the side--he removed from us the doubt or unbelief of the mind.

Christ appeared and said: "All power in heaven and on earth has been given to me." This does not mean that all power was then newly conferred upon him at the Resurrection, for it had been conferred from the beginning of his conception. Rather, he says that it was given to him at the Resurrection because then and afterward this power and the dominion of all things in heaven and on earth given to him were manifested. This follows the scriptural manner of saying that something happens when it is manifested as happening, as the Master says in the Third Book of the *Sentences*.

It follows: "Going," namely, by traveling throughout the world, which refers to the time after the coming of the Holy Spirit, "teach all nations," that is, every race among the nations, "baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit," that is, saying: I baptize you in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit; "teaching them to observe the things I have commanded you," that is, the things necessary for salvation. "Behold, I am with you even to the consummation of the world"--with you through grace or through the sacrament of the Eucharist, not through bodily presence. With this Matthew ends his Gospel.

Chapter Seven, § IV: The Ninth and Tenth Appearances

Mark and Luke narrate the ninth and tenth appearances, which occurred on the day of the Ascension. Mark narrates the ninth more fully; it took place in the upper room. He says: "While the eleven disciples reclined," namely, in the upper room where they were then dwelling together, when they had already sat down at the table to eat, and at an hour between the third and the sixth, Jesus appeared to them. He reproached their past unbelief and hardness of heart, as in Thomas and some others, because they had not believed those who had seen him risen, as was shown above concerning Thomas.

Eating with them, he showed that his body was true and thus strengthened them in faith in the Resurrection, as Luke says at the beginning of Acts. He commanded them not to depart from Jerusalem after the Ascension, but to await there the Father's promise "which you have heard," he said, "from my mouth," and so forth. Luke also touches upon this at the end of his Gospel.

After the meal with them, as Mark relates, he said: "Going into the whole world," namely, after the coming of the Holy Spirit in its proper time, "preach the Gospel to every creature," that is, to every nation of human beings. Or, according to Gregory, to the human being, because a human being participates in the nature of every creature in some way: a human has existence in common with stones, growth with plants, sensation with brute animals, and understanding with angels. For this reason the human being is called "every creature."

"He who has believed," namely, truly, possessing the works of faith, "and has been baptized," either in act or in intention, "will be saved," here through grace and in the future through glory. "But he who has not believed will be condemned," namely, to eternal death. Nor can any ignorance excuse a person from perishing if he does not believe the things which must be believed and live according to that faith.

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Seven, § IV (continued)

Although infants do not believe actually because they lack the use of reason, they nevertheless possess habitual faith received in baptism, just as they possess grace and all the virtues, and therefore they are saved. This is in the title *On Baptism*, chapter *The Greater Ones*.

The Lord Jesus next states the signs which will follow those who believe: “They shall cast out demons; they shall speak with new tongues; they shall take up serpents; and if they drink anything deadly, it shall not harm them; they shall lay hands upon the sick, and they shall be well.”

These signs or miracles were performed literally by the Apostles and many other saints to confirm the faith which they preached. According to Thomas in the Second Part of the Second Part, since faith concerns realities above the natural light of the intellect, it could not be proved better than through supernatural works which nature cannot perform but only divine power, such as miraculous works. The Apostles and other saints did not perform miracles by their own power, but by God’s.

Literally, all the Apostles and many others spoke in various languages, and thus in new--that is, unusual--tongues, as is clear in Acts 2. They cast out demons, as is evident in the legend of Bartholomew and many others. Simon and Jude took away serpents which magicians had brought. John the Evangelist drank poison offered to him by Aristodemus and felt no injury. Laying hands upon the sick, they healed them. Indeed, when Peter passed along the road, sick people touched by his very shadow were healed; and many of the dead were raised by him and by others.

These signs and miracles are not now performed by saints and perfect men, or at least not so abundantly by all the saints, although at no time have there been lacking in the Church, in various places, those who performed true and great miracles. Yet from the fact that miracles are not performed by the faithful, it cannot be argued that they do not truly believe.

At that time bodily miracles had to be performed abundantly so that unbelievers who saw them might be drawn to the true faith. But after the faith had been established and strengthened in many ways by very many miracles, by the teachings of the saints, by examples of perfection, and by the endurance of the martyrs, it was no longer necessary to prove it further.

Gregory gives the example of a little plant, which must be watered while it is small so that it may take root. When it has rooted well and grown, it is watered no further, because it is considered firmly fixed.

Nevertheless, true believers still perform these miracles spiritually, and miracles performed in this way are more salutary to the soul of the person working them than those performed materially. A true worshiper of Christ casts demons out of himself and others by resisting every temptation and driving them from his neighbors by prayers and teachings.

Believers speak with new tongues, not old ones: they utter words to confess their sins, not to excuse them; to praise God, not themselves; and to instruct, not to give evil counsel. They take up serpents when they reject the death-bearing doctrines of heresies. Poison they drink does not harm them, because they are not infected by the evil examples they see so as to follow them. They heal the sick when they assist them in spiritual or bodily necessities. It is therefore more useful to work miracles spiritually than temporally.

Hence Augustine says in Cause 1, Question 1, canon *Let Us Maintain Unity*: Let us maintain unity, brethren. Apart from unity, namely the unity of charity, even one who performs miracles is nothing.

After this Mark adds the tenth appearance, but does not explain it. He says: “After he had spoken these things, Jesus was taken up into heaven,” and so forth. He thus ends his Gospel, saying: “They preached everywhere, the Lord working with them and confirming the word by the signs that followed.”

Luke describes the tenth appearance more fully in Acts 1 and touches upon it near the end of his Gospel, saying that Jesus led them outside Jerusalem to Bethany, that is, to the Mount of Olives. There, when the Apostles, the Marys, and the other disciples had gathered, he appeared to them.

Bede says concerning this passage: The Evangelist silently joins the first day of Christ’s Resurrection to the final day on which he ascended into heaven, saying: “He led them out,” and so forth. First, this was because of the name of the town, Bethany, which means “house of obedience.” He who descended on account of the disobedience of the perverse ascended on account of the obedience of the converted.

Second, it was because of the position of that village, which is related to have been on the side of the Mount of Olives. This signifies that Christ placed the house of the obedient Church upon the foundations of its faith, hope, and love, in the side of the highest mountain, namely Christ himself.

It is signified in this that one ascends into heaven with Christ through obedience and the perfection of virtues: upon the Mount of Olives chiefly through mercy, with palms through victory over temptations, and in the cloud through humility.

Luke says in Acts 1 that those who had assembled there asked him: “Lord, will you at this time restore the kingdom of Israel?” He answered them: “It is not for you to know the times or moments which the Father has placed in his own power.”

Here one should note that the kingdom of Israel is understood in three ways: temporal, spiritual, and heavenly.

The temporal kingdom--that is, the temporal royal dignity among the people of Israel, namely the Jews--began in Saul of the tribe of Benjamin. On account of his disobedience, however, it was transferred while he was still alive to David, who was of the tribe of Judah. The kingdom remained in that tribe until Zedekiah, the final king of Judah.

Yet in the time of Rehoboam the kingdom of the whole Jewish people was divided into two kingdoms. The kingdom of Judah contained only two tribes, Judah and Benjamin, and was the more notable because the high priest, the Temple of Jerusalem, and the kingdom were among them. The kingdom called Israel contained the remaining ten tribes. On account of their crimes, chiefly idolatry, it was led into captivity in the reign of Hoshea, the last king of Israel, by Shalmaneser, king of the Assyrians, and was never brought back from that captivity.

The kingdom of Judah likewise was led into captivity on account of its iniquities by Nebuchadnezzar, king of the Chaldeans. The nobles, chiefly those of the tribe of Judah, together with their king Zedekiah, who had been blinded and bound, were taken to Babylon. From that time the kingdom of Israel--that is, of the Jewish people--was taken away or interrupted.

When the Jews returned from the Babylonian captivity to Jerusalem with the permission of Cyrus, king of the Persians, some time afterward, in the time of the Maccabees, Judas Maccabeus assumed leadership of that people. His brothers Jonathan and Simon did so to a much greater degree, exercising both leadership and the high priesthood, although they were of the Levitical tribe, which frequently contracted marriages with the tribe of Judah. Alexander Jannaeus, a descendant of Simon, assumed royal dignity over that people.

A little afterward Herod, a foreigner, obtained the kingdom of Judea from the emperor Octavian. Finally, because of their rebellion against the Roman Empire, to which they were tributaries at the time of Christ’s Passion, and in vengeance for Christ’s death, innumerable members of that people were killed by sword, pestilence, and famine. Those who remained were dispersed throughout the world and never rose again as a kingdom.

The Jews nevertheless believe that the Messiah whom they await--receiving Antichrist as Christ--will restore their temporal kingdom, and they will adhere to him. Christ’s disciples believed that he truly was the Messiah promised in the Law, and he had spoken to them many times of his kingdom, as in the saying: “I appoint to you,” and so forth, “that you may eat and drink in my kingdom.” They understood this quite materially. For that reason the mother of John and James asked him that they might sit with him in his kingdom, one at his right and the other at his left.

The prophet Micah had said of the Messiah: “From you,” namely Bethlehem, “shall come forth a ruler who shall govern my people Israel.” Therefore they now asked whether he would restore the temporal kingdom to the people of Israel and so free them from Roman servitude.

Because this will occur around the end of the world at the coming of Antichrist, from which they were exceedingly distant--for one thousand four hundred and fifty-seven years have now passed from Christ’s Incarnation--he said to them: “It is not for you to know the times or moments which the Father has placed in his own power.”

The spiritual kingdom is an infused virtue or grace by which God reigns in human minds. Concerning it the Apostle says in Romans: “The kingdom of God is justice, peace, and joy in the Holy Spirit,” that is, the things which are possessed from the grace of the Holy Spirit.

This kingdom had its beginning among that people in Abraham their father. Hence they said to Christ: “Abraham is our father,” in John 8. From him the Hebrews were named, and he is called the father of faith, because when his other kindred and all the nations of the world turned aside into idolatry, faith and the worship of the one true God remained in him alone and in his household.

Although he was a hundred years old and his wife was barren, he believed that a son would be born from him, in whom all nations would be blessed--that is, from his seed, which is Christ. “Abraham believed God, and it was reputed to him unto justice,” as is stated in Genesis 17 [read: Genesis 15:6], that is, unto justification.

He showed true faith from his works by obeying God in all his commandments, even the hardest, as in the command to kill his son. From this son, namely Isaac, Jacob was born, and was called Israel by the angel. From his name the people of the Jews were called Israel.

The worship and faith of God greatly increased among that people in the time of Moses, when the Law was given, as is evident in its ceremonies. Divine worship was also enlarged among that people in the time of David and Solomon, when the magnificent Temple was built at Jerusalem. After it was burned by the Chaldeans, it was repaired by Zerubbabel, Nehemiah, and others. Later, when it had been profaned by Antiochus, king of Syria, it was cleansed and purified by Judas Maccabeus with his brothers.

This spiritual kingdom ought to have been perfected when Christ, who had been promised to them in the Law and to whom all the prophets bear witness, came. Yet, as Peter says in Acts, this kingdom failed among them. Except for Christ's disciples and the faithful of the primitive Church, they fell from faith, the true worship of God, and every virtue. Therefore God does not reign in them through grace, but the devil through malice.

They will not rise to this spiritual kingdom until after the death of Antichrist. Then, seeing themselves deceived by Antichrist, they will be converted "at evening," that is, at the end of the world, to the true faith. They will "suffer hunger like dogs," namely hunger to hear the truth of faith, and "will go around the city," namely the Church, as the Psalm says.

Because this kingdom was even more distant than the first, if they had meant this spiritual kingdom when they asked, "Lord, will you at this time restore the kingdom of Israel?" the fitting answer was: "It is not for you to know," and so forth--that is, to know such a time.

The third kingdom is the heavenly one, in which the saints will reign with Christ, glorified not only in soul but also in body. Then they will all sing the words of the Apocalypse: "You have redeemed us, Lord our God, in your blood and have made us a kingdom and priests"--that is, kings--"for our God, and we shall reign."

This kingdom was begun in Christ's Resurrection when his body was glorified. His Resurrection is the affective [read: efficient] and exemplary cause of our resurrection, which will occur for all Israel at the end of the world. Such will be the restoration of the kingdom which we lost in the transgression of our first parents.

By "all Israel" I mean not carnal Israel, but spiritual Israel according to the interpretation of the name, for Israel is interpreted "seeing God," namely through true faith with works. Thus we are to imitate the risen Christ morally, as the Apostle says: "Just as Christ arose from the dead through the glory of the Father" in a glorified body with the endowments of brightness, agility, impassibility, and subtlety, "so we faithful should walk in newness of life," possessing the brightness of wisdom, the agility of obedience, the impassibility of constancy, and the subtlety of conscience or temperance.

Therefore, if they meant to ask about this kingdom when they said, "Lord, will you at this time," and so forth, he fittingly answered: "It is not for you to know," and so forth, namely, the end of the world or the final resurrection. As Jesus says: "Concerning that day and hour no one knows, neither the angels of heaven nor the Son of Man," namely, so as to reveal it to you.

Just as God alone knew the beginning of the world in his wisdom and created it by his omnipotence, so he reserved to himself alone, to his wisdom and power, the world's end. Thomas therefore says in the Fourth Book of the *Sentences*: All who have wished to speak definitely about the end of the world by fixing a time have been found false; and those who announce this will be found false in the future.

After he said, "It is not for you," and so forth, he added: "But you shall receive the power of the Holy Spirit coming upon you, and you shall be witnesses to me," namely, of my Passion, Resurrection, and divinity. This witnessing occurs not only by preaching, but also by living virtuously.

Hence Jerome says: As often as we do something good, so often do we confess God. This is the confession concerning which he says to the disciples: "You shall be witnesses to me in Judea and Jerusalem and even to the furthest part of the earth." This is in Cause 11, Question 3, canon *They Think*.

As Luke says at the end of his Gospel: "Raising his hands, he blessed them." Theophilus [i.e., Theophylact] says: Perhaps by this he infused into them a preserving power until the coming of the Holy Spirit; and perhaps he instructs us that whenever we depart, we should commend those subject to us to God with blessings.

Origen says: The one who blessed them with raised hands signifies that everyone who blesses ought to be adorned with various works which are lofty in comparison with those of others. For in this way the hands are stretched upward.

Chrysostom says: Attend to how Christ sets the promised rewards before their sight. He had promised the resurrection of bodies from the dead; he himself arose and for forty days made the disciples certain of it. It is also promised that we shall be caught up into the air in the clouds, and he himself reveals this by his deeds. Hence Luke says that he was carried into heaven, and in Acts that "as they watched, he was lifted up," namely, ascending upward from the earth into the air.

Those who saw him were not only the Apostles, but also other disciples, the Marys, and especially the mother of Jesus. For it should be believed that the day and hour of the Ascension had been announced to them beforehand, namely, the sixth hour.

Theophilus [i.e., Theophylact] says: Elijah was seen as though taken up into heaven, but the Savior himself, the forerunner of all, ascends into heaven so that in his sacred body he may appear before the divine sight. Now in Christ our nature is honored by every angelic power.

Chrysostom says: But you will say, "What is that to me?" Because you too will be taken up in the clouds likewise.

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Seven, § IV (continued)

For your body is connatural with that body. Therefore your body too will be so agile that it can pass through the air. As the head is, so also is the body; as the beginning is, so also is the end.

“And a cloud received him into heaven,” not because he needed the cloud’s assistance, but to show that every creature obeys him. He ascended gradually through the air; but when he had been raised so far from the earth that their eyes could see him no longer, he suddenly passed beyond all the material heavens without their being opened or torn, by a divine miracle. He passed beyond all the intellectual heavens, that is, the orders of angels, and all the rational heavens, namely the souls or rational creatures, according to Ephesians 4: “He who descended is the same who ascended above all the heavens”; and the Psalm: “He ascended above the Cherubim and flew; he flew upon the wings of the winds,” that is, upon the subtlety and sublimity of souls.

“He was taken up into heaven,” Mark says, “and sits at the right hand of God,” that is, according to his divinity he rests in equality with the Father. According to his humanity, however, he sits at the right hand--that is, among the better things of glory--holding its highest degree.

Mark thus ends his Gospel, saying that they, namely the disciples, preached everywhere after the coming of the Holy Spirit, the Lord working with them and confirming the word by the signs that followed.

After Jesus ascended, Luke says in Acts 1: “Behold, two men,” that is, two angels in the form of men, “stood beside them in white garments,” to indicate their festivity also. They said: “Men of Galilee, why do you stand looking into heaven?” as though to say: Do not expect him to return to you now; rather, this Jesus who has been taken from you will come to judge in the same manner in which you saw him ascending into heaven.

Chapter Seven, § V

Finally, as regards Christ’s Passion, it does not belong to this work to explain its necessity--because “Christ had to suffer,” as is said in the final chapter of Luke; its quality--because it occurred on the Cross for many reasons, for, as Christ himself says in John 3, “Just as Moses raised the serpent in the desert, so must the Son of Man be raised”; or the immensity and multiplicity of Christ’s sorrow, according to Lamentations 3: “O all you who pass by the way, attend and see if there is any sorrow like my sorrow,” and the Psalm: “My soul is filled with evils,” as regards its sensitive part, namely with the evils of punishments for the evils of our sins, “and my life has drawn near to hell.”

Nor does it belong here to explain the usefulness or power of that Passion. The Psalm says: “Be exalted, Lord, in your power,” that is, be raised upon the Cross in power, namely strength or mercy; “and we shall sing,” praising with the mouth, “and make melody,” imitating in deed your virtues which from the Passion have consequently arisen in us.

Similarly, as regards Christ’s Resurrection: how fittingly he arose, for, as he himself says in the final chapter of Luke, “He had to rise on the third day,” that is, this was necessary by a necessity of fittingness; and he rose on the third day, neither before nor afterward.

Concerning the hour the Psalm says: “Arise, my glory,” that is, my divinity, which seemed to have slept in the Passion by not defending me; “arise, psaltery,” that is, the body, in which are the ten strings, namely the organs of the ten exterior and interior sensitive powers; “arise, harp,” that is, the soul. He answers: “I shall arise at dawn,” that is, in the deep dawn.

How did he arise truly? “The Lord has truly risen and has appeared to Simon,” as is said in the final chapter of Luke. He proved this by many arguments, appearing to them for forty days and showing himself alive: by the testimony of angels; by the testimony of his human enemies guarding the tomb, as is evident in the final chapter of Matthew; by the testimony of the dead who, having been raised, came into the holy city and appeared to many; and by the testimony of his disciples, to whom he appeared ten times, as was said above.

He also proved it by the testimony of his deeds. That he had the same body he showed through the marks of the wounds of the Cross. That he possessed a true soul with its powers he indicated, as regards the vegetative power, by eating with them; as regards the sensitive power, by sight, hearing, and touch; and as regards the intellective power, by explaining the Scriptures. He showed his divinity by entering among the disciples while the doors were closed, through a special miracle of his divinity.

How did he arise integrally? According to John 12: “When I have been raised from the earth,” namely raised from the dead, “I shall draw all things to myself”: souls, by leading them from limbo; his vivified body, by drawing it from the closed tomb; and all the

blood shed in various places, by taking it back to himself. Yet he retained the openings of his wounds for five causes, not from impotence, and with great beauty and fittingness.

How did he arise socially, both as regards body and as regards soul? Matthew 27 says: “Many bodies of the saints arose,” namely, when Christ arose. He himself is called in the Apocalypse “the firstborn of the dead,” namely, of those who rise. As regards the soul, when his soul departed he led all the souls from the limbo of the fathers, according to the words of Zechariah: “You also, through the blood of your covenant,” namely its confirmation, “led them from the pit in which there was no water,” that is, from the limbo of the fathers.

How did he arise powerfully? By his own power, namely that of his divinity. First Corinthians 15 [read: Second Corinthians 13:4] says: “He was crucified from weakness, but he lives,” namely, risen, “from the power of God.” He also arose powerfully because he arose to immortal life. Romans 6 says: “Christ, rising from the dead, now dies no more.” He arose with the endowments of a glorified body, namely brightness, agility, impassibility, and subtlety.

Ecclesiastes 1 says: The sun of justice, namely Christ our God, “rises” in his Nativity, “sets” in his Passion, “returns to its place” in his Resurrection, “and there, being born anew,” in his Ascension, “turns through the south” in the sending of the Holy Spirit, and “bends toward the north” in the final examination of judgment. The sun possesses brightness and agility because it is exceedingly swift in its motion; it possesses the impassibility and subtlety of matter because its ray penetrates glass.

How did he arise usefully? Because he is the cause of our resurrection. Hence he says to Martha in John 11: “I am the resurrection and the life,” that is, the cause of resurrection. And Job 13 [read: Job 19:25] says: “I know that my redeemer,” namely through the Passion, “lives,” that is, will live through the Resurrection, “and on the last day I shall rise from the earth,” namely by the power and example of his Resurrection. Philippians says: “We await our Savior, our Lord Jesus Christ, who will reform the body of our humility, conformed to the body of his brightness.”

How did he arise morally? That is, to form our life in an immortal manner. By rising on the third day he showed that we do not rise from the death of the soul before the day of contrition, the day of confession, and the day of satisfaction--“day,” I say, because this occurs in the light of grace. By rising to immortal life he indicated that we ought not to relapse into mortal sins.

By rising with the endowments, he indicated that, just as he arose from the dead through the glory of the Father--that is, with glorious endowments--so, the Apostle says, “we too should walk in newness of life”: adorned with the brightness of wisdom or prudence, the agility of obedience or justice, the impassibility of constancy or patience, and the subtlety of temperance.

Also, because he did not associate continually with the disciples but withdrew himself, he taught us not always to remain among crowds or companions, but sometimes to be solitary so that we may better recollect ourselves and attend to ourselves. When he appeared to the disciples, he suspended his brightness, instructing us to conceal our brilliant works and not display them from vanity. Again, he sometimes consoled them and sometimes reproved them, as for unbelief and foolishness, and so forth.

I omit a condensed explanation of all these matters because it does not pertain to this treatise, but you have it extensively in the Third Part of blessed Thomas.

Similarly, concerning Christ’s Ascension: how it occurred with great joyfulness. The Psalm says: “God ascended in jubilation,” namely that of the angels and souls. How it occurred with the greatest power. The Psalm says: “You ascended on high; you took captivity captive,” leading the fathers, whom he had taken from the devil, out of limbo and bringing them with himself into heaven.

How it occurred to our profit and with many benefits. Ephesians says: “He who descended is the same who ascended above all the heavens, that he might fill all things,” namely, the human intellect with faith, the will with charity, and the mind with hope, filling all the ruins left by the angels with human souls.

In Book 1 of the *Ecclesiastical History*, Eusebius relates that Josephus, the historian of the Jews, who died in Judaism, bore testimony concerning Christ. As Josephus himself testifies about himself, he was the son of Matthias, a priest from Jerusalem. He was regarded as exceedingly noble not only among his own fellow citizens, the Jews, but also among the Romans, so that on account of his literary merit he was presented with a statue in the city of Rome and his books were handed over to the library.

He wrote the history of the *Antiquities* in twenty books. He also encompassed the war waged by the Jews with the Romans in seven volumes, and wrote two volumes on the antiquity of the Jews.

In that book he teaches, according to the tradition of the elders, which volumes are held as authoritative among the Hebrews, in these words: We do not have innumerable volumes which disagree among themselves. Rather, there are only twenty-two books which contain the sequence of all times and which are rightly believed to have been written by divine inspiration.

Five of these belong to Moses. They contain the laws of life and the succession of human origins according to wisdom [read: the lineage of the human condition], extending to the end of Moses himself, and encompass a period of a little less than three thousand years. From the death of Moses to Tarses [read: Artaxerxes], who reigned among the Persians after Xerxes, the prophets who lived

through those times wrote the events in thirteen volumes. The remaining four books hand down hymns to God, ways of life, institutions, and admonitions for mortals.

Everything from Artaxerxes to our own time has indeed been written, but these writings are said not to possess the same worthiness of faith as the former ones, because there was not thereafter the same continuous and well-attested succession of prophets.

The facts themselves show how reverently we use our Scriptures. Although so many ages have passed, no one has ever dared to add anything, remove anything, or change anything. Rather, in all the people of our nation there is, as it were, an implanted and innate faith that these are God's decrees, that one must adhere to them continually, and, if the matter itself should require it, willingly lay down one's life for them. Thus Josephus.

The emperor Titus, as Josephus likewise relates, considered it so important that knowledge of the events from these books should reach all people that he subscribed with his own hand that the books of Josephus ought properly to be read publicly by everyone. Josephus lived in the time of the emperor Titus, who destroyed Jerusalem.

Concerning Christ he therefore writes as follows in the book of the *Antiquities*: At that time there was a wise man, Jesus, if indeed it is right to call him a man. For he was a worker of marvelous deeds and a teacher of those people who gladly hear true things. He joined to himself both many Jews and many from the Gentiles. He was the Christ.

When Pilate, at the accusation of the chief men of our nation, had decreed that he should be put upon the Cross, those who had loved him from the beginning did not desert him. For he appeared to them alive again on the third day, according as the divinely inspired prophets had foretold either these things or innumerable other future marvels concerning him. Even to the present day, both the name and the race of Christians, who are named from him, have endured. Thus Josephus.

Josephus also relates that John the Baptist was the most just of all, describes his saving doctrine and baptism, and says that he was finally beheaded by Herod, both because he reproved Herod for incest and because Herod feared that the people adhering to John's doctrine would withdraw from his kingdom and dominion.

Eusebius adds: What further refuge or excuse will remain for the shameless and faithless, so that they are not most plainly convicted of the falsity of the events which the Jews afterward invented?

Chapter Seven, § VI

The same Eusebius says in Book 2: Meanwhile, when happy report of the Resurrection and miracles of our Lord Jesus Christ and of his Ascension into heaven was already spoken in every place, and the reputation of this blessed report flew through the ears of all, it was an ancient custom among the Romans that, if anything new happened in the provinces which they governed, provincial judges reported it to the emperor or the Senate, so that they would not appear ignorant of anything that occurred.

Pilate reported to the emperor Tiberius the Resurrection from the dead of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, which had now been published in every place. He also reported his other miracles and that, since Christ had risen after death, he was already believed by very many to be God.

Tiberius reported what he had learned to the Senate. The Senate is said to have scorned it because notice of this matter had not first been brought to itself, but the opinion of the people had forestalled its authority. For an ancient law had been established that no one should be held as a god among the Romans unless confirmed by a decree of the Senate. Yet the truth of what was taking place was that divine power should not be thought to need human advocates.

Although the Senate rejected the things stated above, Tiberius nevertheless maintained his opinion that no one should attempt anything contrary to the teaching of Christ. Tertullian, a man exceedingly skilled in Roman laws and institutions and very distinguished among our writers, related this in the *Apologetic* which he wrote against the Gentiles for our faith, saying: Tiberius, in whose time the Christian name entered the world, reported to the Senate the things announced to him from Syrian Palestine which had revealed the truth of Christ's divinity. Although the Senate rejected them because he had not initiated the matter, Caesar remained in his opinion, threatening danger to the accusers of Christians. Thus Tertullian.

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Seven, § VI (continued)

Eusebius adds: Certainly, divine wisdom then instilled this into Caesar's mind so that, without any obstacle in those very beginnings of the Gospel, the word might run in every direction.

One of the Gentile Sibyls, long before Christ's coming, also foretold many things concerning Christ, as Augustine relates in *The City of God* after Lactantius. Among other things, after recounting his miracles, she said: After these things the priests of the Hebrews will gather against Christ because he will perform many signs. They will seize him and give God blows with unchaste hands and poisonous spittle from an impure mouth.

He will give his holy back to the scourges, and, receiving blows, he will remain silent, so that no one may recognize that he is the Word or whence he came. He will be crowned with a crown of thorns. For food they will give him gall, for his thirst vinegar; they will suspend him upon wood and kill him.

But you yourself, foolish one, did not understand your Lord playing with mortal senses. At midday there will be a dark night for three hours. He will take the lot of death, having received sleep for three days. Then, returning from the lower regions, he will come first to the light. He will show mortals the beginning of the Resurrection, because he will rise on the third day and show himself to his disciples. As they watch, he will ascend into heaven, and of his kingdom there will be no end.

Eutropius found in the Roman annals that the following letter had been written to the senators of Rome by Lentulus, a Roman who found himself in the region of Judea.

Likewise, in the time of Octavian Caesar, when those who presided over provinces in various parts of the world wrote to the senators at Rome concerning the new events occurring throughout the regions of the world, a certain man named Lentulus, who held an office in the territory of Herod, king of Judea, wrote to the senators as follows:

At this time there has appeared, and still lives, a man of great power named Jesus Christ. He is called by the nations a prophet of power; his disciples call him the Son of God. He raises the dead and heals every disease.

He is a man of moderately tall stature and striking appearance, possessing a venerable countenance, which those who behold can love and fear. His hair is the color of an unripe hazelnut and smooth almost to the ears. From the ears downward it forms curling locks, somewhat more bluish and shining, flowing over his shoulders. His hair is parted in the middle of his head according to the custom of the Nazarenes.

His forehead is smooth and very serene, with a face without wrinkle or any blemish, which a moderate redness adorns. His nose and mouth are wholly without fault. He has a full and youthful beard, the same color as his hair, not long but forked in the middle.

His gaze is simple and mature; his eyes are blue-gray, varied, and bright. In reproof he is terrible; in admonition gentle and lovable; cheerful while preserving gravity. He was never seen to laugh, but he was seen to weep.

In bodily stature he is well-formed and upright, possessing hands and arms delightful to see. In conversation he is grave, sparing, and modest, "beautiful among the sons of men."

Chapter Eight

The disciple whom Jesus loved, John, observed that Matthew, Mark, and Luke in their Gospels had treated of Christ's humanity. They had recounted not all the wondrous deeds performed by him in time--for according to Chrysostom his miracles are an immeasurable sea--but those which the Holy Spirit taught them were fitting to narrate to human beings; and they related his teaching in parables as more suitable for the people.

John himself, like a great eagle with great wings, flew happily to the highest cedar of Lebanon, the most holy Trinity, the splendor of glory. What he had heard, what he had seen, and what his hands had handled concerning the Word of life he contemplated more clearly. From the middle of the cedar, as though standing between the Father and the Spirit--not spatially but numerically, if I may speak thus--he brought to us the unique food of angels and human beings.

He also related certain wondrous things omitted by the others, such as the illumination of the man born blind and the revival of Lazarus. He supplied the disputes with the Jews, added many exhortations, and also recounted the honey-flowing discourse at the Last Supper, full of brotherly love and the sacred mysteries of divine things.

He therefore began his Gospel at such a height, saying: "In the beginning was the Word," so that, as Origen says, if he had begun any higher, the whole world would not have been able to contain him. Then, after his sublime flight as far as the sun of justice, he bent himself like an eagle toward the carcass of our mortality assumed by Christ, saying: "The Word was made flesh and dwelt among us."

John wrote his Gospel when he was already ninety years old or thereabouts, after his return to Ephesus from the island of Patmos, where he had written the Apocalypse. He did so at the prayers of the faithful, especially because many heresies had already risen against Christ, denying or blaspheming his divinity.

In those words one may note Christ's threefold nativity, which is represented in the three Masses celebrated on the day of the Nativity. The first is his eternal and divine nativity: "the Word." The second is his human and temporal nativity: "was made flesh." The third is his interior and spiritual nativity: "dwelt among us."

The first is treated at the beginning of the Gospel; the second in the middle, at "the light in the darkness"; and the third at the end, at "he came unto his own."

Hence the introit of the first Mass speaks of the eternal nativity. The words of the Psalm are spoken: "The Lord said to me: You are my Son." The Son speaks of the Father, whose speaking to him is the generation of the Word; and this nativity is eternal. Therefore he says, "Today," that is, eternally, for all things are present and complete to eternity. He consequently adds "I have begotten you" in the perfect tense.

The introit of the second Mass appears sufficiently to treat of the interior and spiritual nativity by which Christ dwells in us. For this reason he was born temporally, so that he might lead us to spiritual things. Hence it is said: "A light shall shine today upon us," and so forth. This is sung or read at dawn, when darkness is departing and signs of light begin to appear, but not yet the bright light. In the same way, one can apprehend from certain signs and conjectures, in oneself and in others, that the nativity which occurs through the light of spiritual grace is present within us, but it cannot be known with certainty.

The introit of the third Mass speaks of the temporal nativity, namely the words of Isaiah: "A child is born to us." It is sung in the brightest light of day because that nativity was manifest. For all could look upon his flesh with bodily eyes. Thus the words "All flesh shall see the salvation of God" are understood.

The first Mass, however, is said in the darkest part of the night because that eternal nativity is wholly unknown to us wayfarers.

This Gospel, or the portion of the beginning of John's Gospel as far as "full of grace and truth," is said daily at the end of Mass. A certain Platonic philosopher, hearing it read in church, said that it should be written in golden letters upon the doors of churches. Plato also noted its beginning in his books, although he did not understand the divine Word as personally distinct from the Father. For Jerome says: Learned Plato did not know this; eloquent Demosthenes was ignorant of this. Therefore the author explains it extensively.

In the first part, four things can be noted concerning the born Word. First is his most sublime majesty, from "In the beginning" through "all things through him." Second is his most universal power, from "all things through him" through "what was made." Third is his most illustrious wisdom: "What was made in him was life." Fourth is his most ardent charity toward us, at "and the life was the light of men."

The first part contains four clauses which indicate his majesty in four ways. The first is the spirituality of his essence: "In the beginning," and so forth. The second is the distinction of his person: "And the Word." The third is the identity of his substance: "And God." The fourth is the eternity of his permanence: "He was."

The spirituality of the Son's essence is noted in the name "Word." The word of which we speak is not something bodily or vocal, but mental, and hence spiritual, according to the words of the Psalm: "My heart," God says--that is, my mind--"has uttered a good word."

These three expressions must be considered diligently: "the Word," "was," and "in the beginning." To clarify the first, blessed Thomas says in his commentary on John: It should be known that, according to the Philosopher, things which are in the voice are signs of the passions which are in the soul.

It is customary in Sacred Scripture for the things signified to take the names of their signs, and conversely, as in the words "The rock was Christ." It is therefore necessary that the intrinsic reality in our soul which is signified by our exterior word be called a word.

It is plain that what exists inwardly in the soul and is signified by the voice precedes the word uttered by the exterior voice, since it is its cause. Therefore, if we wish to know what the interior word in our soul is, we should see what the word uttered by the exterior voice signifies.

There are three things in our intellect: the power of intellect itself; the species of the thing understood, which is its form and is related to the intellect as the species of color is to the eye's pupil; and third, the operation itself, which is understanding.

None of these is signified by a word uttered by the exterior voice. The name "stone" does not signify the substance of the intellect, because the one naming does not intend to say this. Nor does it signify the species by which the intellect understands, since this also is not the intention of the one naming. Nor does it signify the act of understanding itself, since understanding is not an exterior act but one which remains within.

Therefore, properly speaking, the interior word is understood to be that which the one understanding forms by understanding. The intellect forms two things according to its two operations. According to the operation called the understanding of invisibles [read:

the understanding of indivisibles], it forms a definition. According to its other operation, by which it combines and divides, it forms a proposition or something of that kind.

What is thus formed inwardly and expressed through the operation of the intellect in one who defines or states is signified by the exterior voice. Hence the Philosopher says that the concept signifies a name and a definition [read: the concept signified by a name is a definition]. What is thus expressed and formed in the soul is called the interior word.

It is compared to the intellect not as that by which the intellect understands, but as that in which the intellect understands, because in what is thus expressed and formed it sees the nature of the thing understood. It is therefore clear what is signified by "word" and that it is something spiritual in the soul.

From what has been said, we can understand two things concerning a word. First, a word is always some true thing proceeding from an intellect existing in act. Second, a word is the concept and likeness of the thing understood.

If the same thing is both the one understanding and the thing understood, then the word is the concept and likeness of the intellect from which it proceeds. But if the one understanding and the thing understood are different, the word is not the concept and likeness of the one understanding, but of the thing understood. Thus the conception which someone has in the mind concerning a stone is a likeness only of the stone. But when the intellect understands itself, a word of this kind is the concept and likeness of the intellect. Augustine therefore locates the likeness of the Trinity in the soul insofar as the mind understands itself, not insofar as it understands other things.

It is consequently clear that a word must be posited in every intellectual nature to which understanding belongs. For it belongs to the nature of understanding that, in understanding, the intellect form something. This formation is called a word, and therefore a word must be posited in every being that understands.

According to Thomas in the same place, the Word of whom John speaks here--and of whom Ecclesiasticus 1 says, "The fountain of wisdom, the Word of God on high"--differs from our word in three ways.

The first difference, according to Augustine, is that our word is formable before it is formed. When I wish to conceive the concept of a stone, I must reach that concept by reasoning; and it is so with all other things understood by us, except perhaps first principles, which, because they are naturally known to us, are understood immediately without a discursive process of reason.

Therefore, as long as the intellect runs through its reasoning, it is cast this way and that, and the formation is not yet perfect until it has perfectly conceived the concept of the thing. Only then does it first possess the character of a word. Thus in our soul there is both thought, by which the discursive process of inquiry is signified, and a word, which has already been formed by the perfect contemplation of truth.

Our word is therefore first in potency before it is in act. But the Word of God is always in act. Hence the name "thought" does not properly belong to the Word of God. Augustine therefore says in Book 15 of *On the Trinity* that it is called the Word of God in such a way that it is not called thought, lest anything as though changeable be believed to be in God.

The second difference between the divine Word and ours is that our word is imperfect, whereas the Word of God is most perfect. Because we can express in one word all the things which are in our soul [read: because we cannot express in one word all the things which are in our soul], there must be many imperfect words through which we express separately everything contained in our knowledge.

It is not so in God, since by one act through his essence he understands both himself and everything else. Therefore the one divine Word expresses everything which is in God--not only the Father, but also creatures. Otherwise it would be imperfect. Augustine therefore says: If anything were less in the Word than in the knowledge of the one speaking, the word would be imperfect. But it is most perfect; therefore there is only one. Job 33 says: "God speaks once."

The third difference is that our word is not of the same nature as we are, but the divine Word is of the same nature as God and is something subsisting in the divine nature.

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Eight (continued)

For the concept understood concerning some thing, which our intellect forms, has only intelligible being in our soul. The soul's act of understanding is not the same as the soul's natural being, because the soul is not its own operation. Therefore, the word which our intellect forms does not belong to its essence but is an accident in it.

In God, however, understanding and being are the same. Consequently, the Word of the divine intellect is not an accident, but belongs to his nature. It must therefore subsist, because everything which is in the nature of God is God.

From the preceding points it must be held that, properly speaking, “Word” is always taken personally in divine matters, since it signifies nothing other than something expressed by one who understands. Again, because the Word in divine matters is the likeness of the one from whom it proceeds, it must be coeternal with the one from whom it proceeds, since it was not formable before being formed but is always in act.

It must also be coequal with the Father, since it is perfect and expresses the Father’s entire being; and it must be coessential and consubstantial with him, since it subsists in his nature.

It is also clear that, because in natural things whatever proceeds while possessing the nature and likeness of that from which it proceeds is called a son, and this Word proceeds in the likeness of the nature of the one from whom it proceeds, this Word is called Son and its production is called generation.

The first point is thus clear: what that which is called “Word” is, and that it is something spiritual.

According to Chrysostom, this is the reason why John, speaking of the Son of God, did not say, “In the beginning was the Son.” If we heard “generation” under the name “Son” in divine matters, we might suppose that it was like generation among human beings, namely material and passible. He therefore did not say “Son,” but “Word,” which signifies an intelligible procession, so that you might understand that generation to be not material and passible, but spiritual. John 4 says: “God is spirit”; and John 3: “That which is born of spirit is spirit.”

Or John says “Word” rather than “Son” because “Son” indicates only a relation to the Father, whereas “Word” indicates a relation to the speaker, to that which is spoken through the word, to the voice which it puts on, and to the teaching which it pours forth through the word. Therefore no name could have been used so fittingly as “Word.”

It indicates a relation to the Father from whom it proceeds, just as does the name Father; to the creatures which the Word made; to the flesh which it assumed; and to the teaching which it supplied. For John was about to speak of him insofar as he had come to manifest the Father. That manifestation occurs chiefly through a word, and therefore John most fittingly describes him under the name of the Word.

Chrysostom raises another question: Why did John pass over the Father and immediately begin with the Son, saying, “In the beginning was the Word”? He answers that the Father was had become known to everyone [read: the Father had become known to everyone] in the Old Testament, although not under the aspect of Father but as God. The Son of God, however, was unknown. Therefore, in the New Testament, which treats of knowledge of the Word, John began with the Son.

This was also because human beings are brought through the Son to knowledge of the Father, according to John 17: “Father, I have manifested your name to human beings.” John therefore fittingly begins the Gospel with the Son, saying: “In the beginning,” and so forth.

Augustine raises a third question. Since the Greek has *Logos* where we say “Word,” and *Logos* in Latin signifies both reason and word, why was it translated as “Word” rather than “Reason”? He answers that “reason” properly signifies a concept of the mind insofar as it exists in the mind, even if something is produced outwardly through it, whereas “word” is compared to exterior things.

By saying *Logos*, the Evangelist intended to signify not only the Son’s relation to and existence in the Father, but also the Son’s operative power in the Father, since all things were made through him. Therefore, our ancient teachers translated *Logos* as “Word” rather than “Reason,” because “word” signifies a relation to exterior things, whereas “reason” signifies only a concept of the mind.

Origen raises a fourth question. In many places of Scripture where the Word is mentioned, “of God” is added, that is, “the Word of God,” as in Apocalypse 19, “His name is the Word of God,” and Isaiah, “The Word of the Lord remains forever.” Why does John here use “Word” absolutely, without any addition?

Origen answers that, although there are many participated truths, there is nevertheless one absolute truth which by its own essence is absolute wisdom raised above all things, namely divine wisdom, by participation in which all things are wise. Likewise, there is one absolute Word by participation in which all who possess a word are said to be speakers. It is the divine Word, which through itself is Word, raised above all words. Therefore, to indicate this preeminence of the Word, the Evangelist presents the Word to us absolutely, without any addition.

Chapter Eight, § I: On the Word “Was”

Since the imperfect past tense appears to be incompatible with eternity, in which there is no passing away, it seems that the Word of God is not fittingly described by “was.” The answer is that the Word’s being is noted here as permanent, immutable, and preceding all things. Because “was” signifies these three things, John fittingly said “was.”

Since it is a middle between the present and the past, a middle partakes of the nature of the extremes. From the present “was” has permanence, from the past immutability, and from itself priority and order, namely the order of eternity to time. Therefore he most fittingly said “was.”

Thomas accordingly says in his commentary that, if we attend to the manner of temporal things, a verb of the imperfect past tense appears most suited to signify eternal things. The future is not posited as existing in act. The present is posited as existing in act, but is not designated as having existed. The perfect past signifies that something existed but is now ended and has ceased. The imperfect past, however, signifies that something existed but was not yet ended and had not ceased, but still remained.

For this reason, whenever John posits something eternal, he significantly uses the imperfect “was”; where he posits something temporal, he uses the perfect “was.” Yet, according to its proper meaning, the present tense is most suitable for designating eternity, because it signifies something as existing in act, which always belongs to eternal realities.

Hence Exodus 3 says: “I am who am.” Augustine says that he alone truly is whose essence knows neither past nor future.

According to the gloss, one must also consider that the verb “was” is not taken here as signifying temporal motions in the manner of other verbs, but as signifying the existence of a thing; hence it is called a substantive verb.

[Running head: Chapter Eight. Folio 160.]

But someone may ask: Since this Word is begotten by the Father, how can it be coeternal with him, when among human beings a son begotten by his father is later than he is? According to Thomas in the place cited above, a principle of origin is found to be prior in duration to that which proceeds from the principle for three reasons.

First, the principle of origin of a thing precedes in time the action by which it produces the thing of which it is the principle. A human being, for example, does not begin to write as soon as he exists, and therefore the human being precedes the writing in time.

Second, an action has succession. Therefore, even if it begins together with the agent, the action’s terminus comes after the agent. Thus, as soon as fire is generated among these lower things it begins to tend upward, but the fire exists before its tending upward, because the motion by which it tends upward is measured by a certain time.

Third, it happens because the beginning of duration is determined by the will of the one who is the principle, just as the beginning of the creature’s duration is determined by God’s will. Hence God existed before the creature.

None of these three is found in the generation of the divine Word. God did not exist before he began to generate the Word. Since the generation of the Word is nothing other than his intellectual conception, it would follow that God’s intellect was first in potency before it was in act, which is impossible.

Likewise, the generation of the Word cannot be successive. If it were, the divine Word would first be unformed before being formed, as happens in us, who first form words by thinking. This is false.

Nor can it be said that the Father by his will furnished the Son with a beginning of duration, because God the Father does not generate his Son by will, as the Arian heretics said, but naturally. God the Father naturally conceived him by understanding himself, and therefore God the Father did not exist before the Son.

As soon as fire exists, it possesses light, from which radiance proceeds not successively but immediately, not by will but naturally; therefore, as soon as fire exists, its radiance exists. If fire were eternal, its radiance would be coeternal. For this reason the Son is called the radiance of the Father, according to Hebrews 1: “Who, since he is the radiance of glory.”

But connaturality is lacking in this likeness, and therefore we call him Son; yet among the sons who are known to us, coeternity is lacking. We must arrive at knowledge of divine things from many sensible likenesses, because one does not suffice.

We therefore name the Son of God with various names in order to express in various ways his perfection, which cannot be expressed by one name. To show that he is connatural with the Father, he is called Son; to show that he is altogether like him, Image; to show that he is coeternal, Radiance; and to show that he is immaterially begotten and something spiritual, Word.

Chapter Eight, § II: On the Words “In the Beginning”

Thomas says in the place cited above: It should be known that “principle” is said in many ways. A principle signifies a certain order toward other things, and therefore wherever order is found, the character of a principle is also found.

Order is found in quantities. Thus, in numbers unity is the principle; the principle of length is a line, and the principle of a line is a point. Order is found in time, and thus one speaks of a principle of time or duration.

Order is also found in disciplines, and a principle in them is twofold, either according to nature or in relation to us. In this way, in Christian teaching Christ is the beginning and principle of our wisdom insofar as he is the Wisdom and Word of God, that is,

according to dignity. In relation to us, however, Christ himself is the principle insofar as the Word was made flesh, that is, according to the Incarnation.

Order is also found in the production of a thing. According to this, a principle is spoken of either on the part of what is generated, namely the first part of the thing generated or made, as the foundation is called the principle of a house; or on the part of the maker. On the maker's part there are three principles: the principle of intention, which is the end moving the agent; the principle of reason, which is the form itself in the artisan's mind; and the principle of execution, which is the power of operating.

Since "principle" is said in these ways, one must see how it is taken here when "In the beginning" is said. It can be taken in three ways.

In the first way, it stands for the person of the Son, who is the principle of creatures, both as the principle of active power and as the Word of wisdom, which is the reason of the things that are made. Hence First Corinthians 1 says: "Christ, the power of God and the wisdom of God"; and the Lord says of himself in John 8: "I am the beginning, who also speak to you."

When "principle" is understood in this way, the words "In the beginning was the Word" are expounded as though John said: "In the Son was the Word," so that the meaning is that the Word itself was the principle. This follows the manner of speaking by which life is also said to be in God, although that life is nothing other than God himself. Origen expounds it this way.

Chrysostom says: To show Christ's dignity immediately at the beginning, the Evangelist said, "In the beginning was," and so forth, because in everyone's estimation the principle is most honorable.

In the second way, "principle" can be taken as standing for the person of the Father, who is the principle not only of creatures but also of the Son. It is taken in this sense in the Psalm: "With you is the principle in the day of your power," and so forth. In this sense the words "In the beginning was the Word" mean, "In the Father was the Son." Origen and Augustine expound it this way.

The Son is said to be in the Father because he has the same essence as the Father. Since the Son is his own essence, wherever the Son's essence is, there is the Son. Because the Son's essence is in the Father through consubstantiality, it follows that the Son is in the Father. Hence John 14 says: "I am in the Father, and the Father is in me."

In the third way, "principle" can be taken as the principle of duration, so that "In the beginning was the Word" means that the Word existed before all things, as Augustine explains. According to Basil and Hilary, the eternity of the Word is designated by this.

For this shows that whatever beginning of duration anyone may take--whether of the time of bodily things, of the age of eternal things, of the age of the whole world, or any imagined beginning of duration--the Word already existed before it in that beginning. This is what Proverbs 8 says: "The Lord possessed me at the beginning of his ways, before he made anything from the beginning." What exists before the beginning of duration is eternal.

Thus, by the first exposition the Word's causality is asserted; by the second, his consubstantiality with the Father; and by the third, his eternity.

Chapter Eight, § III: On the Second Clause, "And the Word Was with God"

Thomas says in the place cited above: The meanings of the divine expressions which were not used in the first clause must be considered. They are two: "God" and "with."

It should therefore be known, as regards the first expression, namely "God," that the name "God" signifies deity in a supposit and in a concrete manner.

[Running head: Fifth Title.]

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Eight, § III (continued)

The name "deity," however, signifies deity abstractly and absolutely. Therefore, by natural force and not by its mode of signifying, the name "deity" can stand for a divine person, but only for the nature [read: by its natural force and mode of signifying, the name "deity" cannot stand for a divine person, but only for the nature]. The name "God," however, naturally and by its mode of signifying must stand for any person, just as the name "human being" stands for a person possessing humanity.

Whenever the truth of the predicate in a statement requires the name "God" to stand for a person, it then stands for a person, as when it is said: "God begets God." So too when it is said here, "with God": because "with" is a preposition signifying a distinction of the Word himself--not a distinction from the nature of the Father with whom he is, but only from the first person through a relation

of origin--“God” must stand here for the person of the Father. Thus, when the Evangelist says “with God,” he signifies the person of the Father.

Concerning the second expression, namely “with,” it should be known that this preposition signifies a certain conjunction directly and implies a relation to the thing signified by the oblique case, as does the preposition “in,” but in a different way. “In” implies an intrinsic conjunction, whereas “with” speaks of an extrinsic conjunction in a certain manner.

Therefore we use both in divine matters, saying both that the Son is in the Father and that he is with the Father. What is intrinsic in divine matters pertains to consubstantiality. What is extrinsic--if it is permissible to speak of “extrinsic” in divine matters, where the word is not used properly--refers to the distinction of persons, since the Son is distinguished from the Father only personally.

Accordingly, by each of these two prepositions both consubstantiality in nature and distinction in persons are designated: consubstantiality insofar as it implies conjunction, and distinction of persons insofar as it signifies a certain distinction.

Because “in” principally designates consubstantiality, insofar as it implies an intrinsic conjunction, and consequently the distinction of persons, insofar as every preposition is transitive; whereas “with” indeed designates conjunction but principally the distinction of persons, insofar as it implies a certain extrinsic conjunction; the Evangelist used the preposition “with” more particularly in this place to indicate the Son’s personal distinction from the Father, saying: “And the Word was with God,” that is, the Son was with the Father as a person other than the Father.

It should be known that four things are designated by the preposition “with,” through which four objections are excluded.

First, “with” signifies subsistence in the direct case. For one does not properly say, “Whiteness is with the body,” since whiteness is not subsistent. But since a human being is something subsistent, one properly says that one human being is with another.

Second, it signifies authority in the oblique case. One does not say that a lord is with his servant or a king with his soldier; rather, conversely, one says that the servant is with the lord and the soldier with the king.

Third, it signifies distinction. One does not say that one human being is with himself, but that he is with another human being.

Fourth, it signifies conjunction and a certain fellowship. When I say, “Such a person is with such another,” I indicate a certain social conjunction.

According to these four conditions implied in the preposition “with,” the Evangelist fittingly joined this clause, “And the Word was with God,” to the first clause, namely “In the beginning was the Word.” Whether “principle” is taken as what is before all things or as the Father, four objections raised by heretics arise, but they can be excluded through the four conditions of “with” stated above.

The first objection is this: You say that the Word was in the beginning, that is, before all things, according to the exposition stated above. Where, then, was the Word, if he was before all things? This objection proceeds according to the imagination of those who hold that all things which are anywhere are in a place.

John excludes the objection when he says “with God,” so that “with” designates conjunction according to the final condition stated above. According to Basil, the meaning is as if someone asked John: Where, then, was the Word, if he was before all things? He answers: With God. It is as though he said: Not in a place, since he is uncircumscribable, but with the Father, who is contained neither by place nor by any circumscription.

The second question is this: You say that the Word was in the beginning, that is, before all things. But things which are before all things appear not to proceed from anything. Therefore this Word does not proceed from anything.

This objection is excluded when John says, “And the Word was with God,” taking “with” according to the second sense, in which it implies authority. According to Hilary, the meaning is: When you ask, “From whom is the Word, if he is before all things?” John answers: He is with God. It is as though he said: Although he lacks a beginning of duration, he does not lack an authority of origin, for he was with the Father as with his author.

The third question concerns the other exposition of “principle,” in which it signifies the Father, and is this: You say, “In the beginning was the Word,” that is, the Son was in the Father. But what is in something does not appear to be subsistent, just as whiteness, which we say is in a body, certainly does not subsist. Therefore, the Word is not a subsistent hypostasis.

This objection is removed by John’s words, “And the Word was with God,” taking “with” according to the first sense, in which it signifies subsistence in the direct case. Chrysostom explains: “The Word was with God,” not as an accident, but with God as something subsistent and a hypostasis.

The fourth objection is: You say that the Word is in the Father, because he is “in the beginning.” But what is in something is not distinct from it. Therefore, if the Son is in the Father, he is not distinct from him.

This objection is removed by the words “The Word was with God,” taking “with” as implying a certain distinction. According to Alcuin and Bede, the meaning is: The Word was in the principle, that is, in the Father, through consubstantiality of nature, but he is nevertheless with God the Father through distinction of person.

From this clause, therefore, you have the Word’s conjunction with the Father in nature according to Basil; distinction in person according to Alcuin and Bede; the Word’s subsistence in the divine nature according to Chrysostom; and the Father’s authority of origin in relation to the Word according to Hilary.

Chapter Eight, § IV: The Third Clause, “The Word Was God”

According to Thomas in the place cited above, this follows most fittingly in the order of teaching. Since John had stated when the Word was and in whom he was, it remained to ask what he was. John answers: “The Word was God,” that is, the Word was God, with “Word” placed as the subject and “God” as the predicate.

[Running head: Chapter Eight. Folio 161.]

But since one must first ask what a thing is before asking where or when it is, why did John arrange matters in the opposite order, placing last what the Word is? Origen answers that the Word of God is said to be with God in one way and with human beings in another.

Among human beings he is present as perfecting them, because through the Word of God a human being is made wise and prophetic. Hence Wisdom 7 says of wisdom: “She makes friends of God and prophets,” illuminating them with the light of wisdom.

The Word is not said to be with God in this way, as though the Father were perfected and illuminated by him. Rather, the Word is with God in such a way that the Word receives and obtains from God that he is God. Because the Word has the property of being God through being with God and in God, it was necessary first to show that the Word was in the Father and with the Father before showing that the Word was God.

It should also be known that through the clause “The Word was God,” two questions arising from the preceding statements can be answered.

The first arises from the name “Word” and is this: You say that the Word was in the beginning and with God. But it is evident that, in common usage, “word” signifies a sound, a statement of matters, or a manifestation. These pass away and do not subsist. How, then, can one believe this of the Word of whom John speaks?

According to Augustine on John, this question is resolved when John says, “In the beginning was the Word,” for he sufficiently shows that “Word” is not taken for speech. Since speech is in motion and passes away, it cannot be said to have been in the beginning.

The same is sufficiently understood when he adds, “And the Word was with God.” It is plain that inhering is one thing and being present another. Since our word does not subsist, it is not present but inheres. Since the Word of God is subsistent, however, it is present. The Evangelist significantly shows this by saying, “And the Word was with God.” But to remove the cause of the objection completely, he expressed the Word’s name and being, saying: “And the Word was God.”

The other question arises because John said “the Word was with God.” Since “with” signifies distinction, one might believe that the Word was with God the Father in such a way that he was distinguished from him in nature. To exclude this, John immediately added, “And the Word was God,” as though to say: The Word is not separated from the divine nature; rather, the Word is God himself.

One should also note this manner of speaking: “The Word was God.” He uses “God” absolutely, to show that the Word is not God in the manner in which creatures are called gods in Sacred Scripture, but that he calls the Word God simply and absolutely.

When some creature is said to be a god, this is always made clear by some addition, as in Exodus: “I have appointed you the god of Pharaoh,” signifying that Moses is not simply God as is the Word of God, but that he was given as a god to Pharaoh to punish him and free the children of Israel. Likewise the Psalm says: “I said, you are gods,” as though to say: according to my estimation, not according to the truth of the thing. It is one thing to be called a god, another to be God.

The Word of God is therefore called God absolutely because he is God according to his essence, not by participation as human beings and angels are.

It should also be known that it is necessary to posit a word in every intellectual nature. For it belongs to the nature of understanding that, by understanding, the intellect forms something, and that formation is called a word. Therefore, just as intellectual nature is threefold, so a word is threefold.

There is a human, angelic, and divine intellectual nature. Thus there is a human word, as in the Psalm: “The fool said in his heart,” and so forth; an angelic word, as in Zechariah 1: “The angel who spoke said,” and so forth; and a divine Word, as in Genesis 1: “God said: Let there be light,” and so forth.

Since the Evangelist speaks of the Word, it is evident that he does not mean a human or angelic word, because each is made and does not precede the one speaking. Human beings and angels have their own beginning and cause.

Again, a human word is threefold. There is a mental word, as in the Psalm, “My heart uttered a good word,” insofar as David speaks of himself. There is a vocal word, as in Matthew 8, where the centurion said to Christ: “Only say the word, and my servant shall be healed.” There is a manual word of deed or writing, as when David asked: “What is the word which has been done?”

Yet the discourse and writing of God is called “word” especially by excellence, as though a sounding or thundering word. Augustine says: The word of God which is preached is no less than the body of Christ. This is in Cause 1, Question 1, canon *I Ask*.

Here one must also note that Origen erred shamefully by saying that the Word was not God by essence, even though he was Word essentially, but was God by participation, and that the Father alone was God by essence. Thus he posited the Son as less than the Father.

But since the Apostle says in Romans 9, “From whom is Christ, who is God above all,” and the final chapter of First John says of Christ, “This is the true God and eternal life,” what Origen imagines is false and heretical. Since the Word spoken of here is God, the Father is God, and there is only one divinity, it is clear that the Word is consubstantial with the Father and one God with him.

Chapter Eight, § V: The Fourth Clause, “This Was in the Beginning with God”

This is introduced because of the preceding clause. From the Evangelist’s statement that the Word was God, those who do not think rightly could draw two false understandings.

One is from the Gentiles and Manichees. The Gentiles posit a multitude and diversity of gods, contrary to whom the Lord said in Exodus 20 [read: Deuteronomy 6:4]: “Hear, Israel, the Lord your God is one.” They also posit contrary wills among the gods, like those who tell the fable that Jupiter fought with Saturn. The Manichees invent two contrary first principles.

Because the Evangelist had said, “The Word was with God, and the Word was God,” these people could adduce it in support of their error, understanding that he was another or contrary God, which is against the law of the Gospel. To exclude this he says: “This was in the beginning with God.” According to Hilary, it is as though he said: The Word is God in such a way that he nevertheless does not possess a divided divinity, but is with God, that is, in the one nature in which God himself exists.

Again, lest the statement “The Word was God” be understood to mean that he possessed a contrary will, John added, “This Word was in the beginning with God,” namely the Father--not divided from him or contrary to him, but possessing with him unity of nature and concord of will.

This union comes through the conjunction of the divine nature in the three persons and through the bond of love between the Father and the Son. That bond of love is called, and is, the Holy Spirit. According to Jerome, the Holy Spirit is neither the Father nor the Son, but the love of the Father for the Son and of the Son for the Father--not accidental love, as our love or an angel’s love is, and as their word is, but subsistent love, the third person in the Trinity and one God, just as the Word is one God with him and the Father.

[Running head: Fifth Title.]

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Eight, § V (continued)

According to the statement in First John 5: “There are three who bear witness in heaven,” namely to the Trinity, “the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit; and these three are one,” namely in essence. For just as the sun immediately produces its radiance, and through that radiance, by reflecting upon the earth, produces heat, so the Father produces the Son, and the Father and the Son produce the Holy Spirit.

In this Gospel, however, John says nothing expressly about the Holy Spirit, because his purpose at this point was to treat only of the Word. Later, however, in chapters 14 and 16, he says many things expressly about him.

The Arians say that the Son is less than the Father because Christ said in John 14: “The Father is greater than I.” Yet, according to Augustine, Christ was speaking there of himself according to his humanity, in which he is certainly less than the Father because he is a creature; according to his divinity, however, he is equal to the Father.

Those Arians say that the Son is less than the Father both with regard to eternity and with regard to the divinity of his nature. But these claims are excluded by what follows. For they say that two things--eternity and omnipotence--are proper to the great God whom they call the Father, and they say that the one in whom those two things are found is that great God.

The Evangelist, however, shows that these two things are in the Word: eternity when he says, “This was in the beginning with God,” that is, this Word existed from eternity, not from the beginning of creatures as the Arians explain it; and omnipotence in what he adds, “All things were made through him.” Therefore the Word himself is the great God and is not less than the Father.

If anyone rightly considers the four clauses just discussed, he will plainly find the errors of heretics and philosophers destroyed by them.

Certain erring heretics, such as Ebion and Cerinthus, said that Christ had not existed before the Virgin Mary but had taken the beginning of his duration from her. They called him a mere man and said that afterward he possessed divinity through good merits. Photinus and Paul of Samosata also followed this error. Their error is excluded when John says here, “In the beginning was the Word,” that is, from eternity in the Father and before all things. Therefore he did not take his beginning from the Virgin.

Sabellius indeed confessed that Christ had not taken his beginning from the Virgin but had existed from eternity. He said, however, that the person of the Father who existed from eternity was not different from that of the Son who took flesh from the Virgin, but that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit were the same person. Thus he posited confusion in the Trinity. Against this the Gospel says, “And the Word was with God,” that is, the Son was with the Father as one person with another.

Eunomius held that the Son was altogether unlike the Father. The Evangelist excludes this by saying, “And the Word was God.” For if we call the Word God and the Father God, and the Son is God, then the Son is like the Father.

Arius said that the Son was less than the Father. But this is excluded when it is said, “This was,” and so forth, as has been explained.

False opinions of philosophers are also excluded by these words. Certain natural philosophers held that the world came to be not from any intellect or through any rational principle, but by chance. Therefore they placed no intellect or rational principle as the cause of things in the beginning, but only flowing matter, such as the atoms which Democritus posited, and other material principles which others posited. Against them, therefore, stands John’s statement, “In the beginning was the Word,” from whom things took their beginning and not from chance.

Plato, however, posited subsistent ideas of all things that are made, separated from their proper matters. Through participation in them material things would exist: for example, through the separated idea of a human being, which he called the human being in itself, individual human beings would possess their humanity. Lest, therefore, you understand the idea through which all things were made to be separated from God, as Plato held, the Evangelist added, “And the Word was with God.” It is therefore not an Idea, but the Word.

Other Platonists also, as Chrysostom reports, posited God the Father as supreme and first, and beneath him they posited a certain mind in which they said the likenesses and ideas of all things existed. Lest, therefore, you understand that the Word was with the Father as beneath and less than him, the Evangelist adds, “And the Word was God.”

Aristotle did not place the ideas of all things in God, and he held that the intellect, the one understanding, and the thing understood are the same; but he held the world to be coeternal with God. Against this the Evangelist says that this Word alone “was in the beginning with God,” so that “this” does not exclude another person, but another nature coeternal with him. The coeternity of the Word with the Father is therefore indicated here.

Chapter Eight, § VI: “All Things Were Made Through Him”

After describing the majesty of the Word, John here sets forth his most universal efficacy.

Augustine says on John: Through him by whom the angel was made, the worm also was made; through him by whom the human being was made, the stone also was made; and through him by whom heaven was made, the earth also was made, because all things were made through him.

Three things concerning the Word of God are shown through this clause.

First, according to Chrysostom, his equality with the Father is shown. For just as John, by having said, “This was in the beginning with God,” excluded Arius’s error by showing the coeternity of the Son, which Arius denied, so here he excludes another error of Arius by showing the omnipotence of the Son, which Arius also denied. Therefore he says, “All things were made through him.” To

be the principle of all things made is proper to the great and omnipotent God, according to the Psalm: “All things whatsoever the Lord willed, he made,” and so forth. The Word, therefore, through whom all things were made, is the great God and equal to the Father.

Second, according to Hilary, the Son’s coeternity with the Father is shown. Because John had said, “In the beginning was the Word,” someone might say that he existed at the beginning of creatures, yet that there was some time before creatures in which the Word did not exist. Excluding this, John therefore says, “All things were made through him.” If all things were made through him, then time itself was also made through him.

From this he argues as follows: If all time was made by him, then no time existed before him, nor did he begin to exist in any time or age. Time began when the creature began. Therefore he is coeternal with the Father from eternity.

Third, according to Augustine on John, the consubstantiality of the Word with the Father is implied. For if all things were made through the Word, it cannot be said that the Word himself was made. Augustine says: How could it be that the Word of God was made, when God made all things through the Word? If the Word himself was also made, through what other word was he made? If you say that this is the Word of God through whom that very Word was made, I then call him the only-begotten Son of God; I acknowledge the unmade Word through whom all things were made.

Augustine likewise says in *On the Trinity*: If he was not made, he is not a creature; but if he is not a creature, then he is of the same substance as the Father. For every substance which is not God is a creature, and that which is not a creature is God.

[Running head as printed: Chapter Five. Folio 138.]

Concerning the words “All things were made through him,” three errors held by certain people must likewise be guarded against. The first error is that the Word gave the Creator a cause for creating the world. The second is that the Holy Spirit was made through the Word as a creature. The third is that the Father worked in creating the world through the Word as his instrument or as a minister inferior to him.

Beginning with the second error, which was Origen’s: Origen said that, because John says “all things” without qualification, and whoever says “all things” excludes nothing, it follows that the Holy Spirit, who is something, was made through the Word. But if this were a sufficient argument, it would follow that the Father also, since he is something, was made through the Word; nothing more absurd could be said.

For if the Holy Spirit had been made, it would follow that he was a creature, less than the Father and the Son, and not God, although John 4 says, “The Spirit is God,” and he is of the same substance and dignity as the Father and the Son. First John 5 says: “The Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, these three are one.” What Origen says is therefore heretical, because the Holy Spirit was neither made nor created through the Word.

Hence, when the Evangelist says, “All things were made through him,” the expression “all things” is not posited simply and absolutely. Rather, it is an accommodated distribution including all things that are in the class of things made, that is, of creatures. He explains it thus: All things among those which were made were made through the Word.

Every tribulation and affliction of a human being, insofar as it is a penalty, was made and inflicted by the Word, because insofar as a penalty of this sort is just, God is the author of every just thing. Hence the prophet Amos says: “There is no evil in the city,” namely penal evil, “which God has not done.”

But insofar as penalty and affliction are inflicted unjustly, that comes from a creature, from its malice. Although God is the cause of the action insofar as it is an action, just as he is the cause of every motion, he is not the cause of the defect of reason in the one who acts badly. Hence Augustine says: “The creature whom God made does not persecute you”--namely a human being or his soul--“but the malice which a human being made.” Therefore all adversities must be borne patiently, because they never occur except by God’s just judgment, even if it is hidden from us.

Chrysostom says to note that Moses enumerates over many chapters all the things which he describes as made, saying, “God said: Let there be light,” and “Let there be a firmament,” and so forth. John passes beyond all these things and expresses them in one word, saying, “All things were made through him.” The reason is that Moses intended to transmit the emanation of creatures from God and therefore enumerates them, whereas John intends in this book to lead us to a higher subject, namely to knowledge of their Creator.

For the refutation of the first and third errors mentioned above, it should be noted that the preposition “through” implies causality and operation in the oblique case in a certain manner, but in different ways. Since operation is intermediate between the one operating and the thing operated upon, the operation itself can be considered in two ways: in one way, insofar as it proceeds from the one operating; in another way, insofar as it terminates in the thing operated upon.

Therefore, the preposition “through” sometimes signifies the cause of the operation insofar as it proceeds from the one operating, and sometimes insofar as it terminates in the thing operated upon.

It signifies the cause of the operation insofar as it proceeds from the one operating when that which is signified by the oblique case becomes the cause--either efficient or formal--of the agent's operating. It is formal, as when fire is said to heat through heat: heat is the formal cause by which fire heats. The moving or efficient cause is illustrated when a bailiff is said to act through the king: the king is the cause of the bailiff's acting.

The preposition "through" signifies the causality of the operation insofar as it terminates in the product when we say that a carpenter makes a bench through an axe. The axe is not the cause of the carpenter's operating, but rather a cause of the bench's being made by the worker.

Now to the matter at hand. When it is said, "All things were made through him," if "through" denotes a moving or efficient cause moving the Father to operate, then the Father operates nothing through the Son, but operates all things through himself. Valentinus the heretic therefore thought falsely that all things were made through the Word because the Word was the cause of the Creator's making the world.

What others have said in explaining "All things were made through him" is also false: namely, that the Word was the cause of the Creator's acting by supplying him with the matter for making the world. If this were so, John would have said, "All things were made by the Word through the Creator." He does not say this, however, but rather, "All things were made through him."

But if the preposition "through" denotes a formal cause, then all things were made through the Word because all things were made through God's wisdom, just as they were made through his essence. For wisdom and the Father's power are attributed to the Son, in accordance with First Corinthians 1: "Christ, the power of God and the wisdom of God." Therefore, by this mode of appropriation, we say that the Father operates all things through the Son, because he operates them through his wisdom.

If, however, the preposition "through" denotes causality on the side of the product, then our statement that the Father makes all things through the Son is not appropriated but proper to the Word, because the Word's being the cause of creatures is received from another, namely from the Father, from whom he has his being.

Nevertheless, it does not follow from this that the Word is the Father's instrument, although everything which is moved by another toward operating something has, universally speaking, the character of an instrument. That statement is true when what is signified through that causality is not the cause of the agent's operating, but is a cause of the operation insofar as it terminates in the product.

When something is said to act through a power received from another, this can happen in two ways. In one way, the giver and the receiver have numerically one and the same power. In this way, the one acting through the same power received from another is not less than the one from whom he receives it, but equal to him.

Therefore, because the Father gives the Son the same power which he possesses and through which the Son operates, when the Father is said to operate through the Son, the Son must not for this reason be called less than the Father or his instrument, as certain heretics have said. This consequence follows in those who receive from another not the same power but another and caused power.

This is the other way, in which the one receiving power from another is less than the one from whom he receives it. Thus a bailiff is said to act through the king, namely by a power given to him by the king, which is less than the king's power; and so the bailiff is less than the king.

To conclude what has been said, "through" can designate the formal and efficient cause and also, though improperly, the final cause. It is therefore explained in different ways.

According to the formal cause, "All things were made through him" means "through his wisdom," which is attributed to the Son. For whoever makes something must first conceive it in his wisdom. Otherwise, no one would ever make anything unless there existed beforehand an actual conception in his wisdom which was the form and rational principle of the thing made, just as the form of an ark pre-conceived in the artisan's mind is the rational principle of the ark to be made.

Thus God operates nothing except through the concept of his intellect, which is the wisdom conceived from eternity, namely the Word of God and Son of God. Therefore it is impossible that anything should be made except through the Word. Hence Augustine says: "The Word of God is the art full of all living ideas."

According to the efficient cause, however, all things were made through him, namely through an active power equal to the Father and the same power which he received from the Father, and not as through an instrument and an inferior power.

[Running head: Fifth Title.]

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Eight, § VI (continued)

According to the final cause, although this is an improper use, all things were made through the Word because God worked for this end: to manifest his wisdom and beauty, according to Proverbs 16: “The Lord has made all things for himself,” namely in order to manifest himself.

Chapter Eight, § VII: “And Without Him Nothing Was Made”

This can be explained so that it expresses more emphatically what John had said, “All things were made through him.” It is as though he said: “All things” so universally that, among created things, there is nothing which was not made through him.

It can also be explained otherwise, in three ways.

In one way, it signifies that the cause and power of our operation are from him, so that, just as we have our being from him because all things were made through him, so also we have the power to operate from him. For without him--that is, unless he moves it--everything that has been made is nothing, that is, it possesses no power to do anything, according to John 15: “Without me you can do nothing.”

In another way, it signifies that the cause and influx of our preservation are from him. Thus, without him--that is, without his continually flowing into and sustaining it--everything that has been made is nothing, that is, it would come to nothing. For just as the creature is from nothing, so of itself it has a tendency toward nothing. Hence Gregory says in the *Moralia*: “All things would be reduced to nothing unless the hand of the Almighty,” that is, the power of God, “sustained them.”

In a third way, it intimates that the cause of our defilement is from us alone and not from him. Thus it is explained: Without him--that is, while he did not act--nothing, that is, sin, was made, that is, worked by the creature. Augustine explains it this way on John.

Sin is called “nothing” because it is not a nature but a defect of reason, just as darkness implies the privation of light and not a nature. Human beings become nothing when they commit sin, that is, they deserve to be annihilated by it and are nothing in spiritual being. Therefore, that someone commits sin is from himself and not from God, in accordance with the statement in Hosea: “Your destruction is from yourself, O Israel.”

Here it should also be noted, according to Thomas in the place cited above, that certain people understood “nothing” affirmatively. It is as though the Evangelist said: “I have said that all things were made through the Word in such a way that nothing was made through him,” as though “nothing” signified some existing thing. From this false interpretation arose three errors.

The first is that of Valentinus, who said that certain principles preceded this Word, together with thirty ages produced from those principles. He calls those principles and ages, which he says existed before the Word, “nothing,” because they are above our reason and cannot be comprehended by our intellect.

As Augustine says in *On the Trinity*, this Valentinus posited many principles and thirty ages proceeding from them. First he posited two principles which he named Depth and Silence, calling Depth the Father. He said that ten ages proceeded from these two. He likewise said that two other principles, namely Intellect and Truth, proceeded from Depth and Silence, and that eight ages proceeded from them. From Intellect and Truth, he said, came two other principles, namely Life and Word, from whom twelve other ages proceeded. Thus there are thirty ages. From Word and Life, however, he said that the man Christ and the Church proceeded. Valentinus thus placed these things before the Word and therefore says that such things were made without him, that is, before him. But these claims are foolish and heretical.

The second error concerning this clause was that of the Manichees, who posited two principles, one of incorruptible things and another of corruptible things. This heretic therefore says that, when John says of the Word that all things were made through him, lest anyone understand that not only incorruptible but also corruptible things were made through the Word--since, according to him, corruptible things are from the contrary principle, namely the devil--the Evangelist added, “Without him nothing was made,” that is, corruptible things. It is as though he said: Everything that is converted into nothing was made without him.

The third error was that of those who said that “nothing” is understood to mean the devil, according to Job 18: “Let him dwell in the tent who is not,” that is, the devil. They explain it thus: All things were made through the Word in such a way that “nothing,” that is, the devil, was not made through him.

All these heresies have arisen because they understand affirmatively what is understood negatively, as was explained above.

Chrysostom says that, although John had said, “All things were made through him,” he did not add, “Without him nothing was made,” superfluously. Because Moses, in enumerating the creatures made in the beginning, sets down only visible creatures, lest someone believe that John too, when he says “all things,” understands only visible things, he adds, “Without him nothing was made,” to show that nothing was created, whether visible or invisible, which was not made through the Word.

Or again, according to Chrysostom, not only the deeds performed by Christ which the Evangelists narrate were done through the Word, but also all other things which exist. Thus this clause, “Without him,” and so forth, is placed as a completion of the first part, “All things,” and so forth, in order to show that total causality and omnipotence are in him.

Or, according to Hilary, John shows by this that the Father is not excluded from the operation of all things. Hence, “without him,” namely without his cooperating, means that there is nothing made by the Father which was not also made by the Son together with the Father, according to Proverbs: “I was with him composing all things,” namely, I Wisdom was with the Father.

Chapter Eight, § VIII: “What Was Made in Him Was Life”

Here the Word’s supreme wisdom and goodness are indicated, because whatever was made has its rational principle in his wisdom, which he himself is, just as the rational principle of artifacts is in the artisan’s wisdom.

Many good things are found among these lower things--beautiful, pleasant, luminous, precious, and productive of knowledge--which draw human beings to love them. All these are in the divine Word as effects in their cause, and are in him more perfectly than they are in themselves. Therefore his immense goodness and wisdom ought to seize our affection and draw it to him. Hence the Commentator also says that the perfections of all things are in God, but without the admixture of defect which exists in creatures. Hence it was said to Moses in Exodus: “Come to me and I shall show you every good,” namely myself. Because good things are unfailing in him, it is therefore said, “In him was life.”

The words “What was made,” and so forth, are explained and punctuated in many ways.

Origen, in a homily, explains them thus: “What was made in him,” that is, through him, for in Scripture “in” is sometimes used for “through,” as in Colossians 1: “In him all things were created,” and so forth. “This was life,” not in itself but in its cause.

This is common to all creatures: effects, whether produced by nature or by intellect, exist in their causes not according to their proper being but according to the power of their proper cause. Thus lower effects are in the sun as in their cause, not according to their own being but according to the sun’s power. Since God, who is a certain life and the art full of all living ideas, is the efficient cause of everything produced, everything that was made “in him,” that is, through him, was life in its cause, namely in God himself.

[Running head: Chapter Eight. Folio 163.]

Augustine, however, reads and punctuates it thus: distinguish after “What was made”; then read, “In the Word himself was life.” Things can be considered in two ways: in one way, insofar as they are in themselves; in another way, insofar as they are in the Word.

If they are considered insofar as they are in themselves, not all things are life or living. Some things are living, while others lack life. Earth, metals, and things of this sort were made, yet they are neither life nor living. Animals and human beings were also made; although they live, they are nevertheless not life, but only live insofar as they exist in themselves.

The Manichee, however, understood badly when he explained and punctuated it thus: “What was made in him,” that is, through the Word, “was life,” that is, living. He said that all things--the stone, wood, and other things also, considered in themselves--possess life. Experience teaches that this is false.

If, however, things are considered insofar as they are in the Word, then whatever was made in the Word is not only living but also life. For the rational principles which exist spiritually in the wisdom of God, through which things were made, are life from the Word himself.

Thus an ark made by an artisan neither lives in itself nor is life. But the rational principle of the art which preceded it in the artisan’s mind lives in a certain manner insofar as it has intelligible being in the artisan’s mind. It is not, however, life, because the artisan’s intellect is neither his essence nor his being. In God, however, his act of understanding is his essence and his life, and therefore whatever is in God is his essence. Hence the creature in God is the creative essence. If, therefore, things are considered insofar as they are in the Word, they are life.

Origen, however, reads it differently, punctuating it thus: “What was made was in him”; and afterward, “He was life.” Here it should be noted, according to Thomas in the place cited above, that something is said of the Son of God in three ways.

In one way, something is said of him according to himself, and thus he is called the Son of God, God, omnipotent, and things of this sort. In another way, something is said of him by comparison to us, such as Savior and Redeemer. In a third way, something is said of him in both ways, namely according to himself and with respect to us.

In all things which are said absolutely of the Son of God according to himself, it is not said that he was made: thus the Son of God is not said to have been made God or to have been made omnipotent. But in things which are said by comparison to us, or even in both ways, the qualification “made” can be added so that he is said to have been made something. Thus in First Corinthians 1 the

Apostle says of Christ that “he was made for us by God wisdom and justice,” and so forth. Although in himself he had always been justice and wisdom, it can nevertheless be said that he was newly made justice and wisdom for us.

Thus, according to Origen, although the Son of God is life according to himself, he was made life for us insofar as he gave us life, according to Romans 5 [read: First Corinthians 15:22]: “In Christ all will be given life.” Therefore it is said that the Word who was made for us was life in himself, so that at a certain time he might become life for us. Hence John also adds, “And the life,” and so forth.

Hilary punctuates it differently and explains it subtly. He joins “what was made in him” with the preceding clause, “Without him nothing was made,” and says: Without him--that is, without the Word operating together with the Father--nothing was made; what was made was made “in him,” that is, through God himself. Then, as though assigning the reason, he adds, “He was life,” namely the Word himself. Since the Son was perfect life from eternity, which he possessed from the Father according to John 5--“As the Father has life in himself, so he also gave the Son to have life”--nothing was therefore made without him.

Chrysostom offers another manner of explaining and punctuating the text, joining it with the preceding clause thus: “Without the Word himself nothing was made that was made.” By this the Holy Spirit is excluded from the class of things made, for he was not made by the Word but proceeds from him. He then says, “In him was life.” This is introduced for two reasons.

First, it shows, after the production of all things, the unfailing character of his influence and causality not only toward things already produced but also toward things yet to be produced. It is as though he said: In him was life through which he not only was able to produce all things, but which also possesses an unfailing outflow and causality, without the loss caused by change, for the continual production of things--like a living fountain which is not diminished by its continual flow. The Psalm says: “With you is the fountain of life.”

Second, it shows that the governance of things is through the Word. For because life is in him, this shows that he does not produce things by a necessity of nature, but by will and intellect, and by that intellect he governs the things produced.

Chrysostom possesses such authority among the Greeks in the exposition of Scripture that, where he gives an exposition, they admit no exposition but his. Hence in all the Greek books no punctuation is found other than the punctuation he gives.

Augustine explains the text more elegantly than all the others, saying that when it is said, “What was made in him was life,” it means that in him it had the exemplar and living rational principle of all things made. This rational principle is called living because it is spiritual, not material; immutable, not variable; and eternal, not temporal. This is the rational principle of life, for life is a continuous spiritual act flowing from a being that is at rest and everlasting.

Chapter Eight, § IX: “And the Life Was the Light of Men”

Here the Word of God’s most efficacious charity toward human beings can be noted. Every creature possesses as much good as God loves it. For God’s love gives creatures being and every good, and by giving more things to a creature he shows that he loves it more.

Thus to some creatures, such as the elements, heavens, and planets, he gave being; to others, such as plants, he gave being and life, which is greater; to others, such as brute animals, he gave being, life, and sensation. To the human being, however, he gave, together with the angels, the power to understand God. Through this the human being is said to exist in the image of God in Genesis 1.

This understanding is indicated when it is said, “And the life was the light of men.” That is, the Word himself, who is life, is the light of human beings, supplying them with the light of reason by which they can know God, which other irrational creatures do not possess.

Although he is also the light of angels, because they know God through the light of intellect, John nevertheless says “the light of men” because reason is implied in the name “human being,” since a human being is a rational animal, and reason is called light. Through natural reason, by investigation, the philosophers knew and proved God, according to Romans 1: “What is known of God is manifest in them,” and so forth. Thus his intense love for us is shown, since he gave us more than he gave other creatures.

Here it should be noted, according to Augustine and many others, that the name “light” is said more properly of spiritual things than of sensible things. Ambrose, however, holds that “radiance” is said metaphorically of God. According to Thomas, no great force should be given to this difference, for of whatever the name “light” is said, it refers to manifestation, whether that manifestation is among intelligible things or sensible things.

[Running head: Fifth Title.]

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Eight, § IX (continued)

If manifestation in intelligible and sensible things is compared, the name “light,” according to its nature, is found first in intelligible things rather than in visible things. But if we attend to the imposition of the name, the reverse is true.

For clarity concerning the statement, “The life was the light of men,” it should be known that there are many degrees of life.

Some things live but are without light, because they possess no manifestation of knowledge, as is the case with plants. Hence their life is not light.

Some things live and know, but because their knowledge is only sensible, it concerns only particular and immaterial things [read: particular and material things], as in brute animals. These have both life and light, but they do not have the light of human beings.

Others both live and know not only true things themselves, but also the rational principle of truth, as rational creatures do. To them not only this or that is manifested, but also truth itself, which can be manifested and which manifests all things. Therefore, when the Evangelist speaks of the Word, he asserts that he is not only life but also knowledge; and lest you suspect knowledge of the kind found in brute animals, he adds “of men.”

Although he is also the light of angels, because John intended to hand down to us knowledge of the Word insofar as he is ordained to the salvation of human beings, he therefore said “the light of men,” that is, of every rational creature.

The perfection and dignity of this life are also implied, because it is intellectual or rational. Those things are said to live which move themselves in some manner. Among lower creatures, however, properly to move oneself belongs only to the human being. Those things are said to possess perfect life which move themselves perfectly. Therefore, since the human being is master of his own acts, he freely moves himself toward what he wills, but brute animals do not. The life of the Word, therefore, which is the light of the rational creature, is perfect.

The Word is called “the light of men” in two ways. In one way, by way of an object, as though visible only to human beings, because the rational creature alone can behold him, since it alone is capable of the divine vision. In another way, he is called the light of human beings as a participated light. For we could never behold the Word of God and that very light except through the participation in him which exists in the human being, namely the higher part of the soul, that is, the intellectual light.

From the foregoing, take a brief summary of the eternal nativity of the Word.

First, the sublimity of his majesty is set forth. Hence the Word himself is spiritual because he was “in the beginning,” that is, in the Father, who is called the principle because he is the principle not only of creatures but also of the Word himself and the Holy Spirit. “The Word was,” that is, the Son was begotten not materially, as among human beings, but spiritually, as a word is generated in the mind. This divine Word, however, differs from our mental word in three ways, as is evident in the first clause.

Second, the Word born from the Father is shown to be subsistent and personally distinct from the Father, because the Word himself “was with God.” An accident is not said to be with a subject; rather, one subsistent thing is said to be with another. Nor is one person said to be with itself, but with another person distinct from it.

Third, that Word is shown to be not a human or angelic word, but the divine Word, because “the Word was God.” Hence, since there is only one God essentially, and the Father is God and the Word, the Son, is God, it follows that he is one substance and essence with the Father.

Fourth, that Word is eternal because “this was in the beginning with God,” from the beginning, that is, before all ages and times. The Psalm says: “Your Word, O Lord, remains forever.”

Second, the efficacy of the Word himself in operating is noted, because “all things were made through him,” namely within the class of things that were made, that is, created. Hence the Holy Spirit was not made, just as neither was the Father. The Word preserves and governs all these things, because without his influence and governance, “what was made” is nothing, that is, it does not exist.

Third, his infinite wisdom and goodness are signified, since the rational principles and goodness of all things made are in him, because “what was made in him,” as in its wisdom and cause, “was life,” that is, living and most perfect.

Fourth, the Word’s greatest charity toward us is signified in that he gave human beings not only life, but also the light of reason through which they can know God.

Chapter Eight, § X: On the Second Nativity of the Word, or of Christ, Through Which the Word Dwells Within Us

Proceeding to this inward nativity, namely through the light of grace, John says: “The light shines in the darkness, and the darkness did not comprehend it,” and so forth.

Of this spiritual nativity in the mind Malachi 3 says: “For those who fear the name of the Lord, the sun of justice shall arise,” who is Christ. And Christ says: “Whoever does the will of my Father is my mother,” by conceiving me in the mind through living faith, according to the Apostle’s words, “that Christ may dwell through faith in your hearts,” and by bringing forth meritorious works.

Here it should be noted, according to the Master of the Sentences in Book One and Thomas in his commentary upon him, that just as the Holy Spirit is sent to a rational creature in two ways, so also is the Son, namely visibly and invisibly.

In a visible mission the Holy Spirit was sent by appearing in fire, a dove, or a cloud. This does not mean, however, that the person of the Holy Spirit was united to the dove or cloud in unity of person; rather, that newly formed appearance of fire or another appearance was shortly afterward resolved into the matter lying beneath it.

The Son, however, was sent visibly when he assumed flesh, or our humanity, in unity of person, and he never abandoned it, as Damascene says.

The Son and the Holy Spirit are sent invisibly together when grace is infused into a creature to sanctify it and make it pleasing to God. Hence this mission was made from the beginning to the angels and our first parents, and it occurs to anyone in the Old and New Testaments when that person is justified.

Because a sanctification of this sort is a work in a creature and the works of the Trinity are inseparable, the Father also operates and comes to sanctify the creature through grace, according to Christ’s statement in John 14: “We will come to him,” namely I and the Father. The Father, however, is not said to be sent as the Son is. This is because mission implies a certain procession of the one sent from the one sending to some place, and because the Father proceeds from no one, it is therefore not fittingly said that the Father is sent.

In the justification of a creature, or the conferral of grace which makes one pleasing, the Son is therefore said to be sent because he is Wisdom, insofar as the justified mind is illuminated by the light of truth to know God as the best Lord, to be preferred above all things. At the same time, the Holy Spirit, who is Love, is also invisibly sent to inflame the affection to love God and operate well.

David sought this mission when he said: “Send forth your light,” namely your Word through his grace, “and your truth,” namely the truth of living faith proceeding from him. Through these a human being is led from one good work to another and at last is brought to the mountain of glory.

[Running head as printed: Chapter Five. Folio 140.]

Concerning this spiritual nativity in our mind of the Word of God from God the Father and mother Church, John therefore says: “The light shines in the darkness.” Four things are noted concerning it.

First, it possesses uncertainty and incomprehensibility in all: “The light,” and so forth, “and the darkness,” and so forth.

Second, it possesses aptitude and preparation in many: “There was a man sent by God,” and so forth.

Third, it possesses breadth and diffusion in itself and in the elect: “He was the true light which enlightens,” and so forth.

Fourth, it encounters ingratitude and rejection in the evil: “He was in the world, and the world,” and so forth.

As to the first point, it should be known that darkness implies a defect, because it is said to be the privation of light. Since there is some defect, at least that of mutability, in every creature, every creature, especially in relation to God, can therefore be called darkness. Hence Gregory says in the *Moralia* that every creature, however beautiful, just, and enduring it may be, when compared with God is neither beautiful nor just. Therefore John says in his First Canonical Epistle: “God is light, and in him there is no darkness,” that is, no defect.

The light, therefore--the Word of God--shines by being born through grace or glory “in the darkness,” that is, in creatures who are wayfarers or comprehensors, even angels. But the darkness, that is, those creatures themselves, even the blessed, “did not comprehend it,” that is, they were unable to enclose it.

According to Thomas, that is properly said to be comprehended whose boundaries are enclosed and beheld. This cannot be done to God by any creature, even a blessed one. Jeremiah 3 [read: Jeremiah 32:19] says: “God is great in counsel and incomprehensible in thought.” Augustine says: “To attain God with the mind is great beatitude; to comprehend him is impossible.”

When the Apostle says in First Corinthians 10 [read: First Corinthians 9:24], “So run that you may comprehend,” he takes “comprehend” broadly for attaining and apprehending God through his blessed vision. The blessed nevertheless possess a clear, certain, and perfect knowledge of God and of their glory.

But on the way we are enveloped in darkness, Job says, because we are unable to know with certainty that we possess the light of grace. Consequently Job 3 says: “To the man from whom the light is hidden, and God has surrounded him with darkness.” The light, therefore, the Word of God, shines in the darkness, that is, in good people existing amid the darkness of the present life; and darkness of this kind does not comprehend it, because they do not know with certainty whether the light of grace is in them, according to Ecclesiastes 9: “The just and the wise are in the sight of God, and yet a human being does not know whether he is worthy of hatred or love.”

Sinners are also called darkness, and more fully dark, because of the darkness of their sins. Romans 13 says: “Let us cast off the works of darkness,” that is, sins which obscure the mind.

Although sinners are dark, namely deprived of the savory wisdom of God, no mind is nevertheless so dark that it does not participate in something of this light through knowledge of some truth. For whatever truth is known by anyone is a certain participation in this light. Therefore Ambrose says: “Every truth, by whomsoever it is spoken with mouth or mind, is from the Holy Spirit.”

The light of the Word therefore “shines in the darkness,” that is, in sinners, according to a natural influx, at least in knowing some truth. But the darkness, that is, sinners of this sort, “did not comprehend it” through participation in the light of grace. Hence Job says: “In his hands,” that is, among the proud, “he hides the light.”

According to Thomas, this can also be explained of the incarnate Word, so that the light is the Word and the darkness is the flesh assumed by reason of the penal conditions which he assumed. For the defects of these penalties are called darkness. The Psalm says: “As his darkness,” that is, adversities, “so also his light,” that is, prosperities.

Thus “the light shines in the darkness” when the Word was made flesh. For the light, the Word, wrapped around with the darkness of the flesh, shone in the darkness of the world, according to the statement in Ezekiel: “I shall cover the sun with a cloud.” But the darkness, namely that of some ignorance or sin, did not comprehend him, because he was a spotless mirror, as the Book of Wisdom says. For the Lord Jesus was impeccable, Damascene says.

Or it may be explained thus: The light, the Word, shone in the darkness of the flesh through teaching, miracles, and holy works. The darkness, that is, the demons who are called the rulers of this darkness, did not comprehend it so as to know with certainty that he was the Son of God. Hence Paul says to the Corinthians: “If they had known, they would never have crucified the Lord of glory,” that is, they would never have incited the Jews to crucify him.

Or it may be explained thus: The darkness is the ignorance and errors to which the whole world was devoted, according to Isaiah 60: “Behold, darkness shall cover the earth,” and Wisdom: “One chain of darkness held them all.” The light therefore shone in the darkness by living among dark sinners, and the darkness did not comprehend it, that is, did not overcome it.

For however much dark human beings--blinded by envy, hardened by pride, and weighed down by malice--tried to extinguish this light and destroy his reputation and faith through insults, reproaches, and martyrdoms, they could not obscure it in him and his followers so as to prevent his brightness from being diffused throughout the whole world.

Chapter Eight, § XI: As to the Second Point, the Preparation for This Light Arising in Us

The text continues: “There was a man sent by God,” and so forth.

“He who made you without you,” Augustine says, “will not justify you without you,” that is, without your preparation, through which the light, the Word, arises for us by justification. The Psalm says: “Light has arisen for the just.” Therefore Hosea says: “Prepare yourself to meet your God.”

For this purpose John the Baptist was sent, that he might prepare a way for this light. Hence in Matthew 11 the Light himself says: “This is John, of whom it is written in Malachi 3: Behold, I send my angel, who shall prepare the way before my face.” John himself, when asked who he was, said: “The voice of one crying in the desert: Prepare the way of the Lord.”

John prepared the way for this light so that it might be received by human beings: by word and example he caused them to abstain from vices, to restrain themselves from pleasures, to devote themselves to almsgiving, and to receive baptism. Although his baptism did not purge faults, it nevertheless disposed people toward the good and prefigured ours, which is the door of the sacraments.

Through these things, therefore, a human being disposes himself for the light of grace to arise in him: when he does not continue in sins but restrains himself, maintains a life of penance and austerity, gives alms, devoutly disposes himself for the sacraments, and speaks and hears about God. Hence “John” is interpreted “in whom there is grace.” Speaking of John, therefore, the Evangelist says: “There was a man sent by God,” and so forth.

Here it should be noted that, above, when the Evangelist spoke about eternal things, he used the imperfect past verb, saying “was”; here, when speaking about temporal things, he uses the perfect past, saying “there was,” to intimate that temporal things pass away in such a way that they are brought to an end.

He says “man” to exclude the error of certain people who said that John was an angel because Christ called him an angel, as has been stated.

[Running head: Fifth Title.]

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Eight, § XI (continued)

Therefore he says, “There was a man,” not an angel. Fittingly, moreover, a human being is sent to human beings, through whom they may be more strongly drawn, as through one like themselves, to prepare themselves.

Although John was not an angel by nature, he was nevertheless an angel by office, and therefore he is said to have been “sent by God.” For it is proper to the office of angels that they are sent by God and are friends of God. Moreover, for someone to bear witness about God, he must be sent by God. Romans 10 says: “How shall they preach unless they are sent?” Therefore he is said to have been “sent by God,” so that you may understand that he announces only divine things, not human things and not himself.

Here note that someone is sent by the Lord in three ways. One is through inward inspiration: “The Lord and his Spirit sent me,” Isaiah 48 says, and John was sent in this way. Another is through an open and express bodily or imaginary vision, and Isaiah was sent in this way. In Isaiah 6 the Lord says: “Whom shall I send?” and so forth. The third is through the command of a prelate, who in this matter holds the place of God, and in this way Barnabas and Timothy were sent by Paul.

John was sent to preach and baptize. “Whose name was John.” The Evangelist says “was” because that name had been imposed upon him by God’s eternal preordination. Its interpretation also designates his suitability for his office, for “John” is interpreted “in whom there is grace,” and grace makes a human being a suitable minister of God.

The Evangelist next states the office for which John was sent: “This man came for a witness,” and so forth.

Here it should be noted, according to Thomas in the place cited above, that God makes human beings and all things for himself, not so that anything may accrue to him from the things made, since he does not need our goods, but so that his goodness may be manifested in all things made by him.

A creature thus offers testimony to God in three ways.

In one way, it does so naturally, insofar as “through those things which were made and understood, his everlasting power and divinity are beheld,” as Romans 1 says. Every creature therefore becomes a witness to God: from its goodness it is a witness to divine goodness; from its magnitude and power, a witness to divine power and omnipotence; and from its beauty, a witness to his wisdom.

In a second way, a creature bears witness to God insofar as God is shown to be glorious among human beings through its good works, since good works proceed from God. Thus the Psalm says, “God is glorious in his saints,” and Matthew 5: “So let your light shine before human beings, that they may see your good works and glorify your Father,” and so forth. In this way all good people are called witnesses of God.

In a third way, a creature bears witness through a special grace which certain people receive from God so that they may diffuse it to others by teaching, admonishing, and communicating God’s other gifts to them. John came as a witness in this way.

Christ also is said to have come as a witness. John 19 [read: John 18:37] says: “For this I came into this world, that I might bear witness to the truth.” Isaiah 55 likewise says: “Behold, I have given him as a witness to the peoples.”

But John came as a witness in one way, and Christ in another. For Christ bore witness as one comprehending the light itself and himself existing as the light, whereas John did so as one participating in the light. John’s office was therefore great both from his participation in the light itself and from his likeness to Christ: “that he might bear witness concerning the light.”

But if this light is sufficient of itself to manifest all things, not only itself, then it did not need anyone to bear witness to it. Therefore the testimony of John and of the prophets concerning Christ was not necessary. Indeed, Christ says in John 5: “I do not receive testimony from human beings.”

Thomas answers in the place cited above that this was an objection of the Manichees, who wished to destroy the foregoing testimony. The saints assign several reasons why Christ wished to have the testimony of the prophets.

Origen assigns three. The first is that God wishes to have certain witnesses not because he needs their testimony, but so that he may ennoble those whom he appoints as witnesses.

We likewise see in the order of the universe that God produces certain effects through intermediate causes, not because he is unable to produce them immediately, but because, to ennoble those intermediate causes, he deigns to communicate the dignity of causality to them. So it is in the present matter. Although God could have illuminated all human beings by himself and led them into knowledge of himself, nevertheless, so that the due order might be preserved among things and so that he might ennoble certain human beings, he wished divine knowledge to reach human beings through other human beings. Isaiah says: “You are my witnesses.”

The second reason is that Christ shone upon the world through miracles. Because these were performed in time, however, they passed away temporally and did not reach everyone. The words of the prophets, however, once entrusted to writing, could reach not only those present but also those in the future. God therefore willed that knowledge of him should reach human beings through the testimony of the prophets so that not only those present but also those in the future might be illuminated by it. Hence John adds, “that all might believe in him,” not only those present but also those in the future.

The third reason is that human beings are of diverse conditions and are led to knowledge of the truth in diverse ways. Some are drawn more by signs, and others more by wisdom. First Corinthians 1 says: “The Jews ask for signs, and the Greeks seek wisdom.” Therefore, so that the Lord might open the way of salvation to everyone, he gave both miracles and the testimonies of Scripture, so that one who is not led to the way of salvation by miracles performed in the Old and New Testaments may be led by the testimonies of Scripture and the prophets.

The fourth reason is Chrysostom’s: Since human beings were unable to know the truth and the knowledge of God in itself, God wished to condescend to them by illuminating certain human beings concerning divine things above others, so that from them, in a human manner, they might receive knowledge of those divine things whose knowledge they were unable to receive in themselves.

Thus “all might believe through him,” namely through John, “in Christ.” It is as though John said: He did not come as a witness concerning a doubtful and uncertain matter, since Christ himself is the light which manifests all things, but because of their hardness and slowness in believing, namely, so that all might believe.

But the objection is raised: Not all believe in him. Therefore John came in vain, since he did not attain his end. Thomas answers: As far as God who sent him and John who came are concerned, a sufficient means was supplied for everyone to arrive at faith. The failure that not all believed lay in those who determined to turn their eyes down toward the earth and refused to see the light itself.

[Running head: Chapter Eight. Folio 165.]

Although John was sent by God and was great, his coming was nevertheless not sufficient for salvation, because a human being’s salvation consists in receiving the light itself. But John was not the light. Hence the Evangelist adds: “He was not the light.”

Against this, Ephesians 5 says: “But now you are light in the Lord”; and Matthew 5: “You are the light of the world.” Therefore John too was light. I answer: The Word is light absolutely, because he is light through his essence. But John and the other saints of whom the Apostle speaks are light not absolutely, but through participation.

Chapter Eight, § XII: “He Was the True Light Which Enlightens Every Man Coming into This World”

From these words it is shown that the Word, the light, by radiating through spiritual nativity and grace, possesses diffusion everywhere, because he “enlightens every man,” and so forth. In the penultimate chapter of Job [read: Job 38:24] it is said: “If you know by what way the light is spread”--as though to say that it is diffused not successively but suddenly, far and wide. Ecclesiasticus says: “The sun, illuminating, looked upon all things.” Thus the sun of justice, as the true light, enlightens every human being.

According to Thomas, three things must be considered here: first, how he is the true light; second, how he enlightens every human being; and third, what “coming into this world” means.

As to the first, he says that in Scripture “true” is opposed to three things: the false, the figurative, and the participating.

Sometimes the true is distinguished from the false, as in Ephesians 4: “Putting away falsehood, speak the truth.” Sometimes it is distinguished from the figurative, according to John 1: “The law was given through Moses; grace and truth came through Jesus Christ,” because the truth of the figures of the Law was brought about and fulfilled through Christ. Sometimes it is distinguished from those who participate, according to the final chapter of First John: “That we may be in his true Son,” and so forth, who is not the Son through participation as we are.

Indeed, before the Word came into the world, there was a certain light of knowledge which the philosophers boasted of possessing. But this light was false. Romans 1 says: “Although they had known God,” and so forth.

There was another light which the Jews gloried in possessing through the teaching of the Law. But this was figurative. Hebrews 10 says: “The law, having a shadow of good things to come,” and so forth.

There was also a certain light in the angels and saints, insofar as they knew God in a more spiritual manner through grace. Job 35 [read: Job 25:3] says: “Upon whom does his light not shine?” It is as though to say: Luminous beings shine only insofar as they participate in the light of God.

But this Word of God was neither false light, nor figurative light, nor participated light. He was the true light, namely through his essence. The Evangelist says “was,” that is, from eternity--not only before the Virgin, but also before all things. For Photinus said, heretically in this also, that Christ took his beginning from the Virgin Mary.

He is the true light through his essence as true God, not through participation as Arius and Origen said heretically. For “the Word was God,” and “God is light,” as First John 1 says.

The efficacy of this Word for enlightening is shown in that “he enlightens every human being.” For everything derived through participation is such through that which is such by essence, just as everything ignited is such through participation in fire, which is fire by its nature. Because the Word is the true light, that is, through his essence, everything that shines must therefore shine through him, and thus he enlightens every human being.

This can be explained in three ways.

In one way it is understood of the light of natural knowledge, namely through reason. Thus every human being is enlightened, because every human being has a natural cognition of the intellect’s apprehension of some word, and this is through participation in the light of the Word. The Psalm says: “The light of your countenance is signed upon us.”

In a second way it is understood of enlightenment through grace or glory. According to Augustine, “every” is then not a distribution without qualification, but an accommodated distribution applying to those who are enlightened and not to others. Not all human beings are enlightened by grace, but those who are enlightened are enlightened from no other source than the Word, the light. In the same way is explained the statement in First Timothy 1 [read: First Timothy 2:4]: “He wills all human beings to be saved.”

In a third way it is understood that the Word enlightens everyone as far as depends upon him, because he withdraws himself from no one through his own acts, but offers to everyone teachings and sacraments of salvation capable of enlightening all. Or it is a distribution not for every individual of the kinds, but for all kinds of individuals: some are enlightened from every kind--males and females, small and great, free and enslaved, and from every tribe, tongue, people, and nation.

“Coming into this world.” “World” is said in three ways.

In one way it stands for the world of creation, that is, the sensible world, according to John 17: “These,” namely my disciples, “are in the world.” Someone is said to come into this world when that person is born. This does not mean that the person comes from another world into this one, or that the soul of every human being was created in the beginning and comes into this world when the person’s body has been conceived and formed. That was Origen’s error. Rather, at that time the soul is newly created, infused into the formed body, and comes into the world. It is enlightened in the way stated above through nature, grace, or glory.

In a second way, the Church is called the world, according to the statement: “God was in him,” namely Christ, “reconciling the world to himself.” Someone comes into this world spiritually through faith and is enlightened through grace.

In a third way, every evil lover of the world is called the world, according to First John 2 [read: First John 5:19]: “The whole world is set in wickedness.” Because such a world is full of the darkness of errors and vices, one coming into this world, that is, living in it, needs to be enlightened lest that person be darkened by others; and, as far as depends upon the Word, that person is enlightened by him.

Chapter Eight, § XIII: “He Was in the World, and the World Was Made Through Him, and the World Knew Him Not”

Because the Evangelist had immediately shown the efficacy of the divine Word, since as the true light he is sufficient to enlighten everyone, he now shows that the fact that many are not enlightened by his grace is not caused by his withdrawal, absence, or concealment, but proceeds from the human being’s defect.

Therefore he says, “He was in the world,” and so forth. It is as though the Evangelist said: The divine Word is efficacious and present to everyone for enlightenment, because “he was in the world.” Acts 17 says: “He is not far from each one of us. In him we live and move and are.”

According to Thomas in the place cited above, it should be noted that something is said to be in the world in three ways.

In one way, it is in the world through containment, as a thing situated is in a place. Hence Paul says to the Corinthians: “While we are in the world, we are pilgrims from the Lord.”

In a second way, it is in the world as a part in the whole. Thus every part of the world is said to be in the world, even if such parts are not local, as in the case of intellectual substances. For although they are not locally in the world, they are nevertheless in the world as its parts. The Psalm says: “He who made heaven and earth,” and so forth.

By neither of these two ways was the Word in the world.

[Running head: Fifth Title.]

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Eight, § XIII (continued)

For he was neither in the world locally nor as a part of the universe. Indeed, in a certain manner--if it is permissible to speak this way--the whole universe is a part of him, since it participates in his goodness in a particular way. Therefore he was in the world in the third way, namely as its cause and preserver, according to Jeremiah 23: “I fill heaven and earth.”

Nevertheless, the Word of God acts and causes all things in one way, while other agents do so in another. Other agents operate as existing outside their effects, since they act only by moving and altering in some manner; insofar as they concern things external to a thing, they operate externally. God, however, operates in all things as an inward agent, because he acts by creating. To create is to give being to a created thing. Since being is the innermost principle of every thing, God, who by operating gives being, operates within things as an inward agent. Therefore the Word was in the world as giving being to the world.

It is customarily said, as the Master also states in Book One of the *Sentences*, that God is in all things through power, presence, and essence. To explain this, one should know that someone is said to be in all things through power when they are subject to his power. Thus a king is said to be throughout the kingdom subject to him, although he is not there through presence or essence. Someone is said to be in all things through presence when they lie within his sight, and in this way a king is said to be present in his house. He is said to be in things through essence when his substance is in them, as a king is in one determinate place.

Therefore the Word was in the world through power, because all things are subject to his power. The Psalm says: “If I ascend into heaven, you are there,” and so forth. He was in it through presence, because all things are naked and open to his eyes, as Hebrews 4 says. He was in it through essence, because his essence is innermost to all things.

Every agent, precisely insofar as it acts, must be joined immediately to its effect, since mover and moved must be together. God is the creator and preserver of all things according to the being of each thing. Since the being of a thing is innermost in everything, it is manifest that God, through his essence by which he creates all things, is in all things.

The Evangelist pointedly says, “The Word was in the world,” showing that from the beginning of creation he was always in the world, creating and preserving all things. For if God were for a moment to withdraw his power and influx from created things, they would all fail and be reduced to nothing.

To explain this, Origen uses a very fitting example. He says that sensible speech stands in relation to our inward word as the whole creation stands in relation to the divine Word. Just as the voice is the effect of the word conceived in our heart, so the whole creation is the effect of the Word conceived in the divine mind. “He spoke, and they were made,” says the Psalm. We see that as soon as the word conceived in our mind ceases, the sensible voice ceases. So too, if the power of the divine Word were withdrawn from things, all things would immediately fail in a moment.

Therefore the failure of our knowledge of God does not arise from the Word’s absence, because he was in the world. Nor does it arise from invisibility or concealment, because he made a work in which his likeness clearly shines forth, namely the world. Wisdom 13 says: “From the greatness and beauty of the creature, their maker can be seen and known.” Romans 1 says: “The invisible things of God are beheld through the things that have been made.” Hence the Evangelist adds, “And the world was made through him,” namely so that in the world the light itself might be manifested, as the art of the artisan is manifested in the artifact. Just as the artifact’s form is nothing other than a likeness of the artisan’s art, so the whole world is nothing other than a representation of the divine Wisdom conceived in the Father’s mind.

The Evangelist next shows that this failure comes from the human being. Hence he adds, “And the world knew him not.” Here “world” stands for the human being. The angels knew him by understanding, and the elements knew him in their own manner by obeying. But the world--that is, the human being who inhabits the world--did not know him.

This failure to know God can be referred to the human being either as regards nature or as regards guilt. As regards nature, although those helps for being led to knowledge of God were given to the human being, human reason is nevertheless deficient in itself for such knowledge. Hence Job says: "Each one beholds him from afar." And if some knew him, this was insofar as they were not of the world or in the world. Hence Augustine says: "When we conceive something eternal in the mind, we are no longer in this world."

If, however, "world" is referred to guilt, then the world means a disordered lover of the world, according to the saying: "Everything that is in the world is either the concupiscence of the flesh, the concupiscence of the eyes, or the pride of life." Such a world--that is, a sinner--certainly did not know him. Those ungrateful people, therefore, who are designated by "world" because of their disordered love of it, did not know the Word and do not receive the light of grace because of their vices.

Gather from what has been said that the Word's spiritual nativity--namely through grace or glory--has obscurity as regards grace and incomprehensibility as regards glory, where it says, "The light shines in darkness," and so forth. It has a suitable preparation where it says, "There was a man," and so forth. It has a broad diffusion where it says, "The true light errs [read: He was the true light]." It has rejection among the evil where it says, "He was in the world," and so forth.

Chapter Eight, § XIV: Christ's Third Nativity

Christ's third nativity is in time, from a virgin mother without a father. Concerning it the text continues: "He came unto his own," namely the divine Word. He came not by abandoning heaven or changing place, but by uniting to himself what he assumed--that is, by assuming our humanity, in which he visibly appeared to the world.

This temporal nativity of the Word occurred either in the womb of Mary--that is, his conception, according to Matthew 1, "That which was born in her is of the Holy Spirit"--or from the womb of the Virgin Mary, concerning which the angel says in Luke 2, "Today a Savior has been born to us." His coming unto his own had been greatly foretold and desired by the fathers.

Hence Jacob says in the penultimate chapter of Genesis: "The scepter shall not be taken away from Judah," and so forth, "until he who is to be sent shall come." David says in the Psalms: "Stir up your power and come, that you may save us." Isaiah says: "The Lord himself will come and will save us." Haggai says: "The Desired of all nations shall come." Malachi says: "The ruler whom you seek shall suddenly come to his holy temple." All these prophecies and desires were fulfilled when he came unto his own. In John 17 [read: John 16:28] Christ says: "I came forth from the Father and came into the world."

This advent, that is, the Incarnation, was prefigured in many ways: in Aaron's rod and its flower; in Gideon's fleece on the threshing floor and its dew; in the Lord's incorruptible, gilded ark, containing the Law, the manna, and the rod; in the gate of the Lord's house which, according to Ezekiel, was closed, with the Lord alone entering and departing through it; in the stone which, according to Daniel, was cut from the mountain without hands; and in the virgin openly foretold by Isaiah as conceiving and giving birth to Emmanuel.

[Running head: Chapter Eight. Folio 166.]

Four things are signified by this temporal nativity. The first is the truth of our humanity in him: "Unto his own," and so forth. The second is the fruitfulness of his nativity: "As many as," and so forth. The third is his dwelling and association with us: "The Word," and so forth, "dwelt among us." The fourth is the perfect happiness consequently attained in us: "We saw his glory."

As regards the first, "He came unto his own" can be explained in three ways.

In one way, he came unto his own--that is, into things that were his, because he made all things and was in them; or, he came into the world. Although he had previously been in it through governance, he had not previously been there through the assumption of flesh. Jerome says: "Within the narrowness of that hidden womb, the hand of almighty God always works. The same creator of body and soul, the very power and wisdom of God, built a house for himself in the Virgin's womb," in Distinction 56, *Nasci*. "And his own did not receive him." All human beings are his own because they were formed by him, but the greater part of humanity did not receive him by believing in him and adhering to him.

In a second way, he came unto his own--that is, he was incarnate from the Jewish people, who were God's own people, chosen by him as peculiar to himself before the others. Deuteronomy 26 says: "The Lord chose you to be a peculiar people to him." The Jews are also called his own because they were joined to him according to the flesh, for his mother Mary arose from that people, and also because they were exalted above others by many benefits. Isaiah 1 says: "I have nourished and exalted children." Yet his own did not receive him by believing in him as their Messiah and Savior. In John he himself says to the Jews: "I came in my Father's name, and you did not receive me."

In a third way, he came unto his own by assuming all the properties of human nature: mortality, penalties, passions, and all the other properties common to human beings, except ignorance and sin. Hebrews says: "It behooved him in all things to be made like his brethren." Yet his own did not receive him--that is, heretics, who were his own through baptism, did not receive him as

possessing true humanity. One said that the Word was converted into flesh; another that he did not have a soul; and others asserted other foolish or false things, as will be said below.

Chapter Eight, § XV: “But As Many As Received Him”

Here the fruit of Christ’s temporal nativity is shown: the greatest dignity, namely divine filiation. “He gave them power to become children of God.” Galatians 4 says: “God sent his Son, made of a woman,” and so forth, “that we might receive adoption as children of God.” Hence Christ himself says to Magdalene: “Go to my brethren and say to them: I ascend to my Father and your Father,” John 20.

Thus Pope Leo also says in a sermon: “Acknowledge, O Christian, your dignity, and, having been made a sharer in the divine nature, do not return by degenerate conduct to your former life.” This is entirely fitting: we, who are children of God through being made like the Son, are reformed through the Son. Hence the Word himself “gave them”--namely those receiving him through faith--power to become children of God. Romans 8 says that God predestined the elect “to be made conformable to the image of his Son, that he might be the firstborn among many brethren.” He gave this to everyone who receives him: Jew or gentile, male or female, enslaved or free.

Here it should be noted that human beings are called children of God through likeness to God. This likeness can be threefold, and therefore a human being can be a child of God in three ways.

First, we are children of God through grace. Galatians 4 says: “Because you are children of God,” namely through possessing grace. Second, we are made like God through the perfection of works. Matthew 5 says: “Love your enemies, that you may be children of your Father, who makes his sun rise upon the good and the evil.” Third, we are made like God through attaining glory: as regards the soul, through the light of glory, according to First John 3, “When he appears, we shall be like him”; and as regards the body, according to Philippians 3, “He will reform our body, conformed to the body of his glory.” First John 3 also says: “See what manner of charity God the Father has bestowed upon us, that we should be called and should be the children of God.”

This filiation comprehends the virtues toward which we are advanced through Christ’s nativity. Concerning faith Augustine says in *The City of God*: “That the human being might walk more confidently toward the truth of faith, the Truth himself, the Son of God, coming with humanity assumed but divinity not consumed, established faith.” Concerning hope the same Augustine says: “What so greatly lifts our minds and rescues them from despair of immortality as that the only-begotten Son of God deigned to enter into fellowship with us and endure our evils?” Concerning charity the same author says: “What greater cause was there for his coming to us than that he might show his love for us, so that, if we are slow to love, we may not be slow to love in return?” He calls the sinner back from evil. Luke 19 says: “The Son of Man came to save that which had perished.”

If, therefore, “he gave them power to become children of God” is understood as regards the perfection of works or the adoption of glory, the statement presents no difficulty. It is then understood of the power of grace which makes one pleasing; when a human being possesses this grace, he can perform works of perfection and attain glory. Romans 6 says: “The grace of God is eternal life.”

But if this power is understood of the infusion of grace, then the statement “he gave them power to become children” presents a difficulty, because in this sense it is not in our power to become children of God, since it is not in our power to possess grace. If it is understood of a power of nature, it is not true, because the infusion of grace is above our nature. If it is understood of a power of grace, then possessing grace is itself the possession of the power to become children of God; and he did not give them power to become children, but gave them the very being of children.

According to Thomas in the place cited above, the answer is that, in the giving of grace, an adult’s consent through a movement of free choice is required for that person’s justification. Because it is in a human being’s power to consent or not to consent, the text therefore says, “He gave them this power,” namely the power to receive grace.

He gives this power to human beings in two ways. First, he prepares grace and proposes it to them. Just as one who makes a book and offers it to someone to read is said to give that person the power to read, so Christ, through whom grace was made--John 1--and who “worked salvation in the midst of the earth”--in the Psalm--gave the power to become children of God through the reception of grace.

Second, this does not suffice, since free choice needs the help of divine grace so that it may be moved toward receiving grace--not habitual grace, but moving grace. He therefore gives this power by moving the human being’s free choice so that it may consent to the reception of grace, according to the final chapter of Lamentations: “Convert us, O Lord, to you”--that is, by moving our free choice to love you--“and we shall be converted,” and so forth. This motion is called an inward calling. Romans 8 says: “Those whom he called,” namely inwardly by stirring the will to consent to grace, “those he also justified,” by infusing grace.

[Running head: Fifth Title.]

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Eight, § XV (continued)

Because through this grace a human being has the power to preserve himself in divine filiation, the text can also be explained in another way: “He gave them power to become children of God,” that is, grace through which they are able to preserve themselves in divine filiation. The final chapter of First John says: “Everyone who is born of God does not sin, but the generation of God preserves him.” Thus he gave them power to become children of God through grace which makes one pleasing, through the perfection of works, and through the attainment of glory; and he did this by preparing, moving, and preserving grace.

The Evangelist adds to whom the fruit of such a light when it arose was conferred: “To those who believe in his name.” It is as though he said: To receive him is to believe in him.

Or, according to Origen, “He gave them power to become children of God” means that he gave it to those who receive him through faith and “believe in his name,” that is, to those who preserve the name of Christ whole, diminishing nothing of his divinity or humanity through false belief as the heretics do.

Or, “to those who believe in his name” means those who possess faith formed by charity and perform the works of salvation, for his name signifies salvation.

Lest anyone, on hearing of this fruit--namely filiation--suppose this generation to be carnal, the Evangelist therefore adds: “Who were born not of bloods.” Two things concur in carnal generation: a material cause and a moving cause. The material cause is blood. Thus “of bloods” is understood as whatever is generated from blood and concurs as matter in carnal generation. According to the Philosopher, semen is the superfluity of the final, blood-like nourishment. Hence both the man’s seed and the woman’s menstrual blood are understood by “bloods.”

The moving cause of generation is the carnal will of those who join together, namely the male and the female. Although the act of the generative power as such is not subject to the will, the acts preliminary to it are nevertheless subject to the will. Therefore the text says, “nor of the will of the flesh,” that is, of the woman, “nor of the will of man,” as an efficient cause, “but they were born of God”; that is, such people are children of God not carnally but spiritually.

Or it can also be said that there are two moving causes of carnal generation. One comes from the intellectual appetite, which is the will, and this is called the man. The other comes from the sensitive appetite, which is concupiscence, and this is called the flesh.

Chapter Eight, § XVI: “And the Word Was Made Flesh and Dwelt Among Us”

This can be connected with the preceding in three ways.

In one way it is connected to the statement, “He came unto his own.” It is as though he said: Do not believe that he came by changing place; I said that he came because “the Word was made flesh.”

According to Chrysostom, it is connected to the statement, “He gave them power to become children of God.” Someone might ask: From where did the Word have this power? The Evangelist answers by adding, “And the Word was made flesh.” It is as though he said: By the very fact that the Word was made flesh, he gave us power to become children of God.

Augustine connects it to what was said immediately before, “They were born of God.” Because it seemed a hard thing for human beings to be born of God, the Evangelist adds, as an argument so that this statement might be believed true, something that seems even more marvelous: “And the Word was made flesh.” It is as though he said: Do not marvel that human beings are born of God, because the Word was made flesh--that is, God was made man. Hence Augustine says: “God was made man so that man might be made god.”

Bernard says: “God made three minglings, or three works, so marvelously singular and so singularly marvelous that they had never been made before and will never be made afterward. Three things are indeed joined together: God and man, mother and virgin, and faith and the human heart,” namely when the heart believes these things.

The statement “the Word was made flesh” means that he was conceived of the Virgin Mary and of the Holy Spirit. He was conceived of the Virgin Mary because his flesh was formed from her substance and from her purest blood. That he is said to have been conceived of the Holy Spirit must not be understood as though he were made from the substance of the Holy Spirit, as a knife is made from iron, but because that conception was accomplished by the work of the Holy Spirit and not by human work.

Nor did the Holy Spirit alone work there to form that flesh, create that soul, and effect that union. Rather the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit worked together: the Trinity, one God. Yet the work is attributed especially to the Holy Spirit because the Word was

made flesh solely from God’s love and grace, without any merits of ours, and love in divine matters is attributed to the Holy Spirit. Nevertheless, it was not the person of the Father or of the Holy Spirit, but the person of the Word, who assumed flesh.

“And he dwelt among us,” that is, he associated with human beings. Baruch 4 [read: Baruch 3:38] says: “Afterward he was seen upon earth and conversed with human beings,” giving us a pattern of living through teaching and example. Hence Augustine says in a sermon: “A human being, who could be seen, was not to be followed, since that human being was a sinner. God, who could not be seen, was to be followed. Therefore, so that one whom a human being could see and imitate might be presented to humanity, God was made man,” because “the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us.” Matthew 2 says: “Coming, he dwelt in Nazareth.”

Bernard says: “O good Jesus, how sweetly you associated with human beings; how many good things you bestowed upon them; how much you suffered for them: harsh words, harsher blows, and the harshest torments of the cross.”

Gregory says in the *Moralia*: “Proud human beings, begotten from the stock of Adam, were striving to seek the prosperous things of this world, avoid adversities, flee reproaches, and pursue glory. The incarnate Lord came among them, seeking adversities, spurning prosperity, embracing reproaches, and fleeing glory.” From the beginning of his nativity he showed the life of the virtues that must be maintained, namely humility, charity, and austerity, because a little child was born for us in great poverty and charity. Jeremiah 31 says: “I have loved you with an everlasting charity.” Dionysius says: “In these days God suffered ecstasy,” that is, an excess of love, when “the Word was made flesh,” and so forth.

Some who understood these words badly drew from them an occasion for error, and in diverse ways. Eutyches and his followers said that the Word was made flesh as though something of the Word had been converted into flesh, just as flour becomes bread and air becomes fire. Hence he posited one nature of God and man. This is heretical, as stated in Distinction 15, chapter 1, and impossible. For it was said above that “the Word was God,” and God is immutable. Malachi 3 says: “I am God and do not change.” Therefore it cannot be that he is converted into another nature. “The Word was made flesh” is consequently understood to mean that he assumed flesh, not that he was converted into flesh.

Other heretics said that the Word was not converted into flesh, but that he assumed flesh without a soul, and that for this reason John said, “The Word was made flesh.” For if he had assumed a soul, they said, John would have said that he was made flesh with a soul.

[Running head: Chapter Eight. Folio 167.]

This was the error of Arius, who said that Christ did not have a soul, but that the Word of God was in place of a soul in that flesh. The falsity of this error is evident from the Gospel, for in Matthew 26 Christ himself says: “My soul is sorrowful.” Passions of this kind cannot be in the Word or in bare flesh. Moreover, God cannot be the form of a body. Furthermore, flesh does not have the species of flesh except through a soul; when the soul departs, the flesh of a human being or an ox is called flesh only equivocally.

Other heretics, such as Apollinaris, said that the Word did indeed assume flesh and also a soul, but a sensitive soul and not an intellective one. They said that the Word was in place of the intellective soul. This, however, is shown to be false from Sacred Scripture, for certain things are said of Christ that can be found neither in the divinity, nor in the flesh, nor in the sensitive soul alone--for example wonder. In Matthew 8 Jesus is said to have marveled at the centurion’s faith.

Moreover, according to Damascene, what was assumed was healed or repaired. Therefore, if he had not assumed the intellective soul, he would not have healed it. Thus “the Word was made flesh” must be understood to mean that the Word assumed flesh animated by an intellective soul.

Hence Pope Leo says in a sermon: “The Word of God, God the Son of God, was made man in order to redeem the human being from eternal death. He preserves each nature in so great a covenant that the glorification neither consumes the lower nor the assumption diminishes the higher. Therefore, the property of each nature being preserved and both coming together in one person, humility is received by majesty, weakness by power, and mortality by eternity.”

This authority also disproves the heretical opinion of Nestorius, who said that there are two persons and two sons in Christ, as noted in Distinction 15, chapter 1: one the Son of God and the other the son of the Virgin. According to them it could not be said that God was made man, although this is the true explanation of “the Word was made flesh.” It is impossible for one of two individuals that are diverse according to supposit to be predicated of the other. Thus, if the supposit or person of the Word were one thing and the person or supposit of the man another, the statement “the Word was made flesh” would not be true.

The Evangelist therefore pointedly says “was made” and did not say “assumed,” so as to show that the union of the Word with flesh is not like the assumption of the prophets. The prophets were not assumed into union of supposit but only for the prophetic act. This union, however, is such that it made man God and God man--that is, such that God is man.

There were also others who did not understand the manner of the Incarnation. They held that the aforesaid assumption terminated in unity of person and confessed one person of God and man in Christ, but nevertheless said that in Christ there were two hypostases or supposits: one created supposit of the human nature and another uncreated supposit of the divine nature. This opinion is set forth in Book Three of the *Sentences*, Distinction 6. But it is heretical, because in this way the statement that God was

made man could not be preserved. Hence the council says: “If anyone has directed [read: shall assert] one person and two hypostases in the Lord Jesus, let him be anathema.” Therefore, to exclude every assumption that does not terminate in unity of person, the Evangelist uses the expression “was made.”

Why does the Evangelist make no mention of the soul but only of the flesh, saying, “was made flesh”? Thomas in the place cited above assigns four reasons.

The first is to establish the truth of the Incarnation against the Manichees, who said that Christ did not assume true flesh but only apparent flesh. They said that it was unfitting for the Word of the good God to assume flesh, which they claimed had been made by the devil. To exclude this, John expressly named flesh, saying, “was made flesh.”

The second reason is to demonstrate God’s kindness toward us. It is clear that the rational soul is more conformed to God than flesh is. It would indeed have been a great mystery of loving kindness if God had assumed a human soul, since it is more conformed to him. But for him also to assume flesh, so far removed from the simplicity of the divine nature, was a much greater--indeed, an inestimable--sign of loving kindness. First Timothy 3 says: “Great is the mystery of loving kindness which was manifested in the flesh.” The Evangelist therefore made mention of flesh.

The third reason is to demonstrate the truth and singularity of the union in Christ. God is united to holy human beings in another way, namely as regards the soul. Wisdom 7 says: “He transfers himself into holy souls and makes friends of God.” But to be united to flesh is singular in Christ, according to the Psalm: “I am singularly alone,” and Job 28: “Gold shall not be compared with it,” and so forth. Wishing to show this singular union, John therefore said, “was made flesh.”

The fourth reason is to indicate the fittingness of human restoration. The human being had been weakened through the flesh. Therefore, when announcing Christ’s coming, the Evangelist fittingly employed a word suited to our restoration: by mentioning flesh he showed that weakened flesh was repaired through the flesh of the Word. The Apostle touches upon this reason in Romans 8, saying: “For what was impossible to the law, in that it was weakened through the flesh,” and so forth.

If it is asked how the Word is man, according to Thomas in the place cited above it must be said that he is man in the way Socrates is man, as possessing human nature--not because the Word is human nature itself. Nor does his being made man posit a change in Christ on the part of the Word, but on the part of the flesh newly assumed into unity of person.

The Word is called flesh because of the union, and a union is a kind of relation. Relations newly predicated of God with respect to creatures do not imply change on God’s part, but on the creature’s part, since it stands in a new way toward God.

The words that follow, “he dwelt among us,” mean that, while remaining in his own nature distinct from ours, he dwelt in our nature. According to Chrysostom and Hilary, the Evangelist said this to exclude the error of those who might believe, from the statement “the Word was made flesh,” that one composite nature was made from Word and flesh. He therefore adds, “he dwelt among us.” That which is converted into another thing does not remain distinct, and what is not distinguished from something does not inhabit it. But the Word inhabited our nature; therefore, as regards his own nature, he is distinct from it.

“He dwelt among us” should be understood to mean that the nature of the Word inhabited our nature, not our hypostasis or person, since in Christ the hypostasis or person is the same for each nature.

Or, “he dwelt among us” means that he associated among us as one of us. Thus we saw and heard many things said and done by him for our instruction and direction.

Chapter Eight, § XVII: “And We Saw His Glory, Glory As of the Only-Begotten of the Father, Full of Grace and Truth”

This can be connected with the preceding in three ways.

[Running head: Fifth Title.]

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Eight, § XVII (continued)

In the first way, according to Augustine, this is referred to the benefit of grace. Human eyes failed in the knowledge of the divine light, not only naturally but also because of sin, according to the saying: “Fire”--namely the fire of concupiscence--“fell upon them, and they did not see the sun,” namely the sun of justice.

Therefore, so that the divine light itself might be seen by us, God made an eye-salve from his flesh and healed our eyes, so that the Word might heal with his own flesh the eyes of our flesh, corrupted by concupiscence. Thus, immediately after saying, "The Word was made flesh," the Evangelist adds, "And we saw." This was signified in John 9, when Jesus made clay from dust and spittle, smeared the eyes of the man born blind, and, when the man washed them, he saw clearly.

Spittle descending from the head is the Word proceeding from the Father. It was united with the dust of our mortality when the Word was made flesh. When this mystery of the Incarnation is received through faith, with the water of baptism added either actually or in intention, each person is illuminated in the eyes of the mind through grace.

The incarnate Word himself was full of this grace: insofar as he is the Word, conferring grace itself; insofar as he is flesh--that is, man--receiving from the beginning of his conception, without measure, all grace both freely given and making one pleasing, so that he could not increase in it; and insofar as he is the head of the Church, pouring it forth by example into all others. John 1 says: "Of his fullness we have received grace." This grace is applied to us through baptism and the other sacraments instituted by him, as containing his grace and having their power from the incarnate Word himself.

Hence, to represent him, the sacraments themselves consist of words as form and a visible thing as matter. The Psalm says: "He sent his word and healed them," and so forth, namely through the sacraments, as is said at the beginning of Book Four of the *Sentences*. The incarnate Word was also full of truth, that is, of all wisdom, which he communicated through his teaching.

In a second way, "we saw," and so forth, can be connected so as to constitute a kind of argument for what the Evangelist had said: "The Word was made flesh." It is as though he said: I have and know from this that the Word of God was incarnate, because I and the other apostles saw his glory, that is, his splendor. For glory implies a certain manifestation of someone's excellence.

Moses, desiring this glory, said to the Lord in Exodus 33: "Lord, show me your glory." But he did not merit to see it, because he was told, "You shall see my back," that is, its shadows and figures, not the thing itself. The apostles, however, saw it clearly, namely the incarnate Word. Hence in Second Corinthians 3 the Apostle says: "But we, beholding the glory of the Lord with unveiled face," that is, without figures. Thus Christ also said to them in Luke 10: "Blessed are the eyes that see what you see, for many prophets and kings," and so forth. For it was a kind of blessedness and fruition to see and know the incarnate Word by faith.

"Glory as of the only-begotten of the Father." According to Gregory, "as" here is not an expression of likeness but of truth: that is, the glory of him who is the Father's only-begotten.

The singularity of this glory seen by the apostles is considered from four things.

First, it is considered from the Father's testimony which he bore to the Son at the Transfiguration, at which John the Evangelist himself was present. Concerning this glory Second Peter 1 says: "Jesus received honor and glory from God the Father, when a voice descended from heaven," namely, "This is my Son," and so forth.

Second, it is considered with respect to the ministry of angels. Before the Incarnation, human beings were subject to the angels, and therefore the angels permitted themselves to be adored, though only with the veneration of *dulia*. Afterward, however, they were subject to Christ and ministered to him. Matthew 4 says: "The angels came and ministered to him." Nor did the angel who showed John the mysteries of the Apocalypse permit John to adore him, as the penultimate chapter of the Apocalypse [read: Revelation 22:8-9, the final chapter] says.

Third, it is considered with respect to nature's obedience. The whole of nature, obeying Christ, complied at his command, since it was established by him insofar as he is the Word. This was conceded neither to a human being nor to an angelic nature. Hence in Matthew 8 the apostles said: "What manner of man is this, for the winds and sea obey him?"

Fourth, it is considered with respect to his manner of teaching and working. Moses and the other prophets did not give precepts by their own authority, but by God's authority, saying, "Thus says the Lord." Christ, however, spoke as Lord and as one possessing power, by his own authority. Hence in Matthew 5 he said, "But I say to you." Likewise, other saints worked miracles not by their own power but by God's, whereas Christ worked by his own power.

Thus they saw the glory of the Word, not because they saw the divine essence which was in Christ, but because from the aforesaid things they understood that the one whom they saw so glorious was God incarnate.

In a third way, according to Chrysostom, "we saw," and so forth, is connected with the preceding as an expression of a multiplied benefit. It is as though the Evangelist said: We not only received divine filiation through this Incarnation, as was said, but also saw his glory. Therefore he adds, "We saw," and so forth.

This last exposition pertains to the fourth and final matter noted concerning Christ's temporal nativity. Hence the angels themselves sang in Luke 2: "Glory to God in the highest," namely, he will be manifested who until now was hidden from them, "and on earth peace of reconciliation to human beings of good will." Isaiah says: "The glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see the salvation of God," that is, will be able to see God the Savior. Hence that hymn is sung on feast days to represent heavenly glory.

Gregory says in a homily: “What does it mean that the world is enrolled when the Lord is born, except that he appeared in the flesh so that he might enroll his own in eternity,” namely by giving them heavenly glory?

Weak and infirm eyes cannot look upon the light of the sun in itself, but can see it in some opaque body when it shines upon that body. Before the Incarnation, therefore, the eyes of human minds were incapable of beholding the light that enlightens every human being. Consequently, so that we might not be deprived of the joy of seeing it, that light, the Word, willed to be clothed in flesh so that it might be seen by us, according to the figure in Exodus 16: “They saw the glory of the Lord in the cloud,” that is, the Word of God in the flesh. Finally, in our heavenly homeland, we shall see the glory of God openly.

But against this it is said below: “No one has ever seen God,” and Exodus 33 says: “A human being shall not see me and live.” Concerning this, note that God can be seen in three ways, corresponding to three kinds of vision. The first is the natural vision of philosophers; the second, the supernatural vision of wayfarers; and the third, the final vision of those who comprehend.

The glory of God--that is, his majesty and the fact that he is glorious--is seen naturally insofar as it is seen through an intelligible species abstracted from the senses. From this species, through consideration of the greatness of creatures, human beings behold as in a picture the greatness of the Creator, according to Wisdom 13: “From the greatness and beauty of the creature,” and so forth, and according to the saying, “The invisible things of God from the creation of the world,” and so forth.

We see the glory of God--that is, that he is God and glorious above all things--through the causation of effects, the motion of things, and their comparison.

As regards causation, every effect has its cause. Hence Job says: “Nothing is done without a cause.” But we see many effects, one of which is the cause of another. Since there can be no progress to infinity, one must arrive at a first cause which is the cause producing all things and is not itself caused by another; this is the glorious God.

As regards motion, everything that is moved is moved by another. The lower bodies are moved corporally by the motion of heaven; heaven is moved by an angel; and the angel is moved virtually by God.

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Therefore, after a long course through movers, one must arrive at a first mover who is not moved by another; and this is the glorious God, “remaining steadfast and giving motion to all things,” as Boethius says.

As regards comparison, “good” and “better” are spoken only with reference to what is best. Diverse grades of goodness are found in things, by which one is better than another. A plant is more perfect than a stone, and a brute animal is more perfect than a plant because it lives and senses. Among animals, one species is better than another, as a horse is better than an ass, and so with others. But the human being, who understands, is nobler than all brute animals. Among human beings, one is better, wiser, and more beautiful than another. An angel is more perfect in nature than a human being, because angels are pure spirits. Among angels, one is more perfect in nature and grace than another.

Proceeding in this way, one must arrive at one supreme and best good, by reason of which one thing is called better than another insofar as it participates more in the goodness of that which is best. This is the glorious God. Hence the Philosopher says: “There is therefore one prince who is eternal and of infinite nobility.”

The second vision is more perfect because it is a supernatural knowledge conferred by God. Of it the Apostle says in First Corinthians 13: “Now we see,” namely God and divine things, “through a mirror,” that is, through creatures, “and in an enigma,” that is, under a figure. Although this vision is not clearer than our knowledge, it is nevertheless more certain, above opinion and doubt, and below knowledge through demonstration. It is threefold: through the common knowledge of faith, through the various knowledge of prophecy, and through the excellence of rapture.

Of the first vision the Psalm says: “All the ends of the earth have seen the salvation of our God,” that is, our Savior God, because from every nation as far as the end of the world some have believed through the preaching of the apostles. Concerning them the Psalm says: “The heavens declare the glory of God,” and “their sound has gone forth into all the earth,” and so forth.

If faith is formed through charity, it is seen perfectly, because it is also known through taste, according to the Psalm: “Taste and see that the Lord is sweet.” Those who, while believing in Christ, also saw him incarnate saw still more deeply. Hence Simeon said: “My eyes have seen your salvation, a light for revelation,” and so forth, “and the glory of your people.” Faith was not excluded from the apostles, or even from the Virgin Mary, by the fact that they saw the incarnate Word, for they saw the flesh and not the Word. Therefore Christ said to Thomas in the penultimate chapter of John: “Because you have seen me”--namely the flesh--“you have believed” the divinity.

Of the second vision, namely the prophetic, the Lord says in Hosea 12: “I multiplied visions, and in the hands of the prophets I was represented.” Hence prophets were anciently called seers, because they saw what the peoples did not see, namely the mysteries of God.

There are three kinds of prophetic vision: one corporeal, another imaginary, and the third intellectual.

Corporeal vision occurs when God is presented to bodily sight through an underlying creature. Thus Abraham saw the day of Christ: “He saw it and rejoiced,” John 8 says. This occurred when he saw three approaching him and adored one, Genesis 18, because in those whom he first considered human beings he afterward believed to be angels. In them he recognized the mystery of the Trinity in one essence, or of three substances in Christ--that is, Word, soul, and flesh--in one person. Moses likewise saw the bush burn and not be consumed, understanding this to signify God, the fire, united to the thornbush of our mortality.

Imaginary vision occurs when God reveals himself through an underlying creature represented to the imagination although not perceived by an external sense. Thus Isaiah saw the Lord sitting upon a throne, high and elevated, “and the whole earth was full of his majesty,” and so forth, Isaiah 6. Isaiah said this when he saw the glory of God, namely imaginatively. Jacob likewise saw in dreams the Lord leaning upon a ladder touching heaven, and so forth, Genesis 27 [read: Genesis 28:12-13].

Intellectual vision occurs when God or something divine is revealed through some light or intelligible species infused by God into the minds of the saints and not abstracted from phantasms. Such is the prophecy in David’s Psalms, which is full of mysteries of the Incarnation.

If we speak of vision through rapture, Augustine says concerning Paul’s rapture: “He saw Jesus when he did not see the other things.” It is commonly held that at that time he saw God through his essence, but only for an hour and not perpetually; therefore he was not blessed without qualification. The same is said of Moses. Whether Paul was then in the body or outside the body, he says that he does not know. Nevertheless, his soul could have been in the body and seen God with the intellect as the blessed do, provided that he was wholly alienated from the senses.

We place such vision through rapture among the visions of God granted to wayfarers because, although it is through the essence, it does not remain, and because it occurs to a living person while he is a wayfarer, although at that time alienated from sense and imagination. Nicholas of Lyra explains Paul’s words, “I heard the secrets of God,” as meaning, “I saw the secrets,” and so forth.

What Stephen saw when, looking into heaven, he beheld the glory of God, as stated in Acts 6 [read: Acts 7:55], pertains more to imaginary or sensible vision than to beatific vision.

By none of the aforesaid visions is the divine essence attained, except in the rapture of Paul and Moses, which nevertheless did not remain. No created species--whether one informing the external sense, one informing the imagination, or one informing the intellect--is representative of the divine essence as it is. A human being knows through essence that which the species possessed in the intellect or sense represents as it is. But the divine essence as it is cannot be represented through any created species. This is evident because no finite thing can represent the infinite as it is. Every created species is finite; but what God is is infinite, and therefore he cannot be represented through a created species.

Hence Job 36 says: “All human beings see him,” namely God, in some one of the ways stated, “but each one beholds him from afar,” because through every cognition other than cognition through the essence, what God is is not known, but rather what he is not. Thus, as Dionysius says in the book *Mystical Theology*, the highest point that a human being can attain in the knowledge of God through created species is by removal: by removing from God those things that are in creatures as regards the mode in which they are in creatures. Goodness, wisdom, and other things of this kind are in creatures, but they are not in God in the same mode, for they are not accidents; rather, they are all his essence.

The third vision is face-to-face vision, of which the Apostle says in First Corinthians 13: “Then,” namely in our heavenly homeland, “we shall see face to face,” because, as Isaiah says, “They shall see the king in his beauty.”

There were some who said that the divine essence could never be seen by any created intellect, but that angels and blessed souls see only God’s splendor, not his essence. That this is erroneous is proved in three ways.

First, it is contrary to the authority of Scripture, for First John 1 [read: First John 3:2] says: “We shall see him as he is.” Second, God’s splendor is nothing other than his essence, for he is luminous not by participation in light but through himself. Third, it is impossible for anyone to attain blessedness except in the vision of the divine essence itself. No one can be perfectly blessed unless that person’s natural desire is wholly at rest.

It naturally belongs to a natural creature that, if someone sees an effect but does not know its cause, that person marvels and desires to know of the cause not only whether it exists, but also what it is. Hence, according to the Philosopher, this moved human beings to philosophize. Therefore, if a created intellect were to see all created things, it is clear that, unless it knew their cause, it would marvel and naturally desire to know it.

[Running head: Sixth Title.]

Fifth Title: On the Sixth Age of the World

Chapter Eight, § XVII (continued)

But the cause of all things is God himself. Therefore, whatever a created intellect might understand concerning creatures, its natural desire would not rest unless it saw and knew the divine essence itself. Thus to take away the vision of the divine essence from human beings is to take blessedness away from them. It is therefore necessary for the blessedness of a created intellect that the divine essence be seen. Hence the Lord says in Matthew 5: “Blessed are the clean of heart, for they shall see God.”

This clear vision is the entire reward, according to Augustine. In John 17 the Lord Jesus says: “This is eternal life: that they may know you, the only God, and Jesus Christ whom you have sent.” This vision is of such beauty and so worthy of love that Plotinus the Philosopher, as Augustine reports in *The City of God*, judged the aforesaid soul most unhappy without it, with whatever and however great goods it might possess.

Therefore the saints and angels see the divine essence not through any created intelligible species but through the light of glory radiated into their intellect, according to the Psalm: “With you is the fountain of life, and in your light we shall see light”--that is, in the light of glory we shall see the light of the divine essence. Augustine says: “The Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit are one light.”

This light of glory is something created, not indeed as the object of vision, but as strengthening and elevating the intellect so that it may see the divine essence itself. Although that essence, which is infinite in itself, is seen wholly, it is nevertheless not seen infinitely by a creature whose power is finite--that is, it is not seen so as to be comprehended wholly, but as though finitely. God alone sees himself infinitely, because he comprehends himself.

No saint or other creature sees God in such a way as to comprehend him. Thus, according to the letter, it is true that “no one has seen God,” namely by comprehending him. Since every created intellect is of finite power and God is infinite, it cannot know him wholly according to the extent to which he is knowable; God alone sees himself comprehensively. In this sense it is said: “No one knows the Son except the Father, nor the Father except the Son,” namely comprehensively. The Holy Spirit is not thereby excluded, because he is one God with them. This is also what the Apostle says: “Who dwells in inaccessible light, whom no one can see.”

Nevertheless, as was said, the saints see God through his essence. Hence their desire is satisfied without weariness, according to the Psalm: “I shall be satisfied when your glory appears.” Although one saint contemplates the divine essence more clearly than another--just as, both bodily and intellectually, one sees a thing more keenly than another because of a better disposition of body or intellect, which in this case proceeds from the greater charity possessed here--nevertheless no one can see the divine essence with a bodily eye, even a glorified one, or with material imagination. God is spirit and therefore cannot be perceived by a material eye, because of the lack of proportion between the power and the object.

Thus the saying “A human being shall not see me and live” can also be understood in this way, as can “No one has ever seen God”: namely, with bodily eye or imagination, which concerns only material things. The bodily eye of a glorified body can, however, see Christ’s glorious humanity, just as it can see the bodies of the other saints.

The soul of Christ possessed from the beginning of his conception, and continuously possesses, the vision of the divine essence, far more eminently than all the angels and saints. Hence the Wise Man says: “The eyes of the Lord are brighter than the sun,” and nothing under the sun is new, namely to Jesus Christ. For he possessed and possesses the vision or knowledge of all things that ever were, are, and will be in actuality. Hebrews 4 says: “All things are naked and open to his eyes.”

God nevertheless sees many things which he is able to do although he will never do them, and the soul of Christ does not see such things. Hence the soul of Christ itself does not wholly comprehend the divine essence. The Psalm notes this in the person of Christ, saying: “Your knowledge, O God, has been made wonderful from me; it has been strengthened, and I shall not be able to attain it” by comprehending it.

Therefore the soul of Christ, from the beginning of its creation, sees in the Word all things which were, are, or will be in actuality. This is called the knowledge of vision, which belongs to God alone. But it does not see all things that God is able to do but will not do; this is called the knowledge of simple intelligence.

No one, however, attains that vision of God and lives as a human being, that is, sensually. Therefore “we saw his glory” insofar as, through the incarnate Word, provision was made for us to see the glory of the divine essence if we will.

Sixth Title: On the Church Militant

Chapter One

God “gave him,” namely Christ, “as head of the Church,” says the Apostle, for “we are all one body in Christ,” namely the Church, whose head is Christ.

Since, therefore, the head--namely the incarnate Word, the Lord Jesus Christ--has been treated as regards his conduct, most full of every perfection, his marvelous teaching and glorious miracles, his Passion, and also the account of his divinity, intimated most briefly yet most profoundly by John, let us now proceed to treat of the Church itself.

Its first leaders and pastors were the apostles. It exists as militant in the world until the end of the world, but then it will pass entirely into the Church triumphant, also in glorified bodies.

The Lord Jesus revealed to John the Church’s course through various states at diverse times until the end, but very obscurely, through imaginary visions which very few understand so as to explain them literally by prophecy or divination, as Nicholas of Lyra noted.

The most blessed John was an apostle, evangelist, and prophet: an apostle in his epistles, an evangelist in his Gospel, and a prophet in the Apocalypse. Because of his insuperable constancy in evangelizing, he was banished by the emperor Domitian to the island of Patmos. There, deprived of the fellowship of human consolation, he merited to be raised up by the consolations of a divine address.

On one Lord’s day an angel representing Christ appeared to him and revealed to him the states of the Church militant in the New Testament through the course of diverse times, in imaginary visions of diverse things which he then received from him. Concerning them he wrote the book of the Apocalypse, which is interpreted “revelation.”

In commendation of this book Jerome says that the Apocalypse has as many mysteries as words. In commendation of the volume, every praise is inferior to it.

It signifies, but most obscurely, the persecutions and afflictions which the Church will suffer from tyrants, gentile emperors, heretics, and also evil members of the faithful; the divine consolations to be received here and in the future; and the judgments and punishments of the evil. This is so that foreseen blows may strike less severely and that the faithful may be strengthened more efficaciously in adversities by hope of divine aid and of their future reward and the punishment of the evil.

It describes many mysteries under the number seven. At the beginning, after God, John sets the greeting from the seven spirits who are before the divine throne. He saw an angel representing Christ in the midst of seven golden lampstands, holding seven stars in his hand.

[Running head: Chapter One. Folio 169.]

He writes these things to the seven churches of Asia and to their seven angels, that is, to their bishops, one to each. Then, before the throne of the divine majesty, he was shown its fellowship: the four living creatures, the twenty-four elders, and the seven lamps, which are the seven spirits of God, as is said there.

Afterward he saw that the book which the one seated upon the throne held was closed with seven seals. The Lamb and Lion, Jesus, who was found able to open and loosen those seals, was shown to have seven horns. After the opening of the seven seals, seven angels were seen, each in turn sounding a trumpet forcefully and speaking various and diverse things. Finally, seven other angels appeared, having seven bowls full of water, which they poured upon the earth one after another. A dreadful dragon was also shown, having seven heads.

Chapter One, § I: Concerning the First Group of Seven

Nicholas of Lyra explains “from the seven spirits,” and so forth, as meaning the whole company of angels. The number seven is frequently used in Scripture and signifies totality. According to Gregory, this is because the whole of time runs through the seven days of the week. In the first week God made all things, resting from his work on the seventh day and sanctifying it.

As the Apostle says in Hebrews 1, “All are ministering spirits, sent to assist those who receive the inheritance of salvation.” They are all called “seven” because of seven things which God works around us.

Their first work concerns natural things, by moving or changing them. Thus the philosophers posit separate substances as the movers of the heavenly spheres. Origen explains Christ’s statement in Luke 21, “The powers of the heavens shall be moved,” as referring to angels who “will be moved,” that is, removed at the end of the world from the office of moving the heavens or planets,

for then every motion of heaven will cease. According to Gregory, “powers” are also those angels through whom God works miracles in which nature is changed.

Their second work concerns infernal things, restraining them. According to Gregory and others, the office of the angels called Powers is to restrain the malice of demons, lest they harm us in body and soul as much as they would wish. We have an example of this in Tobit, in the angel Raphael, who banished the demon Asmodeus into the desert so that he might not harm Tobias and his spouse as he had harmed her seven husbands.

Their third work concerns crimes, punishing both the elect and the reprobate. Thus, having found the inhabitants of Sodom and of the other four cities obstinate in the worst crime, the angels sent fire and sulfur from the air upon them, and they were overthrown. In one night an angel killed one hundred and eighty-four thousand [read: one hundred and eighty-five thousand] men from the army of Sennacherib, who was blaspheming God. An angel likewise afflicted David, who gloried in the multitude of his subjects, wounding sixty thousand [read: seventy thousand] people from his nation with a deadly plague over three days.

Their fourth work concerns intellectual things, teaching them. All prophetic visions and revelations occur through the ministry of angels. The Apostle says in Galatians that the Mosaic Law was “ordained through angels in the hand of a mediator.” It was an angel who spoke to Moses in the person of God, saying, “Keep my laws; I am the Lord.”

The angel Gabriel revealed to Daniel both advents of Christ, determining the time of the first, as appears in Daniel 9. Gabriel announced to Zechariah the future conception of John the Baptist and to Mary the conception of Christ. An angel in dreams disclosed to Joseph Mary’s conception by the Holy Spirit, the journey of the newborn Jesus into Egypt, and his return from there. God likewise signified to his servant John through his angel the states of the Church through the succession of times, as is said here.

Their fifth work concerns voluntary things, inflaming the will. The Psalm says: “Who makes his angels spirits and his ministers a burning fire,” that is, who in their ministry to human beings makes them burn with divine love. Although an angel does not immediately move the will to good, for God alone does this, an angel nevertheless purges the imagination of evil representations by which a human being is incited toward evil and suggests good images, from which a person may desire good things.

As a figure of this, one of the seraphim--taking that name from his office, not his order--touched Isaiah’s lips with a burning coal and purged his iniquity, Isaiah 6. The mouth of the soul is the will.

Their sixth work concerns sufferings, soothing or comforting them. Hence, when Christ was in agony in prayer as his Passion approached, an angel from heaven appeared, strengthening him. When the three youths were cast into the furnace, an angel descended from heaven, consoling them and delivering them from being burned by the fire, Daniel 3. An angel appeared to Elijah while he slept, wearied by his labor and by the persecution of the impious Jezebel, and, awakening him, offered him strengthening provisions.

Their seventh work concerns things to be done, directing them. Malachi 3 says: “Behold, I send my angel, who prepares the way.” Thus the angel of the Lord who is said to have been Michael went before the people of Israel as they departed from Egypt and proceeded through the desert to the Promised Land, in the form of a pillar of cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night.

Thus Raphael also guided Tobias, accompanying him throughout the journey as he went to Rages, and brought him safely home, made rich. Finally, angels direct the elect in their last moments lest they fail and accompany them into the heavenly homeland. Thus we read of Lazarus the beggar, who was carried by angels into Abraham’s bosom, and of Saint Martin, Saint Nicholas, and others.

Chapter One, § II: The One Seen in the Midst of the Seven Golden Lampstands

The one whom John saw in the midst of the seven golden lampstands was “like a son of man,” namely an angel representing Christ.

The seven lampstands signify all the holy men in the Church militant, especially those governing and teaching others. They are golden through charity and are lampstands shining through teaching and the example of a right life. Christ is in their midst--that is, in the Church--protecting them.

Or the seven lampstands signify the seven states of the blessed in the Church triumphant: patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, doctors, virgins, and confessors. Christ is in their midst, seen by them all.

Seven conditions or qualities are described in this one like a son of man, and these signify seven virtues. His eighth condition signifies the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit. All of these were in Christ and are in every perfect holy man, who in some manner is like the Son of Man, that is, Christ.

First, this one like a son of man is said to have been clothed with a long robe--that is, a linen garment reaching to the feet--which signifies constancy in adversities unto the end of life. Flax, by being crushed and struck many times, is brought to a white cloth so

that a garment may be made; and the habit of constancy and fortitude is acquired through enduring many adversities. This garment ought to reach the feet, that is, the end of life, for the foot is the extremity of the body. The Apocalypse says: “Be faithful,” namely by fighting constantly, “unto death, and I will give you the crown of life.”

[Running head: Sixth Title.]

Sixth Title: On the Church Militant

Chapter One, § II (continued)

Second, he was girded at the breasts with a golden girdle, which signifies continence. Girding signifies the restraint of carnal delights: in food through abstinence, and in sexual matters through chastity. Both pertain to temperance.

He pointedly says that he was girded at the breasts, not at the loins. The breasts of the soul are the intellect and the will, in which there ought to be restraint of carnal delights. To be truly continent, one must abstain not only from outward, vicious carnal delights but also from inward ones, so as neither to think about nor covet unlawful things, according to the Apostle’s saying: “Let us cleanse ourselves from every defilement of flesh and spirit.” The girdle by which this girding is done is called golden because chastity ought to be preserved from the love of God.

The third condition signifies prudence concerning things to be done. It is expressed in the words: “His head and hair were white as white wool and as snow.” Grayness is shown in them, for he appeared old and gray-haired. “Prudence is in the aged and in those who have lived a long time,” says the Wise Man, for prudence is acquired from many experiences, and those require much time. The mind is the head of the soul, and its thoughts are the hairs.

The fourth condition indicates the fitting character of those to be loved when the text adds: “His eyes were like a flame of fire, and his feet like fine brass, as in a burning furnace.” Fire indicates charity, according to the saying of our Lord in Luke 12: “I came to send fire upon the earth.”

The eyes, which are members in a more eminent place, are nobler and see all things. They signify the contemplation of divine things, which is twofold: contemplation of God in himself, as the right eye, and contemplation that leads from creatures back to God, as the left eye. This contemplation of God is fiery in the elect, affective or tasting, proceeding from charity and approaching God more closely.

Just as the object of love is not only God but also one’s neighbor, so the life and conduct of a human being is not only contemplative but also active. The active life is signified by the feet, because, just as one passes over the earth upon the feet, so through the active life one is exercised concerning one’s neighbor, who is earth and dwells upon earth. The right foot is action concerning spiritual alms, and the left concerning bodily alms. Of the first it is said: “Counsel, correct,” and so forth; of the second: “Visit, give drink, give food,” and so forth.

The active life ought to be firm and shining, fervent with charity. Therefore the feet are of fine brass, a solid metal, shining in a burning furnace.

The fifth condition demonstrates an abundance of gifts, because he had seven stars in his right hand. The heavenly stars are the heavenly gifts of the Holy Spirit. These stars are others who shine by good examples, according to the saying: “The appearance of heaven,” that is, the beauty of heavenly honor, “is the glory of the stars,” that is, their radiance.

These seven stars are designated by the constellation Arcturus in heaven, which has seven stars that never set; and the gifts of the Holy Spirit never fail, even in the blessed life. They are held in the hand of action, not only in a habit of the mind, and in the right hand, that is, from the right intention of good action, according to Matthew 6: “Let your left hand not know what your right hand is doing.” That is, let the left intention of popular favor and the like not mix itself into good works. These gifts were in Christ most perfectly, as appears in Isaiah 11, and are possessed by every truly good person, although in greater and lesser degree.

The sixth condition denotes the authority and confidence of the word or teaching, because “his voice was like the voice of many waters.” Water signifies the teaching of the Scriptures, according to the saying: “He gave him the saving water of wisdom to drink.” Holy men, both in their minds and in their speech when teaching others, possess above all the teachings of the holy Scriptures, not of the gentiles. These have in themselves the great cry of divine authority. Like waters, they cleanse the stains of sins and cool the heat of labors through the hope of heavenly things which they impart. Hence the Apostle says in Romans 14 [read: Romans 15:4]: “That through the consolation of the Scriptures we may have hope.”

Since such waters are called faithful because they cannot deceive, since they proceed from God and in them an immense reward is promised to those who fight manfully, hope is generated in the minds of those who meditate upon them and hear them, strengthening them for their struggles.

The seventh condition implies a just sentence concerning those to be judged, because a sharp, two-edged sword issued from his mouth. Justice is exercised in judgment concerning distributions and exchanges, so that through a sentence each person may be allotted what is owed.

That sentence, like a sword, ought to proceed first from the mouth of the heart, which reason dictates, and afterward from the mouth of the body. This sword ought to be sharp on both sides: on the side of exchanges, so that no one is harmed in commerce and every inequity is cut away; and on the side of distributions, so that honors and benefices are given to the suitable, taken away from the evil, and punishments inflicted for crimes.

"Judge your neighbor justly," says the Lord in the Law. Gregory says: "The highest good among human affairs is to cultivate justice and preserve to each person his rights," Cause 12, Question 2, *Cum devotissimam*.

The eighth condition signifies the radiance of things to be believed: "And his face was like the sun shining in its power." Just as the light of the sun exceeds the lights of all other things, so the light of faith exceeds all knowledge of things that can be known. "He who does not believe is in darkness," says John. Hence the Lord Jesus said to certain people who did not possess right faith: "Yet a little while the light is among you. While you have the light, believe in the light, that you may be children of light," namely through faith.

The face of the soul, by which it is distinguished from brute animals, is reason, which is luminous like the sun through the power of faith. The Psalm says: "In your light," namely that of faith, "we shall see light." This light comes to us from the sun of justice, Christ our God, the true light "which enlightens every human being coming into this world," John 1.

Miracles were worked from this light of faith, because, as the Psalm says, "all his works are in faith"; and the final chapter of Mark says: "These signs shall follow those who believe," and so forth. Hence the whole world was enlightened.

The seven churches of Asia to which he writes in chapters 2 and 3 signify all churches, because, as has been said, seven is a number signifying totality. In them diverse defects and vices are found, for which John reproves them, and virtuous things, for which he commends them.

Their angels are the prelates of those churches, whom he reproved in writing. As Pope Leo says, the faults of those in lower orders are to be referred to no one more than to idle and negligent prelates, for they often nurture a great pestilence while pretending not to apply a more severe remedy, Distinction 86.

Chapter One, § III: The Divine Majesty Presiding Over the Church

Then, in chapter 4, John wishes to describe the course of the Church from the time of the apostles until the end of the world, shown to him under certain images explained to him but not clearly expounded for us in that book. The following exposition throughout is that of Nicholas of Lyra.

First he designates the divine majesty as presiding over and governing the Church militant. Hence he says: "Immediately I was in spirit," understanding this as an imaginary vision.

[Running head: Chapter One. Folio 170.]

"And behold, a throne was set in heaven." Heaven signifies the Church, and by the throne is understood the authority and power of God governing the Church. "And one sitting upon the throne," namely God, triune in persons but one in essence.

"And he who sat was in appearance like a stone of jasper and sardius." Such appearances occur according to what is fitting for that which is revealed. God appeared in this way as governing the Church militant, toward which he bears himself as consoler and kindler of charity. He is therefore said here to be of the color of jasper, which is green, a color that strengthens the sight, and of sardius, which is red and, through its likeness to fire, signifies the burning of charity.

"And there was a rainbow around the throne," by which God's covenant with his Church is designated. The rainbow, that is, the heavenly bow, was given as a sign of the covenant between God and the earth. It was "like the appearance of an emerald." The emerald is green and is one of the colors of the rainbow. Thus that imaginary rainbow appeared in such a way that its green color seemed more intense than the others. By this is designated the consolation of God which will be present especially in the Church's future tribulations, because green strengthens the sight, as was said.

The majesty of God is next described from its noble fellowship when it is said: "Around the throne were twenty-four seats." By these are designated all cathedral churches. Although they are many, they are designated under this number because of the correspondence with the Old Testament found in First Chronicles 25 [read: First Chronicles 24], where it is read that David, wishing to enlarge divine worship in the Temple, appointed twenty-four priests who were chiefs of the priests, each of whom performed the office with his own attendants in his assigned week.

“And twenty-four elders sitting upon the seats” are the bishops of the churches, in whom there ought to be maturity of age and conduct. “Clothed all around.” They were in white garments, because chastity and purity ought especially to shine in bishops. “And upon their heads were golden crowns,” because in their minds--which are called heads in relation to the lower, sensitive powers--there ought to be the splendor of wisdom signified by gold.

“And from the throne,” namely God, “proceeded lightning, voices, and thunder”: the flash of miracles, the announcement of rewards, and the terror of punishments. These were conceded by God to the prelates of the churches in the primitive Church and afterward for some time.

“And seven lamps burning before the throne of God, which are the seven spirits of God sent into all the earth.” By these are understood the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, or all the angels who are sent to perform ministries. They are burning because they illuminate and kindle people to the knowledge and love of God.

“And in the sight of the throne, as it were, a sea of glass like crystal,” namely the sacrament of baptism, which is not movable and fluid but firm and indelible with respect to the character impressed by it.

“And in the midst of the throne and around it, four living creatures,” one like a lion, another like a calf, the third like a human being, and the fourth like an eagle. According to others, the four Evangelists are designated by them. But Nicholas of Lyra says that the four patriarchal churches can better be understood by them: Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, and Constantinople. These are treated throughout Distinction 22. For their application, he draws upon the qualities of those animals in relation to these churches.

Those living creatures had six wings, which are the six laws: the natural law, the Mosaic, the prophetic, the evangelical, the teaching of the apostles, and the statutes of councils or of the Church. By these wings ecclesiastics ought to ascend through contemplation and descend through the edification of their neighbors.

“And they had no rest,” namely in reverence and service toward the divine majesty, for in the aforesaid churches the divine office was devoutly celebrated by night and by day. Or, if the Evangelists are understood, they are said to have no rest from divine praise, because continually through their teaching of the Gospels they arouse us to praise God, saying “Holy” three times to indicate the mystery of the Trinity. Then is added, “Lord God almighty,” because of the mystery of the unity of essence in those divine persons.

The six wings can also be called six virtuous conditions by which we fly to God: two concerning God, namely obedience and contemplation; two concerning our neighbor, benevolence and intercession; and two concerning ourselves, modesty and circumspection.

By the twenty-four elders can be understood the fathers of the Old and New Testaments: the twelve patriarchs in the Old and the twelve apostles in the New, who were in the Church militant and are now before God in the Church triumphant.

When those four living creatures gave glory and honor, and so forth, serving God and praising him together in the divine offices, those four patriarchal churches--including nevertheless the Roman Church as the head of all--and, at Constantinople, where Constantine, who exalted the Church, established the empire, the other cathedral churches follow them in the divine offices celebrated.

That they “cast their crowns before the throne” signifies that they recognize their wisdom as coming from God, saying: “You are worthy, O Lord, to receive glory,” and so forth. This is not to be understood as though God receives something new or anything increases in him from our praises and works, but as meaning that human beings are bound, because of the benefits received, to rise up to praise God.

“And because of your will all things were”: namely, they were in your disposition from eternity, as artifacts are in the artisan’s mind before he makes them. “And they were created”: namely, they were brought into effect in time because of your will, not from necessity of nature.

Chapter One, § IV: The Book Sealed with Seven Seals

In chapter 5, seven persecutions of the Church under gentile emperors, extending until Constantine, are noted in the opening of the book’s seven seals. John therefore says that he saw “a book in the right hand of the one sitting upon the throne, sealed with seven seals.” The one sitting upon the throne is God, three and one. This book is divine knowledge, in which all things are written.

It should be known that two kinds of knowledge are posited in God, or one knowledge spoken of in a twofold way. The first extends to all possible things which nevertheless never were and never will be, and it is called knowledge of simple intelligence. The other extends to all things existing in actuality under any difference of past, present, or future time, and it is called knowledge of vision.

These latter things are in God’s operative power insofar as he produces them at some time. God revealed them to the man Christ. Thus this book is said to be in God’s right hand, designating his operative power, and the book is understood as God’s knowledge of the things disposed by him to be done.

It is said to be sealed with seven seals, that is, with obscurities of every kind, as some say. According to this view, a determinate number is placed for an indeterminate one: the number seven for an indeterminate multitude of obscurities. This sealing therefore signifies the closure of divine knowledge concerning the things disposed by God to be done until he reveals that they are to be done or brings them into actuality.

But according to Nicholas of Lyra it seems better to say that these seals are nothing other than the divine will, closing and opening its secret as, when, and how it pleases. Although it is one in itself, it is nevertheless called manifold as related to its various effects, according to the saying: “Great are the works of the Lord, sought out according to all his wills.”

[Running head: Sixth Title.]

Sixth Title: On the Church Militant

Chapter One, § IV (continued)

The sevenfold number of seals, therefore, is the sevenfold revelation of the divine will, which was to be revealed to John distinctly in seven revelations to occur in seven times.

“And I saw a strong angel.” This seems to have been Gabriel, whose name is interpreted “fortitude of God,” saying: “Who is worthy to open the book,” that is, to manifest God’s secret, “and to loose its seals,” that is, to show seal by seal how each thing of which they speak will proceed from the divine will?

“And no one was able”--neither in heaven, as regards the angels; nor on earth, as regards human beings; nor in hell, as regards the demons, in whom natural powers and therefore acuteness of intellect remained--“to open the book,” because no one can attain God’s secrets unless God reveals them. God first revealed them to Christ as man, and Christ revealed them to John through an angel.

“And I,” says John, “wept much.” Here John’s desire to know the Church’s future course is shown. “And one of the elders said to me,” consoling him, “Do not weep.” Although some say otherwise, this elder seems better understood to have been Peter, already crowned in heaven through martyrdom.

“Behold, the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the root of David, has conquered.” He is a lion in the Resurrection. Through his Passion he conquered the devil. He is the root of David, descending from him according to the flesh and producing him according to divinity as a root produces a tree. He conquered “to open the book,” that is, to manifest the course of the Church preordained by God.

“And I saw, and behold, in the midst of the throne a Lamb standing as though slain,” that is, in the midst of the churches established in his name. He is called a lamb by reason of his immolation. He is said to be standing because of his resurrection to immortal life. He is called “as though slain” because he is daily immolated in the Church in the sacrifice of the altar as regards its effect and representation.

Hence John says that the Lamb had “seven horns,” which are the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit. They are called horns because through them the enemy’s power in the vices is crushed.

“And he came,” namely the Lamb, “and received the book from the right hand of the one sitting upon the throne.” This does not mean that Christ then received knowledge of the Church’s future course, because from the beginning of his conception his soul possessed knowledge of the things to be done. Rather, he then revealed to John, and through him to the universal Church--though obscurely--the knowledge concerning the aforesaid things received at the beginning of his conception.

“And when he had opened the book,” namely in order to reveal the Church’s course, “the four living creatures and the twenty-four elders fell upon their faces,” and so forth. That is, the four patriarchal churches and the other cathedral churches throughout the world received from this matter for venerating him. Contemplating things pertaining to the New Testament, they sang a new song and gave thanks, saying, “You are worthy,” and so forth.

The joy of those attending Christ in the Church triumphant is then set forth when John says: “And I heard the voice of many angels,” and so forth.

Chapter One, § V: The Opening of the Seals

“And I saw when he had opened the first seal,” and so forth, in chapter 6. “I heard one of the four living creatures saying.” According to some, the four Evangelists are designated by these four living creatures saying to John, “Come and see.” But according to Nicholas of Lyra it is better said that they designate the prelates of the patriarchal churches.

Hence the first is James the Less, patriarch of Jerusalem, already triumphing in heaven through martyrdom. He says, “Come and see,” namely the course and state of the primitive Church. “And behold, a white horse.” Some explain this of the emperor Gaius, which Nicholas of Lyra rejects. According to him it is better said to designate the company of the apostles, whitened by holiness of life.

This is also because blessed James, bishop or patriarch of the Church of Jerusalem, was clothed in linen and therefore white garments. The same can probably be thought of the other apostles. Hence Muhammad calls them “whitened men.”

By the one sitting upon this horse is understood Christ, their director. “And he who sat upon it,” namely Christ, “had a bow in his hand”: the word of preaching in the hand of operation, because Jesus began to do and to teach. Likewise, the apostles preserved by example what they preached by word.

“And a crown was given to him” in his Resurrection and Ascension, “and he went forth” through his effect, visibly giving the Holy Spirit to the apostles, “conquering” his adversaries first in Judea, where many thousands of Jews were converted to the faith, as appears in the Acts of the Apostles, “that he might conquer” throughout the whole world by afterward subjecting the necks of the gentiles to the yoke of faith with miracles added. For while Peter was still living, the Church was spread as far as the ends of the earth.

“And when he had opened the second seal,” and so forth. Here the state of the Church from the time of Nero until the time of Titus is described. “I heard the second living creature,” and so forth. This was blessed Peter, the first patriarch of the Church of Antioch, who had already passed through the cross at the time of this vision. He said: “Come and see,” namely the second state of the Church.

“And another horse went forth, red.” This horse is the Roman people, which is called red in the time of Nero. It is red because much Roman blood was shed through Nero’s cruelty, for he killed even his mother, wife, brother, sister, and Seneca, his teacher of discipline, as well as the prince of the apostles and many other members of the faithful.

Or the redness is posited because Nero caused a great part of the city of Rome to be burned, and in such a fire the mingling of flame and smoke produces the appearance of redness.

“And to him who sat upon it,” namely Nero, ruling the Roman Empire, “it was given”--that is, with God permitting--“to take peace from the earth,” because the city and the empire were disturbed by his crimes, “and that human beings should kill one another.” After Nero was killed, Galba, then Otho, and afterward Vitellius usurped the Roman Empire for themselves. Hence, while they fought one another, many were killed.

“And a great sword was given to him,” namely the power to kill Christians, for he initiated the first persecution against Christians among the persecutions by emperors. Before this they had suffered persecution from the Jews.

“And when he had opened,” and so forth. Here is described the third state of the Church, which was under Titus. “I saw the third living creature,” and so forth. This was blessed Mark, the first patriarch of Alexandria, who was already martyred and in glory. “And behold, a black horse,” namely the Roman army, which is called black effectually, just as the sun is called hot because it causes heat. Under Titus the Roman army so afflicted the inhabitants of Jerusalem that they were blackened by hunger and other afflictions, as Josephus reports.

“And he who sat upon it,” namely Titus, governing that army, “had a balance in his hand,” namely divine justice, whose work he executed. It proceeded from the order of divine justice that the Roman army partly killed and partly captured the Jews, in vengeance for Christ’s death, although this was beyond the intention of Titus and his army. They fought against the Jews because of their rebellion against the empire. Therefore he is said to have held the balance in his hand but not in his mind, because he executed the order of justice although he did not intend to avenge Christ’s death.

“And I heard, as it were, a voice from the midst of the four living creatures,” that is, from the throne of God, around which the four living creatures were, to show that this, insofar as it was an evil of punishment, proceeded from divine ordinance.

[Running head: Chapter One. Folio 171.]

“Two pounds of wheat for one denarius,” and so forth. Hugh of Fleury says that, after Jerusalem had been captured, the Romans, wearied with much slaughter, sought a way to sell the captives, namely the Jews, as slaves. Because there were many captives and few buyers, they decreed that thirty slaves should be sold for one coin. A two-pound measure is a measure of two pounds.

“And do not harm the wine and oil,” that is, the Christians of that region, who are signified by wine and oil because of spiritual joy, fervor, and kindness toward their neighbors. They were not harmed by the army of Titus, because before the siege they had been warned to withdraw from there.

“And when he had opened the fourth seal.” Here he sets forth the fourth state of the Church under Domitian, who initiated the second persecution of the Church and did many evils to the Roman Empire. “I heard the fourth living creature,” that is, some first

patriarch or bishop of Constantinople--although that city was not then called Constantinople but Byzantium--already dead and existing in glory. “Come and see,” namely the fourth state of the Church.

“And behold, a pale horse,” that is, the Roman people. Domitian sent a great part of the senators and other nobles into exile, seized their goods, and imposed accusations upon them. Because of this, those who were at Rome and elsewhere stood in great fear lest they suffer similar things from him. Fear makes the outward members pale, especially the face. Therefore the Roman Empire at that time is signified by the pale horse.

“And he who sat upon it,” namely Domitian: “Death” was his name, actively and passively. He killed many Romans and gentiles, both faithful and unfaithful, and he himself was finally killed by the Senate because of his cruelty. “And hell followed him,” because when he died he descended to Gehenna.

“And power was given to him over the four parts of the earth,” namely the four parts in which the Roman Empire was spread, “to kill with the sword,” for by his command many of the faithful were martyred throughout the parts of the world; “and with hunger,” because many, tortured in prisons, died; “and with beasts of the earth,” because many were handed over to beasts to be devoured; “and with death,” because they were tortured in many other ways.

Note that, just as in Zechariah 6 the four horses of varying colors designate four monarchies or kingdoms, so here the first of the four horses designates Christ’s kingdom and the others the kingdom of the Romans under varying governments.

“And when he had opened the fifth seal.” Here is noted the fifth state of the Church, which was under Trajan and continued until Diocletian. Trajan initiated the third persecution against the Church; Marcus Antonius the fourth; Severus the fifth; Maximianus [read: Maximinus] the sixth; Decius the seventh; Valerian the eighth; and Aurelian the ninth.

Although several emperors in between caused Christians to be killed, these are specially said to have initiated persecutions against the Church because they issued and renewed edicts against Christians.

In the times of these emperors there were neither churches nor stable public altars. Instead, in hidden places, especially in the crypts of the martyrs above their bodies buried there, a wooden altar was carried and erected for the celebration of Masses.

Therefore it is said: “I saw beneath the altar of God the souls of those who had been slain,” that is, the slain martyrs, because their bodies were there. They had been slain “because of the word of God” as regards the teachers who were martyred because they preached the word, “and because of the testimony which they held” as regards the simple people who underwent martyrdom because they refused to deny Christ and instead professed more strongly that they believed in him.

“And they cried with a loud voice.” This cry is nothing other than a certain manifestation of the tyrants’ malice against God, which merits punishment, just as the voice of Abel’s blood cried from the earth to God. “How long, O Lord, holy and true, do you not avenge our blood upon those who dwell on earth?” That is, upon the tyrants who dwell on earth as rulers.

“And white robes were given to each of them,” that is, the glory of the soul. “And it was said to them that they should rest,” namely that their bodies should rest, “yet a little while,” namely until the final judgment. This is a little time in comparison with eternity. Then they will receive the robe of the body, namely glory, and vengeance, that is, punishment against those tyrants, will be manifested, “until the number” preordained by God “should be filled,” and so forth.

“And when he had opened the sixth seal.” Here is described the state of the Church under Diocletian and Maximian, who initiated the tenth persecution against the Church. It was more atrocious than all the preceding, to such a degree that within thirty days seventeen thousand persons of both sexes are read to have been crowned with martyrdom.

First the bitterness of the persecution is set forth and afterward the sweetness of divine consolation. John therefore says that at the opening of this seal “a great earthquake was made,” because in all parts of the Roman Empire, by command of Diocletian and Maximian, judges and powerful people were moved to kill Christians.

“And the sun became black,” that is, Christ, who is the sun of justice, was blackened as regards his reputation and also in his members, because it was charged against them that they were magicians and evildoers and that Christ had taught those magical arts through the apostles. Thus, as far as lay in them, they blackened Christ.

“And the whole moon became like blood,” because the whole Church was then reddened with the blood of the martyrs. “And the stars fell from heaven,” because many who were eminent in the heaven of the Church militant inclined through fear of death to sacrifice to idols. This appears in the case of Pope Marcellinus, who offered incense to idols. It is therefore probable that many others also fell away from the faith. Marcellinus, however, led by penance, afterward underwent martyrdom for the faith of Christ.

At that time the Roman episcopate was vacant for seven years and five months because of the savagery of that persecution.

“As a fig tree casts its unripe figs when it is shaken by a great wind.” The first, immature figs of the season are called unripe figs, and they easily fall from a tree shaken by a great wind. At that time a whirlwind of tempestuous persecution blew in the Church.

"And heaven withdrew like a rolled-up book," that is, the Church at that time, because the Christians hid themselves as much as they could, except for a few who, through fervor of spirit, exposed and offered themselves for martyrdom.

"And every mountain and the islands were moved from their places." Christians who had fled into mountains, upon inaccessible cliffs, and into enclosed islands of the sea were sought there. These places are therefore said to have been moved because of the movement of their inhabitants, just as a city is said to be moved because its inhabitants are moved.

Since the Church had already spread throughout the whole world, those who feared that they would fail from the faith under torments during the persecution of Diocletian and Maximian sought to hide themselves in cavernous places beneath the mountains. Some also, fearing that they would be captured and tortured and would be unable to endure, desired--subject nevertheless to God's will--to be brought to an end by a swift death.

Their desire is expressed when the text adds: "And they say to the mountains: Fall upon us." Because when God scourges us with some tribulation he is said, by likeness to an angry human being, to be angry against us, the text therefore adds: "Hide us from the face of the one sitting upon the throne," who is angry, namely against us.

[Running head: Sixth Title.]

Sixth Title: On the Church Militant

Chapter One, § V (continued)

"For the great day of their wrath has come," that is, the time of the great persecution permitted by God, "and who will be able to stand?" It is as though the text said: Few will remain firm in comparison with those who fall.

Or, according to others, these words can be understood to mean that the faithful of that time seek the intercessions of the saints in the heavenly homeland. The saints are called mountains and rocks because of their exaltation and firmness in good. The faithful ask them to fall upon them, that is, to cover and protect them with their prayers.

Chapter One, § VI: Consolation Under Constantine

In chapter 7, after the great tribulation of persecution in the time of Diocletian and Maximian, there is set forth the sweetness of consolation subsequently given in the Church militant and triumphant in the time of Constantine the Great.

But another brief tribulation of the Church after Diocletian and Maximian, which was restrained by Constantine, is first set forth. It is noted when the text says: "And I saw another angel," and so forth.

For an explanation, one should know what is contained in Book Nine of the *Ecclesiastical History*. After Diocletian and Maximian laid down the insignia of empire, two emperors, Galerius and Constantius, were appointed. Galerius appointed two Caesars, that is, assistants to himself: Severus in Italy and Maximinus in the East.

When Constantius was dying, he appointed his son Constantine the Great, whom he had begotten from Helena, as heir to his kingdom. When Constantine became emperor, he took his relative Licinius into a partnership in his empire. Although Licinius was at first peaceful toward Christians, he afterward became a persecutor. Maxentius, meanwhile, exercised tyranny at Rome, usurping the empire for himself.

There were therefore four persecutors in the four parts of the empire: Maximinus in the East, Severus in Italy, Maxentius at Rome, and Licinius at Alexandria in Egypt.

It should be noted that in this book people of the greatest power and established in dignity are frequently called angels. If they are good, they are angels of God; if evil, angels of Satan. Hence it is said above to the angel of Sardis, that is, to its president: "You have a name as though you live, and you are dead," namely in spirit.

Therefore John says: "After this I saw four angels," that is, the evil persecutors of the Church, "standing"--that is, ruling--"upon the four corners of the earth," that is, the four parts of the empire, "holding the four winds of the earth, lest they should blow," that is, hindering the teachers of the Church from preaching the word of God.

Of this blowing it is said in Song of Songs 4: "Arise, north wind, and come, south wind, and blow through my garden, and its spices shall flow." Through the blowing of preaching, the garden of the Church is made fruitful with good works.

"Lest they should blow upon the earth, or upon the sea, or upon any tree." Some Christians lived on land, some upon islands of the sea, and some in forests while fleeing persecution.

Next the act by which that persecution was restrained is set forth when the text adds: “And I saw another angel,” that is, the emperor Constantine, “ascending from the rising of the sun,” because by the ordinance of the sun of justice he ascended to imperial dignity, “having the sign of the living God,” that is, the sign of Christ’s cross.

As is written in Book Nine of the *Ecclesiastical History*, when Constantine was coming to battle against Maxentius and was anxious about the battle’s outcome, the sign of the cross was shown to him, and he was told: “In this sign you shall conquer.” Hence, secure concerning victory, he had the sign of the cross placed upon his standards, fought against Maxentius, and triumphed.

“And he cried with a loud voice to the four angels,” that is, to the four aforesaid tyrants, “to whom it was given to harm the earth and sea,” meaning that they were permitted to harm the Christians living on land and on islands of the sea. He said: “Do not harm,” and so forth. He restrained those four tyrants from persecuting Christians: two by defeating them in war, namely Maxentius and Licinius, and the others by deterring them through his command, namely Maximinus and Severus.

“Until we seal the servants of our God upon their foreheads.” Constantine, baptized by blessed Sylvester, honored and exalted the Church, and especially its priests and ministers. He conferred many privileges upon Christians, led many to baptism by his pious example, and through the ministry of priests marked Christ’s servants with his seal.

It should be known that “until” is not taken finitely here but indefinitely, as when it is said that someone “did not repent until he lived,” that is, never, because after death he could not repent. So it is in this passage. After Constantine’s sealing and restraint, those tyrants did not return to persecuting Christians but were exterminated.

“And I heard the number of those who were sealed.” Here is set forth the fruit of the restraint of that persecution, which was the multiplication of the faithful: “One hundred forty-four thousand from every tribe of the children of Israel.”

Some say that the number of converts from Judaism is set forth here, a determinate number being used for an indeterminate one, and that afterward the number of converts from gentile status is given in the words: “After this I saw a great multitude which no one could number,” and so forth.

But this does not seem right. According to the Hebrews and Latins, ten tribes were taken captive and enclosed within the Caspian Mountains, and it does not appear that members of those tribes were baptized in so great a number, although a number of twelve thousand is also posited from each of them.

It therefore seems better to say that this designates the multitude of those converted to Christ in Constantine’s time, from whatever nation they came, who through baptism attain the reality signified by the name. For “Israel” is interpreted “seeing God.” God is seen here through faith and in the future through direct vision.

Therefore the name Israel according to reality and truth passed to every people regenerated in Christ, and consequently the names of the twelve tribes passed to Christ’s faithful, especially to the twelve apostles corresponding to the twelve patriarchs of the children of Israel. Dan is not set down because the Antichrist is said to be born from him.

“After this I saw a great multitude which no one could number.” Here consolation is set forth concerning those who are in the Church triumphant. Just as after the most bitter persecution of Diocletian and Maximian consolation was given to the Church militant when peace was restored through Constantine, so in the Church triumphant there was great joy over the innumerable martyrs who suffered in every nation in the time of Diocletian and Maximian, when Christ received their souls.

The words “after this” refer not to the martyrs’ glory, as though there were joy in heaven over their crowning only after Constantine, since they were glorified immediately, but to the narration of John’s vision.

They were “standing before the throne,” namely clearly beholding God and enjoying him; “clothed in white robes,” that is, the glory of the soul; “palms in their hands,” that is, the perfect victory over temptations; “and they cried with a loud voice,” in fervent love: “Salvation belongs to God and to the Lamb,” that is, the salvation which we possess here in glory is in us from God and Christ through the merit of his Passion.

“And all the angels stood”--

[Running head: Chapter One. Folio 172.]

--“before the throne,” namely prepared to execute God’s will and giving thanks for the saints’ victory. “Blessing,” that is, praise, “and glory,” that is, the spreading abroad of his name, and the things that follow are to be attributed to our God.

Sixth Title: On the Church Militant

Chapter One, § VI (continued)

Nor should it be understood from these things that anything increases in God in his creatures, but only in his effects.

When one person asked who these were and from where they came, one of the elders, namely blessed Peter, answered: “These are they who came out of great tribulation,” namely through martyrdom to glory, “and washed their robes,” that is, purified their souls, “in the blood of the Lamb,” enduring death for him. Or, because they were members of Christ’s body, their blood is called the blood of the Lamb, that is, of Christ.

“And the Lamb,” that is, Christ, “will lead them to the fountains of the waters of life.” He will continue in them the glory of their souls until the other robe which they will receive, namely the glory of their bodies in the resurrection of bodies. “And he will wipe away every tear from them,” and so forth.

Constantine, however, reigned when peace was restored to the Church, in the year of the Lord 309, or thereabouts.

Chapter One, § VII: The Seventh Seal

“And when he had opened the seventh seal.” After the persecution and struggle of the Church against tyrants, the struggle against heretics is here set forth under the opening of the seventh seal.

It should be known that this division is not exact. There were some heretics in the time of the primitive Church, as appears from the epistles of the apostles, and after Constantine the Great there were tyrants who persecuted the Church. Rather, this division is taken according to that which is principally described in the preceding and following material.

There will be heretics among Christians until the end of the world, as is shown in the parable of the good seed and the tares, Matthew 13. Therefore this part of the book extends generally until the end of the world, or the terminus of this book.

It is divided into three parts. First is described the state of the Church preceding the judgment. Second is the state of the Church accompanying the judgment, in chapter 19, where it says: “And I saw a great throne.” Third is the state following the judgment, where it says: “And I, John.”

As regards the state preceding the judgment, first is set forth the struggle between the Church and heretics properly so called, and afterward against heretics understood extensively and broadly, in chapter 12. Concerning heretics properly so called, the text first treats of heresiarchs, or inventors of heresies, and second of their supporters, in chapter 9.

John therefore continues from the preceding material, in which he had spoken of the tyrants’ persecutions against the Church and the Church’s consolation through Constantine. He sets forth a certain brief persecution which the Church suffered through the apostate emperor Julian. It lasted only a little while, namely the one and a half years in which he reigned.

Julian caused Paul and John to be killed, and many other Christians were crowned with martyrdom. He had also ordered churches to be closed, prohibiting the public celebration of divine offices. John notes this when he says: “There was silence in heaven,” that is, in the Church militant, because Julian prohibited the public celebration of the offices, “as it were for half an hour,” because this persecution lasted a short time.

Julian was killed in the war against the Persians. When he died, the Christian religion began to rejoice.

“And I saw seven angels,” and so forth. Each of these angels and their trumpet blasts will be treated below.

“And another angel,” and so forth. Here a connection is made with the deliverance accomplished through Constantine. Not long after Julian’s death, Damasus was created pope and enlarged divine worship in the churches. He ordained that the Psalms should be sung in church by day and night and that at the end of a Psalm “Glory be to the Father,” and so forth, should be said.

Damasus himself is understood here to be “another angel,” another than those seven who will be explained, that is, contrary to them because he was holy. “He came and stood before the altar,” because he presided over the Roman Church, “having a golden censer,” that is, a devout heart, “and much incense was given to him.” These are the prayers of the faithful, so that he might place them “upon the golden altar,” that is, offer them to Christ, who is the golden altar full of charity “before the throne of God.” For it pertains to the supreme pontiff as head of the Church to refer the devotion of the people to God.

“And the angel took the censer and filled it with fire from the altar,” that is, Damasus received a house [read: a gift] from God in his heart of fervent charity, “and cast it upon the earth,” because through his ordinance and example he led those dwelling on earth to the fervor of devotion and charity.

“And from it were made thunders” of holy preaching, “voices” of divine praise, “lightning” and flashes of miracles, for at that time certain prelates in the Church became illustrious through miracles, “and an earthquake,” because through these things many earthly people were moved to work well.

"And the seven angels." Here a connection is made with the preceding, and John treats of heresiarchs. Although there were many heresiarchs at diverse times, he appears here to make express mention of four, against whom the four general and more principal councils were assembled.

The first of these four was therefore Arius, a priest who, raised up by pride, asserted against the article of the Holy Trinity that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit were distinct in essences just as they were distinct in persons. Hence he claimed that the Father alone was God essentially, but the Son and the Holy Spirit by participation.

Against him, 318 fathers, bishops assembled in the Council of Nicaea, condemned him and his perverse dogma. Nevertheless, several of his disciples did not desist from the error but renewed it. Several princes and emperors infected with such error initiated persecution against Catholics.

Of Arius, therefore, it is said: "And the first angel," that is, Arius. As was said above, evil human beings as well as good ones are called angels here. "He sounded the trumpet" with a great roar and pride by publishing the aforesaid heresy.

"And hail was made," that is, a great tempest, because through this human beings in the Church were divided among themselves. Hence it is said in the *Ecclesiastical History*: "At that time the face of the Church was made exceedingly foul, so that one member of the faithful drove away another, and each claimed to be of the Church."

"And fire mingled with blood," that is, the fire of rivalry from which the shedding of blood followed, especially in the time of the emperor Valens, who, having fallen into the Arian heresy, persecuted Catholics by killing them in diverse ways, and also earlier in the time of Constantius, son of Constantine the Great.

"And the third part of the earth was burned," that is, Christianity, for the other two parts are Judaism and paganism. The third part of Christianity was corrupted by the fire of Arian faithlessness: "the earth," as regards laypeople who cling to earthly things; "the trees," as regards those who preside and stand above others as trees above the earth; and "the grass," as regards recent converts, tender in conversion.

For when the Goths, disposed to receive the faith, asked the emperor Valens to send them bishops and priests who would instruct them in the teaching of Christ, he sent Arian priests who imbued them with the filth of that error.

[Running head: Sixth Title.]

Sixth Title: On the Church Militant

Chapter One, § VII (continued): The Second through Sixth Trumpets

The second angel, namely an angel of Satan, was Macedonius. He said that the Son was of the same nature and essence as the Father, but that the Holy Spirit was a creature and servant of the Son. This evil angel therefore sounded the trumpet when, through his false teaching, he made his error manifest.

"And as it were a great mountain"--that is, a great heresy, lofty in pride and burning with the fire of faithlessness--"was cast into the sea," namely the Church, which is called a sea by reason of baptism. "And the third part of the sea became blood": a third part of the baptismal water was defiled, taking "baptism" here very broadly. Baptism is conferred in the name of the Trinity, and it is said to be defiled when, according to Macedonius, the Holy Spirit is asserted to be a creature and of servile condition.

"And the third part of the creatures in it died," because many who had been regenerated through baptism and made a new creature were corrupted by that error. "And the third part of the ships" died, because many prelates--called ships because they ought to carry others to the harbor of salvation--were corrupted by the said error. It was condemned at the Council of Constantinople.

"And the third angel," and so forth. This was the third heresiarch, Pelagius. In the time of the emperors Arcadius and Honorius he introduced this error concerning the grace of the Holy Spirit: that a human being could by purely natural powers, without God's grace, merit eternal life. This error is rejected in *On Consecration*, Distinction 5, *Placuit*, and the canon which follows it. He also said that infants are born without original guilt and consequently are not cleansed from original sin through baptism. This is rejected in *On Consecration*, Distinction 4, *Firmissime*.

This evil angel therefore sounded the trumpet when he brought his error into the open by teaching it. "And there fell from heaven," namely from the Church when he fell into such an error, "a great star," Pelagius himself, who was learned and religious, for he was a monk, "burning as it were a torch." He corrupted many by reason of his learning and his apparent holiness in conduct.

"And it fell upon the third part of the rivers," and so forth. The rivers and fountains designate the Church sanctified by baptismal waters. "And the name of the star is called Wormwood," because he preached against the sweetness of the grace of the Holy Spirit. "And the third part of the waters became wormwood," because a great part of the Church was corrupted by his dogma, "and many

people died" spiritually "from the waters," that is, from his perverse doctrines, "because they were made bitter," contrary to the sweetness of the grace of the Holy Spirit.

"And the fourth angel," and so forth. This was the fourth heresiarch, Eutyches, who asserted that in our Lord Jesus Christ there was only one nature, just as there was one person. He said that from the divine nature and the human in the Incarnation one nature was produced by mixture, just as from elements a single mixed nature results in its own manner. This is impossible, since the divine nature can neither be mixed with another nor changed in any manner.

This evil angel Eutyches therefore sounded the trumpet when he spread his perverse dogma. "And the third part of the sun was struck," namely the deity, which is called the sun in Wisdom 5. "Part," however, is taken very broadly here, insofar as the Son of God is called the third person in the Trinity, that is, one of three. He is said to be struck because according to that error the Son of God would be neither God nor man, just as a mixture of elements is not any one of those elements but another nature resulting from them.

"And the third part of the moon" was struck, that is, the prelates who adhered to him; "and the third part of the day, and the third part of the night, was darkened." The New Testament is designated by the day and the Old by the night, according to the saying, "The night has passed, and the day has drawn near." Eutyches therefore, so far as lay in him, darkened part of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments by his error, speaking against those passages which treat Christ's divine and human natures as distinct and unmixed. Eutyches expounded those Scriptures badly.

After this John says that he saw and heard the voice of one eagle flying through the midst of heaven, saying with a loud voice, "Woe, woe, woe to those who dwell upon the earth." This eagle is either John the Evangelist himself or one of the holy patriarchs of Constantinople already deceased, foretelling a still greater tribulation about to come upon both the good and the evil in the Church under the trumpeting of the next three angels.

"And the fifth angel," and so forth. Here John proceeds to the supporters of heretics: first the Vandals under the trumpet of the fifth angel, second the Italians under that of the sixth, and third the Goths under that of the seventh.

For an explanation of what follows, it should be known that the emperor Valens sent Arian priests to the land of the Goths, who wished to receive the faith of Christ, as was said above. Through them that nation of Goths was infected by the error, and the Vandal nation likewise. The Vandals inflicted a great tribulation upon the Church in Africa and afterward in Gaul and also in Italy, as is found in Book Eleven of the *Historical Mirror* and in several chronicles.

"And the fifth angel," namely Valens, who began to reign in the year of the Lord 367 [read: 364]. "And I saw a star fallen from heaven to the earth," that is, Valens, who through his wife's persuasion fell from the height of the Catholic faith into the Arian heresy. For in different respects both good and evil human beings are called angels and stars.

"And to him was given the key of the bottomless pit," that is, the power to revive and exalt the condemned heresy of Arius. Through imperial power he sent Arian priests to infect those peoples. "And he opened the bottomless pit, and smoke ascended," and so forth: erroneous teaching which obscured the truth. Thus it follows: "And the sun was darkened," that is, Christ, who according to that heresy is denied to be true God, "and the air," that is, the Church, which is illuminated by Christ as air is by the sun. A great part of Christians was infected by that error.

"And from the smoke of the pit came forth locusts," that is, the Vandals infected with the Arian heresy. They are called locusts because, just as a locust leaps from place to place, so the Vandals crossed from Spain into Africa and then entered Italy and Gaul, laying them waste.

"And power was given to them," namely power permitted by God to harm people through stratagems and arms, by his just but hidden judgment. "And it was commanded them," that is, they were prohibited by God, "that they should not harm the grass."

Notice here that before the Vandals entered it, Africa was inhabited partly by Christians and partly by pagans. They killed the pagans but not the Christians. Lesser Christians are signified by grass, those of the middle rank by every green thing, and the greater by trees--"but only those people who do not have the sign of God," that is, the pagans who are not marked with the sign of the cross.

[Running head: Chapter One. Folio 173.]

"And it was given to them that they should not kill them," namely the Christians, to whom "them" refers, "but that they should torment them." Although they did not kill the Christians, they nevertheless afflicted them in many ways, expelling their bishops and afflicting certain others. Hence Huneric, king of the Vandals, sent many bishops into exile, and his successor Thrasamund did likewise. Gillerme [read: Geilamir (Gelimer)] cut out the tongues of some Catholic bishops by the roots, yet afterward they miraculously spoke and preached.

"For five months." This designates that the Vandal kingdom endured under five kings. Afterward it was extinguished and destroyed by the patrician Belisarius, sent into Africa by the emperor Justinian.

“And their torment was as the torment of scorpions.” Those kings first pretended benevolence toward the Christians and afterward afflicted them severely, to such a degree that many in the Church preferred to die rather than see that trampling of the Church. Therefore it follows: “And people shall seek death,” and so forth.

He then describes the qualities of the Vandals, whom he had called locusts, saying, “And the likenesses of the locusts were like horses prepared for battle.” This indicates that the Vandals were warlike people. “And upon their heads were as it were crowns like gold.” Gold signifies wisdom, and the Vandals appeared to possess more of the brilliance of natural ingenuity--which is broadly called wisdom--than the other barbarians.

“And their faces were as the faces of men,” because natural reason, called the face of the soul, flourished more in them than in other barbarians. “And they had hair like women’s hair,” because they grew their hair long. “And their teeth were as iron lions’ teeth,” for they were armed to invade other nations. “And the sound of their wings was as the sound of chariots,” because their army advanced with a great din. “And they had tails like scorpions,” and so forth.

“And they had over them a king, the angel of the bottomless pit, Abaddon,” namely some great prince of demons who drove them toward evil. “One woe is past, and behold, two more woes”: the affliction accomplished by one nation, the Vandals, comes to an end; the affliction of two others follows.

“And the sixth angel.” Here John proceeds to the supporters of heretics among the Italians and Constantinopolitans.

For an explanation it should be known that the emperor Anastasius, infected with the Eutychian heresy, began to reign in the year of the Lord 483 [read: 491] and reigned twenty-five years [read: twenty-seven years]. At that time Theodoric, an Arian, was king in Italy.

Then two popes were elected in contention, Symmachus and Laurence. A great conflict arose over them among the Christian people and clergy, proceeding even to many homicides. At length the Church rejected Laurence and accepted Symmachus.

Although Cardinal Paschasius was holy and devout, he erred in this, that so far as he could he supported Laurence, believing that the papacy belonged to him. Because of this, after his death Paschasius was seen by Germanus in the punishment of purgatory, as Gregory relates in Book Four of the *Dialogues*.

From these circumstances a great tribulation was stirred up in the Church because of four men: Symmachus and Laurence, who contended for the papacy, and Anastasius and Theodoric, from zeal for their heresies. Seeing the Catholic clergy contending even to homicide, the latter judged it worse than before, and likewise judged Catholic doctrine worse because of it; consequently they were incited to persecution.

“The sixth angel,” therefore, that is, Laurence, “sounded the trumpet,” because with wicked effort and proud speech he aspired to the papacy. “And I heard one voice from the horns of the altar,” namely the voice of Cardinal Paschasius, who belonged to the college of the Roman Church. In the election he gave his vote to Laurence and supported his party against the community of the Church.

The voice said to the sixth angel, Laurence: “Release the four angels who are bound in the great river Euphrates,” namely in the Roman Empire, which is called a great river because of the multitude of peoples existing within it. It is called Euphrates because, just as the Euphrates is the fourth river of paradise, so the Roman Empire is the fourth monarchy among the kingdoms of the world.

In this river, that is, among its people, four angels--Symmachus, Laurence, Anastasius, and Theodoric--were held as though bound before this election. Through the election they were brought into the aforesaid disturbance. “And the four angels were released, who were prepared for the hour and the day,” namely to disturb the Church continuously.

Although Paschasius, who was good, did not intend the Church’s disturbance, nevertheless it followed--although beyond his intention--from the election of Laurence, to whom he gave his vote. He is therefore said here to have told Laurence, “Release the four angels,” and so forth, because through Laurence’s ambition he and the other three went forward to disturb the Church.

“That they might kill the third part of mankind.” This third part is said to be the Catholic people, a great portion of whom was killed: partly by evil adherents of Laurence, partly likewise by adherents of Symmachus, partly by the heretical emperor Anastasius, who sent many Catholic bishops into exile and afflicted many faithful people, and partly by the Arian king Theodoric, who wished as far as possible to destroy all Italy. He martyred Pope John, the patrician Symmachus, and Boethius, most illustrious men.

“And the number of the army of horsemen” adhering to those four and following them in disturbing Christians “was twenty thousand times ten thousand.” A determinate number is placed here for an indeterminate one, and it denotes their great multitude.

“And thus I saw the horses in the vision,” that is, the subjects of the said four, obeying them in evil, and especially Anastasius and Theodoric; “and he who sat upon them [read: those who sat upon them],” namely the aforesaid four who led them. “They had breastplates.” The breastplate of the evil is injustice, just as, conversely, that of the good is justice: breastplates “of fire” through

their burning appetite to harm, “of hyacinth” through an apparent zeal for the faith signified by the heavenly color, and “of sulfur” because of the foulness of their vices.

“And the heads of the horses,” that is, the princes of the wicked, “were as heads of lions,” most cruel. “And from their mouths proceeded fire,” namely rivalry as regards Laurence and Symmachus; “smoke,” namely vanity as regards the emperor Anastasius; and “sulfur” as regards the Arian Theodoric.

“By these plagues the third part of mankind was killed,” namely a great part of the Christians. “And the rest of mankind who were not killed by these plagues”--supply: for the faith of Christ, as those were--but were killed by bodily and eternal death.

He touches incidentally upon a great slaughter of pagans, who were not of the Church, in Theodoric’s time. When the Saxons met the Thuringians in battle, a great slaughter was made on each side. The reason for their eternal death is given in what follows: “Because they did not repent of their works,” and so forth.

[Running head: Sixth Title.]

Sixth Title: On the Church Militant

Chapter One, § VIII: Consolation after the Heretical Persecutions

“And I saw another angel.” After the aforesaid tribulation of the Church, John here sets forth her consolation and its fruit, namely devotion.

For an explanation, it should be known that after the heretic Anastasius, Justin reigned for ten years. He began to reign in the year of the Lord 518. Burning with love of the Christian religion, he wished in the eastern regions to take the Arians’ churches away from them and have them consecrated by Catholics. But he did not carry this out, being hindered by the entreaties of Pope John, lest on that account all the Catholics in Italy should be killed by the sword of Theodoric, the Arian king, who had threatened to do so if this were done.

Of this Justin, therefore, it is said: “I saw another mighty angel,” mighty because of his imperial power, “descending from heaven,” namely from the Church militant through baptism, “clothed with a cloud,” that is, heavenly grace. “And a rainbow was upon his head,” which is the sign of the covenant, for he had peace in the intention of his mind. “His face was as the sun” because of the splendor of his faith, “and his feet as pillars of fire,” that is, his affections were kindled by charity for the advancement of Christianity.

“And he had in his hand a little open book,” because throughout his empire he wrote and sent letters in favor of Christians. “And he set his right foot upon the sea, and his left upon the earth,” because he wrote to those dwelling both upon islands of the sea and on land. Or Christians are signified by the sea because of the water of baptism, while pagans are signified by the earth because they are immersed in earthly things. He commanded both groups. But because he was more favorable to Christians, he is said to have placed his right foot upon the sea.

“And he cried with a loud voice,” issuing commands by imperial authority, which is great, “as when a lion roars,” to the terror of the Arians. “And when he had cried, seven thunders uttered their voices”: the universality of the churches, designated by the number seven, cried out in voices of divine praise.

Nevertheless, because Justin did not accomplish what he intended against the Arians for the reason already given, John is forbidden to write those things. Hence it is said: “Seal up the things which the seven thunders uttered,” and so forth.

“And the angel whom I saw.” It should be noted here that kings and princes have two guardian angels: one by reason of their individual person, as do all human beings, of whom Matthew 18 says, “Their angels,” and so forth; another by reason of their dignity or office, who are said to be from the order of Principalities, concerning whom Daniel 10 speaks. These angels are sometimes taken for the kings or kingdoms over which they preside, and so it is in the present passage.

Hence it says: “The angel whom I saw standing upon the sea,” that is, Justin’s angel, “raised his hand to heaven and swore,” for greater assurance of the future event, “that time shall be no more.” This is not to be understood as an absolute cessation of time, because even after the trumpet of the seventh angel a long course of time is described down to the end of the world. It means the cessation of time with respect to the strength of the Arian heresy, as will appear in the following chapter. This was fulfilled in the time of Justin the Younger, the third emperor counting from this Justin the Elder.

From this it is evident that what is said here of the angel standing upon the sea and the land cannot be understood of Justin the Elder himself, for he had no knowledge of things to be done after his death. His angel, however, knew by divine revelation that

Justin the Elder's will concerning the destruction of the Arian heresy--although hindered for the aforesaid reason--would be fulfilled in the time of Justin the Younger. As he foreknew it, so he swore it.

"When he shall begin to sound the trumpet," for this was fulfilled at the beginning of Justin the Younger's reign, "the whole mystery," that is, the secret foreseen by God, "shall be accomplished, as he announced through his servants the prophets." In the days of the seventh angel the Christians prevailed against heretics and unbelievers. Then John heard voices in heaven saying: "The kingdom of this world has become the kingdom of Christ," and so forth.

"And the voice which I heard." Here the continuation of the Church's consolation is set forth through the emperor Justinian, who at the beginning of his reign was truly Catholic. Succeeding Justin, he began to reign in the year of the Lord 528 [read: 527]. He was a learned man, abridged the Roman laws, and compiled them in one volume called the *Code of Justinian*, in which he placed many laws favorable to Christians. John speaks here of this book.

"And the voice which I heard" was the voice of the angel through whom Christ spoke to John: "Go, take the open book," that is, the *Code of Justinian*, which is said here to be received by John because it was favorable to the Church, "from the hand of the angel standing upon the sea." This was Justinian's angel by reason of the imperial office.

"And he said to me: Take it and devour it," as something delightful, "and it shall make your belly bitter," because at the end of his life Justinian was corrupted by heresy. Thus the memory of him contained in the book, which had first been sweet, was made bitter to the faithful.

From this it is evident that the angel who handed the book to John was not Justinian himself, who did not foresee his fall into heresy, but his angel. Speaking to John, the angel also added: "You must prophesy again," because John afterward wrote prophetically about many nations and peoples.

"And there was given me a reed," and so forth. Here is set forth the fruit of devotion which followed from the Church's consolation.

It should be known that Pope Felix, who presided over the Roman Church in those times, established that the feast of a church's dedication should be celebrated every year. In the dedication of a church, the bishop walks around the church to be dedicated and so acts as one measuring its walls outside; inside, by writing the alphabet upon the pavement from one corner to another, he likewise appears to measure it.

Accordingly John speaks prophetically in the person of the Church: "And there was given me a reed like a rod." For the one dedicating the church holds a sprinkler in his hand. "Arise and measure the temple." "But cast out the court which is outside," for Felix established that Mass should not be celebrated except in a sacred place.

"And I saw the city," and so forth. John returns here to describe a certain tribulation of the Church stirred up by Anthimus, patriarch of Constantinople. Because he was corrupted by the Eutychian heresy, Pope Agapetus deposed him and appointed in his place Mennas, a servant of God and a monk.

But the empress Theodora, infected with the same heresy, asked Pope Silverius to restore Anthimus. Because he refused, Theodora became indignant, and her husband Justinian, corrupted by Anthimus with the Eutychian heresy, began a persecution against the Church's ministers. Consequently Silverius was in fact deposed and sent into exile by the patrician Guillisarius [read: Belisarius], as is found in Cause 23, Question 4, *Guillisarius [read: Belisarius]*, and Mennas, the servant of God, was afflicted in prison.

[Running head: Chapter One. Folio 174.]

This is what John says: "And they shall tread underfoot the holy city," namely the Church gathered in the unity of faithful citizens. Anthimus, Justinian, Theodora, and Guillisarius [read: Belisarius] would tread it down by gravely oppressing the Church's ministers "for forty-two months," that is, three and a half years. That persecution is said to have lasted so long.

"And I will give to my two witnesses" constancy and wisdom. These two were Silverius and Mennas, who stood steadfastly against the supporters of the Eutychian heresy. "And they shall prophesy," that is, preach, "for twelve hundred days [read: one thousand two hundred sixty days]," namely the same period, "clothed in sackcloth," that is, in mean garments. Silverius, stripped of the papal habit, was clothed in the monastic habit.

"These are the two olive trees," and so forth, because of the fullness of their piety. What follows is expounded in their praise.

"The beast which ascends from the bottomless pit" is the cruel patrician Guillisarius [read: Belisarius]. "He shall make war against them," namely Silverius and Mennas, "and shall kill them" by a civil death, sending them into exile. "And their bodies shall lie," that is, they shall be regarded as vile, like a corpse lying "in the street."

"And after three and a half days the spirit of life will enter into them [read: entered into them]": after three and a half years they were restored to their former state. For in the year of the Lord 536 Silverius again sat upon the papal throne, "and great fear fell upon them," that is, upon the Eutychians.

Yet Silverius, again sent into exile, died there as a martyr and thus ascended to heaven through the palm of martyrdom. The same is said of God's servant Mennas, who is also read to have shone through miracles after his death.

It should nevertheless be known that this text concerning the two witnesses is commonly expounded of Enoch and Elijah, who will come at the end of the world to testify against Antichrist, who will at last kill them.

"And in that hour." After the persecution of the Church carried out by the Vandals and the princes of Constantinople and Italy has been described, the persecution by the Goths is set forth here.

It should be known that at the time when Justinian, Theodora, and Anthimus persecuted the Church's ministers, Pope Vigilius was dragged through the city of Constantinople with a rope around his neck, and the clergy brought with him were condemned to work the mines in different places.

On account of this, by God's judgment Totila, king of the Goths, gathered a great army, invaded the empire, traversed many provinces, and laid waste Italy. He killed Saint Herculanus, bishop of Perugia, with his people, and many other Christians in different places.

Therefore it says: "In that hour," namely in the time of Justinian when he was corrupted by the Arian heresy, shortly after the death of Silverius and Mennas, "there was made a great earthquake," that is, a great commotion among those dwelling on the earth through King Totila, "and the tenth part of the city fell," that is, a great part of the Christian people, so great that it might amount to a tenth part.

"And in the earthquake were slain the names of seven thousand men," that is, a great number of distinguished men. A determinate number is placed for an indeterminate one. "And the rest were cast into fear," that is, the Roman people, who greatly feared when Totila took the city of Rome. Yet he neither killed the people nor burned the city, and therefore it follows: "They gave glory to God," namely for their escape.

"The second woe is past," that is, the aforesaid tribulation.

Chapter One, § IX: The Seventh Trumpet and the Goths

"And the seventh angel." Here the destruction of the Goths is described. Justin the Younger succeeded Justinian in the empire and began to reign in the year of the Lord 566 [read: 565]. He appointed Narses, a Roman patrician and a man vigorous in arms, and sent him to restrain the nation of the Goths. Gathering a great army, Narses conquered the Goths and killed their king. Thus Italy, liberated, served Christ without fear.

This is what is said: "And the seventh angel," that is, the emperor Justin, "sounded the trumpet," that is, by imperial authority he especially sent into Italy. "And great voices were made in heaven," that is, in the Church militant, because when the Goths had been killed, the Church broke forth in voices of divine praise, saying: "The kingdom of this world has become the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ." For then Italy, in which is Rome, the earthly capital of Christ's kingdom, freely served Christ, liberated from the Goths and the other Arians.

"And the twenty-four elders," that is, the prelates of the churches, gave thanks to God for their liberation. "And the nations were angry," that is, the Goths, because of their defeat, and so forth.

"And heaven was opened." Here an increase of devotion is set forth, for in that time a great mortality occurred.

"And a great sign appeared in heaven," and so forth. After describing the Church's assault by heretics properly so called, he now sets forth its assault by those called heretics in a broad sense. In this manner pagans, Saracens, schismatics, disciples of Antichrist, and other unbelievers can be called heretics. He therefore now treats of the assault by pagans and afterward by Saracens.

It should be known that during the reign of Phocas, who began to reign in the year of the Lord 605 [read: 602], the Persians under King Khosrow launched very grievous wars. They invaded many Roman provinces and even Jerusalem itself. Destroying churches and profaning sacred places, among the sacred ornaments they carried off was the Holy Cross, in part left there by Helena, as appears in the legend of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross.

The Church, afflicted in this manner, therefore labored until she brought forth a son who would liberate her from the oppression of Khosrow and his people. This is what is said: "A great sign appeared in heaven," namely the Church militant. "A woman," that is, the Church generally and, more specifically, the Church of Jerusalem, "clothed with the sun," through the conduct and imitation of Christ, who is called the sun of justice; "and the moon under her feet," that is, all mutable and transitory things beneath her affections through contempt; "and upon her head," that is, in her mind, "a crown of twelve stars," namely faith in the twelve articles or the preaching and teaching of the twelve apostles.

"And being with child," having in her heart the desire for her liberation, "she cried out in labor." Placed in distress, she cried to God that he would quickly give her a son to liberate her from the oppression of the unbelievers.

“And another sign was seen in heaven,” namely Khosrow, king of the Persians, who is said to be seen in the heaven of the Church militant as her persecutor. Hence his quality is added: “And behold a dragon,” Khosrow himself, because of his malice and deceit; “great,” because of his power; “red,” because of the shedding of blood or the burning of sacred places; “having seven heads,” that is, seven kings subject to him, though he himself was the seventh; “and ten horns,” that is, ten battle lines in his army.

Or the seven kings mean the whole body of princes subject to him, and the horns the whole body of his warriors. “And his tail,” that is, the army following him, “drew the third part of the stars,” that is, of the faithful. From Egypt, Libya, and the Holy Land he captured and killed many of the faithful.

[Running head: Sixth Title.]

Sixth Title: On the Church Militant

Chapter One, § IX (continued): Heraclius and the Persians

“And the dragon stood before the woman,” because Khosrow lay in wait for her in every way and strove against every Christian prince who wished to defend her.

“And she brought forth a son.” Here the elevation of the emperor Heraclius is noted. She brought forth a son, namely Heraclius, when he was raised to the empire. He began to reign in the year of the Lord 613 [read: 610] after Phocas and reigned for thirty years.

He is called “a male” to signify that he was a vigorous man practiced in arms, “who was to rule all nations with an iron rod,” because he ruled the Roman Empire, subduing by the sword all who rebelled against it.

“And her son was caught up to the throne of God,” that is, he was placed under God’s protection. God protected him against the snares and deceits by which Khosrow sought to kill him.

“And the woman fled into the wilderness.” For the Church which was in Asia, crossing in fear of Khosrow the sea called the Arm of Saint George, came into Greece. Greece is called a wilderness here, not because it was uninhabitable, but in relation to these fugitives, so that “they might feed her there,” namely the Christians dwelling in Greece, “for twelve hundred days [read: one thousand two hundred sixty days],” that is, three and a half years.

Later in the same chapter it says that this woman is nourished there “for a time,” that is, one year, “and times,” that is, two years, “and half a time,” that is, half a year. This is three and a half years. Joining these together, the three and a half years denoted by twelve hundred days [read: one thousand two hundred sixty days] and the three and a half years comprised in the said “times” make seven years. The war between the Persians and Heraclius lasted so long.

Then Heraclius’s victory over Khosrow is set forth. Hence it follows: “And there was a great battle,” great both in intensity and extent, because many were in each army and it lasted a long time, “and Michael fought, and his angels.”

Although this can be expounded of Michael the archangel, who is the prince of the Church and who, together with good angels, protected and directed Heraclius against Khosrow in such a battle--just as the devil can be understood by the dragon and demons by his angels, who incited Khosrow against Heraclius and the Church--it is nevertheless more fitting to say that Michael with his angels signifies Heraclius with the Christian army, and Khosrow with his forces is understood by the dragon with his angels.

“And they did not prevail,” that is, Khosrow did not prevail against Heraclius, “neither was their place found any longer in heaven,” that is, in the Church militant, in which he had been present with his nation not as a member but as a persecutor. For Heraclius drove him out of Ethiopia, Libya, and the Holy Land, in which places the Church had previously flourished, and compelled him shamefully to return to his own land.

“And that great old dragon was cast down.” He is called old either because the kingdom of the Persians was ancient or because Khosrow himself was advanced in age. He “was called the devil and Satan” because of his excessive wickedness, just as even now it is said of a thoroughly evil person that he is a devil.

“Who seduced the whole world,” because he caused himself to be worshiped as a god. He had made a silver tower in which he resided and other things related in the legend of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. “The whole world” is hyperbole, meaning the great part of the world that he had subjected to himself.

“And I heard a loud voice,” namely the thanksgiving to God by the children of the Church for Khosrow’s casting down from the heaven of the Church militant, saying: “Now salvation and strength have been accomplished,” and so forth, because the faithful, freed from that tyrant, could serve Christ freely.

“Because the accuser of our brethren has been cast down,” namely the accuser of the Christians, whom he made blameworthy before God by inducing them to the evil of idolatry. “And they overcame him.” This does not refer to those who complied with Khosrow by practicing idolatry but to the faithful who chose to die rather than depart from the true faith. Hence it follows: “And they did not love their lives,” that is, their bodily lives.

“Therefore rejoice, heavens,” and so forth, namely over the glorification of the martyrs and the casting down of Khosrow.

“Woe to the earth and the sea,” that is, to Khosrow’s subjects who dwelt on the land and to some who dwelt on islands of the sea. Compelled to return to his own land, he angrily burdened his subjects in order to multiply his fighting men, so that he might defend his kingdom against the emperor Heraclius.

“Because the devil has descended,” that is, Khosrow for the reason already given, “having but a short time.” He was an old man and therefore entrusted the kingdom to his son.

“After the dragon saw,” and so forth. Although he had persecuted the Church before, he did so much more after he had been put to flight, just as King Sennacherib acted toward the children of Israel when he returned from Judea confounded by the destruction of his army.

“And there were given to her two wings of a great eagle.” Here is explained something said above, namely how the woman clothed with the sun fled into the wilderness. This occurred through the assistance of Heraclius. The eagle is the sign of the Roman Empire, and its wings are the battle lines of its military army.

Heraclius sent many soldiers from the region of Greece to receive the Christians fleeing from Persia. Or he sent so great an army into the extremities of Persia that Khosrow’s peoples there were wholly occupied in resistance. Thus, while they were occupied, the Christians who were there were able to leave and go into Greece. In this manner he assisted the woman, that is, the Church, so that she might go into the wilderness of Greece, “where she is nourished for a time,” and so forth, as expounded above.

“And the serpent sent out of his mouth after the woman water,” that is, a great people to kill the Christians. “And the earth helped the woman,” that is, Greece or the army of Heraclius helped the Church, “and swallowed the river,” because the people sent by Khosrow were defeated.

“And the dragon was angry against the woman,” that is, against the Catholic people, “and went to make war with the rest of her seed,” that is, with those Christians who could not flee with the others, or with Heraclius to prevent him from entering the Persian kingdom.

“And he stood upon the sand of the sea,” that is, on the boundaries of the territory of the Persian kingdom. That kingdom is called a sea because it was very populous, and the sand is the extremity of the sea. This was so that Heraclius might not disturb the borders of the kingdom.

“And I saw coming up from the sea.” After the description of the persecution carried out against the Church by Khosrow, the persecution of the same Church under his son, who succeeded him in the kingdom, is now set forth.

“And I saw rising from the sea,” that is, from the Persian kingdom, “a beast,” namely Khosrow’s son, who lived beastly, ascending to the power of the Persian kingdom. He had “seven heads and ten horns,” expounded as above in the preceding chapter concerning his father, “and upon the heads names of blasphemy,” because the commanders of his army he despised [read: they despised] the name of Christ.

“And the beast was like a leopard” because of the variety of vices in which he was obstinate, “and his feet were like the feet of a bear,” which has large soles for trampling, for he likewise aspired to trample the Church, “and his mouth like the mouth of a lion” because of his great cruelty. “And the dragon gave him his power,” because Khosrow entrusted the kingdom to him while remaining in the silver tower.

[Running head: Chapter One. Folio 175.]

“And I saw,” and so forth. In the history of the Exaltation of the Cross it is said that the army of Heraclius and the army of Khosrow’s son met near the Danube. By common consent of both sides, it was decreed and agreed that Heraclius and Khosrow’s son alone should fight one another, and that the defeated man with his army should submit to the victor. Heraclius prevailed in the combat, and the other submitted to him.

This is noted when it says: “And I saw one of the heads,” that is, Khosrow’s son, the first and principal head, “as though slain to death,” that is, defeated and subjected to Heraclius. It therefore says “as though slain” because he was not actually dead. “And his mortal wound was healed,” because he later rebelled against Heraclius and was thereby cured of his subjection.

“And they worshiped the beast,” namely those of his nation, “saying: Who is like the beast?” boasting of his power.

But Nicholas says that it is better expounded thus: when Khosrow’s son was wounded almost to death in one battle with Heraclius, beyond all hope he was healed from the wound fairly quickly. Because of this, his peoples believed there was something divine in

him, by whose power he had been healed, and therefore worshiped him like his father as a god. Hence they said, “Who is like the beast?” as though to say, No one, because even if wounded in battle he will quickly be healed.

“And power was given to him to make war with the saints,” because he killed Saint Anastasius with sixty monks and many others, “for forty-two months,” that is, three and a half years. Just as Heraclius’s war with Khosrow lasted three and a half years, so his war with Khosrow’s son lasted another three and a half years.

“And there was given to the beast power over every tribe,” and so forth. This is an exaggeration, meaning over many. “And all worshiped him who are not written in the book of the life of the Lamb,” that is, in the book of predestination. It is called the Lamb’s book of life by reason both of his divinity and of his humanity, insofar as all the predestined are saved in faith in the mediator, “who was slain from the origin of the world.”

This is understood in two ways: first, dispositively, insofar as God determined from eternity that Christ should be slain, just as he determined to create the world, and then was the world’s first origin; or figuratively, because Christ’s Passion was figured from the beginning of the world’s creation, as in Abel’s death and many other things.

“He who has ears to hear,” that is, understanding, “let him hear” the end of this war between Heraclius and the Persians: the Persians, who had taken many captive, were taken captive by Heraclius. “And he who kills by the sword,” and so forth, because Khosrow, who had killed many, was killed.

“Here is the patience and faith of the saints,” namely proved and exalted, because Zacharias, patriarch of Jerusalem, who with many other saints had been led captive into Persia by Khosrow, possessed the merit of patience and was brought back free to Jerusalem.

Chapter One, § X: The Persecution under Muhammad

After describing the persecution of the Church by Khosrow and his son, John now sets forth its persecution under Muhammad.

It should be known that although different people give different accounts of the beginning of Muhammad’s sect, it is more commonly held that it began near the end of the reign of Heraclius, of whom the foregoing has spoken.

Muhammad was raised from poverty to riches and thought of becoming king of the Ishmaelites, the people to which he belonged and who are properly called Hagarenes. Ishmael, from whom they take their origin, was the son of the bondwoman Hagar, not of Sarah; but they appropriated for themselves a name from Sarah so as to be called Saracens.

To accomplish his purpose, Muhammad used the advice and assistance of a certain heretic named Sergius, a monk, in composing a false and carnal law colored with certain authorities from the Old and New Testaments. In this way it might more easily be received not only by gentiles inclined to carnal things but also by simple Christians and Jews dwelling in those regions. He also pretended that this law had been revealed to him by God as to the supreme prophet.

John therefore now says of him: “I saw another beast,” namely Muhammad, who led a voluptuous life like a beast, for he was more lustful than all eastern men, “ascending from the earth,” because through commerce and plunder he rose from poverty to riches.

“And he had two horns like the Lamb,” that is, Christ. These horns are prophecy and the promulgation of a new law. The accursed Muhammad pretended to be a prophet and a giver of divine law, as Christ truly and actually was, by foretelling many future and hidden things and establishing a new law. “And he spoke like a dragon,” cunningly, falsely, and deceitfully.

“And he exercised all the power of the former beast.” The former beast may be called Khosrow, whose Persian kingdom he transferred to the Saracens. But it is better said that the first beast is Muhammad himself, the first king of the Saracens who lived beastly. Whatever the first king of any region customarily does to establish and enlarge his state, Muhammad likewise did diligently, exercising his power.

“And he made the earth and those dwelling in it worship the first beast,” that is, himself living beastly. He did not, however, cause himself to be worshiped as a god, as Khosrow did, but as the prophet of the supreme God, “whose mortal wound was healed.” He was gravely wounded in a certain battle but afterward was healed, as is said in the *Book of Eastern Histories*.

“And he performed great signs,” though false, “so that he made fire descend from heaven.” This fire is spoken of metaphorically. After Muhammad had become great, he began to fall in epileptic seizures. Lest he should be held in contempt for this, he said that he suffered it from the apparition of the angel Gabriel, since as a mere man he was unable to endure the shining apparition of an angel. Something similar had happened to many in the Old Testament, and angels are called fire, as appears in Psalm 103.

But because this was false, the text therefore adds, “in the sight of men,” that is, in the false opinion of those who believed him. His disciples also said that he summoned the moon and caused it to descend, and the moon agrees with fire by reason of its light.

“And he seduced those who dwell on the earth,” through himself and his disciples, “by the signs which were falsely said of him in the sight of the beast,” whether this means himself or the people themselves who lived beastly, “that they should make an image of the beast.”

The law he gave is called his image, because his character and life are represented in it. He commanded that it be firmly observed. This is what is meant by “that they should make an image,” that is, fulfill his law in practice.

“And it was given to him,” that is, it was permitted by God, “that he should give spirit to the image,” that is, vigor to his law. A law is called living so long as it has force, and dead when it is abrogated.

“And that the image of the beast should speak,” that is, should reveal its judgment, just as it is said, “Such a law speaks in such a case.” Nearly everything here is taken metaphorically.

“And he will cause that whoever do not worship” the image should be punished; for he commanded, under penalty of death, that his law be held in great reverence.

[Running head: Sixth Title.]

Sixth Title: On the Church Militant

Chapter One, § X (continued): Muhammad and the Number of the Beast

“And he will cause all, both small and great,” that is, all people of whatever condition, “to have a mark,” namely circumcision, as some say, for Saracens are circumcised just as Jews are. Or, better, by the mark is understood a determinate manner of living according to Muhammad’s law, by which they are distinguished from other nations.

It is therefore said to be “in the right hand” with respect to action, “or on their foreheads” through open profession. “And that no one may buy or sell,” that is, communicate with the Saracens in their legal affairs, “unless he has the mark of the beast,” that is, the aforesaid manner of living; “or the name,” as possessed by pretended Saracens, on account of which they are permitted to communicate with true Christians, as it is among the Saracens; “or the number of his name,” as possessed by servants of the Saracens who nevertheless follow another law and communicate with them in human affairs because they belong to the number of the household of a Saracen home.

“Here is wisdom.” Here is set forth the revelation of a certain secret meaning, namely a number of years referring to Muhammad. Therefore it says: “Here is wisdom,” that is, a matter hidden from understanding, which the wise, who have a lively intellect penetrating hidden things, can properly grasp.

“Let him calculate the number of the beast,” that is, of Muhammad, who lived as a beast, “and it is the number of a man, and his number is six hundred sixty-six.”

It may be asked to what this determinate number refers. It is clear that it does not refer to the number of the years of Muhammad’s life, because he lived sixty-three years, as is found in the *Historical Mirror*.

Some say that this number refers to the duration of his law, because it lasted so long. But this is plainly false. His law began around the end of the reign of Heraclius, who began to reign in the year of the Lord 613 [read: 610] and reigned for thirty years. From the end of that time until the present--namely the time of Nicholas of Lyra, who wrote this--is a much longer period, for the current year of the Lord is 1329, and that accursed law still endures.

Others say that after Muhammad’s death that law was corrected by wise Saracens, and this number is counted from that correction. But this too does not appear true, because those wise men are said to have been Muhammad’s disciples. Thus the correction was not a long time after Muhammad, nor did that law come to an end.

It has endured from its beginning to the present for seven hundred eighty-eight years, for we are now in the year of the Lord 1452, nearly completed. Indeed it has grown stronger, for, as is said, the Tartars, who are very numerous, have in great part received it.

It appears, therefore, that this number must be counted from the Lord’s Incarnation to the death of Muhammad, of whom John speaks prophetically here. The passage can be explained thus: “The number of the man,” namely Christ, who was perfect in knowledge and virtues from the beginning of his conception, “is his number,” namely Muhammad’s: six hundred sixty-six, because that number of years extended from the year in which the Lord became man to the year of Muhammad’s death.

It should be known that the book of the Apocalypse was written in Greek. There this name *Antemos* appears where it says “six hundred sixty-six.” The name’s proper signification is “contrary,” which properly applies to Muhammad, who was contrary to Christ, denying his divinity and persecuting Christians. The numerical value of the letters of that word is 666.

For just as in Latin some letters are employed to signify certain numbers--such as C for one hundred, L for fifty, and so forth--so too in Greek certain letters stand for numbers. The letters with which the name *Antemos* is written in Greek signify the number 666. For this reason some Latin Bibles give the reading, "And his number is DIC LVX." Among the Latins that expression signifies the aforesaid number: D signifies five hundred, I one, C one hundred, L fifty, V five, and X ten. Thus that number is obtained.

Chapter One, § XI: The Reward of Those Who Endured Muhammad's Persecution

"And I saw," and so forth. Here is described the reward of those who endured Muhammad's persecution.

For an explanation it should be noted, according to the chronicle of Hugh of Fleury, that around the end of Heraclius's reign the Saracens under Muhammad's leadership began gravely to invade Egypt and Ethiopia. Likewise Omar, Muhammad's disciple, occupied Damascus, the region of Phoenicia, Jerusalem, all Syria, and Antioch.

In these places there were many devout Christians gathered in monasteries in groups of one hundred, two hundred, and still greater numbers. Most of them lived in virginity or widowed chastity. Through the swords of the Saracens they passed to the kingdom of heaven.

To signify this John says: "And I saw, and behold, the Lamb," that is, Christ, "stood upon Mount Zion," that is, in the Church triumphant. He is said to stand as though to help those martyrs endure martyrdom, "and with him one hundred forty-four thousand," for it is estimated that so many, or about so many, were killed.

They had "his name and the name of his Father," and consequently that of the Holy Spirit, who is the bond between the two, "written upon their foreheads" through open and free confession.

"And I heard a voice in heaven as the voice of many waters," that is, of the multitude of those saints praising God for their victory, "and as the voice of thunder," denoting the greatness of their praise, "and as the voice of harpists," and so forth, because this praise was pleasing before God and the angels.

"And they sang a new song" because they belonged to the New Testament, "and no one could sing it," and so forth. Through their vow of continence they had something special in merit and therefore also in reward.

"Who were purchased from the earth," namely by the blood of Christ; "who were not defiled with women," either by simply preserving bodily integrity or by preserving chastity after a vow.

"These follow the Lamb," that is, Christ, not only in observing the commandments but also the counsels. "These were purchased as first fruits," pleasing like the first fruits. "And in their mouth," and so forth, for with a constant mind they confessed the truth of the faith. "They are without stain," because through martyrdom they were cleansed from every stain.

"And I saw another angel." Here is incidentally set forth a certain wonderful conversion of many people which occurred around those times. Saint Boniface was sent by the Roman pontiff to preach the Catholic faith to the Thuringians in Austria and Frisia. On that mission he converted many to the faith.

This is what is said here: "And I saw another angel," namely Saint Boniface, "flying through the midst of heaven," swiftly and promptly carrying out the office entrusted to him, "having the eternal gospel" in his heart and mouth, for no other will succeed it, "that he might preach it to those who sit upon the earth," that is, to the aforesaid peoples, among whom the languages differed at least in some respect.

[Running head: Chapter One. Folio 176.]

He was prepared to preach not only to those nations but generally to all willing to hear him, and therefore it says, "to every nation," and so forth, "saying with a loud voice," which denotes the efficacy of his preaching: "Fear the Lord" with filial fear, "and give him honor" as a son does his father, "because the hour of his judgment has come," generally at the end of the world and particularly at the death of each person. "And worship him," and so forth, who is the creator of all things, not vain idols.

Next is set forth the punishment of those who persecuted Christians.

"And another angel." It should be known that Constans, grandson of the emperor Heraclius, fell into the heresy of the Monothelites, who denied two natures in Christ. He gravely afflicted and sent into exile many ministers of the Church who would not assent to his heresy.

Because of this, Pope Martin convened a council and condemned that heresy together with its supporters. He was therefore taken to Constantinople so that he might assent to that heresy; because he refused, he was sent into exile and died there.

Some expound this passage in this way when it says: "Another angel," that is, Pope Martin, "followed, saying," namely by condemning the said heresy: "Babylon has fallen," that is, the empire of the Greeks. It is said to have fallen in two ways: because of

its heretical patriarch and emperor, with whom many others fell; and it is called Babylon, which is interpreted "confusion," because that state was shameful.

What follows--"and a third angel"--they expound of Gregory III, who excommunicated the emperor Leo, who assumed the empire after Theodosius in the year of the Lord 718 [read: 717], because he followed a condemned heresy.

But it seems better to say that John speaks of Muhammad and his followers, whose persecution he had treated above but whose punishment he had not expressed.

Accordingly, "another angel," namely Saint John, says: "Babylon has fallen, has fallen," that is, the nation of the Saracens. Their law is full of confusion because it permits a voluptuous life and also because of its confused manner of proceeding: it is handed down without order and the same thing is frequently and uselessly repeated, nor is it supported by the authority of any Scripture or any reasoning.

It is called great because that nation has multiplied and expanded greatly. It is said to have fallen because around those times it fought with the Romans, and in that conflict three emirs were killed with many others, as appears in the chronicles of Sigebert.

"Which made all nations drink of the wine of her fornication" is hyperbole, signifying the great multitude of nations infected with Muhammad's error. His law permits the delights of the flesh, toward which the multitude is inclined.

"And the third angel." Here their eternal punishment is described. This third angel is some good angel or some holy preacher against Muhammad's sect.

"If anyone worships the beast," namely Muhammad, as was said above concerning his image and mark, "he shall drink of the wine of God's wrath," that is, he shall be gravely punished by the Lord, "which is mixed with pure wine." God's temporal punishment for correction is called pure wine; but when the punishment of Gehenna follows, it is called mixed wine.

Thus the Saracens were then punished temporally by the Romans, as was said, and together with this by eternal punishment. Therefore it follows: "And they shall be tormented with fire and sulfur." "And the smoke of their torments," and so forth, is eternal and continuous, and therefore it follows: "And they had no rest," and so forth, as is evident from what was said in the preceding chapter.

"Here is the patience of the saints," for the patience of Christians was exercised many times and in many ways by the Saracens.

"And I heard." After the perpetual punishment of the evil, the eternal recompense of the good is described, so that opposites may become more evident. John is therefore told, "Write," as a most notable matter, "Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord," that is, in confession of the Lord through the palm of martyrdom, such as those one hundred forty-four thousand of whom he spoke above.

"For from henceforth, says the Holy Spirit," who is one God with the Father and the Son and works inseparably in us. Yet because our works possess their efficacy to be meritorious from the grace of the Holy Spirit, spiritual reward is specially attributed to him: "that they may rest from their labors," for in beatitude desire is wholly at rest.

After beginning the persecution by the Saracens, another persecution, that of the Lombards, is set forth here.

"And I saw." It should be known that in the year of the Lord 753 Asculphus [read: Aistulf], king of the Lombards in Italy, greatly afflicted the Church. Therefore Pope Stephen crossed into France seeking assistance against that king. He obtained it first from King Pepin and afterward from Charlemagne.

"And I saw, and behold, a white cloud." By this is understood the kingdom of France, adorned with faith and morals, "and one sitting upon the cloud," namely King Pepin, "like the Son of Man," conformed to Christ in justice and goodness, although this conformity was very remote, "having a golden crown upon his head," for the kings of France are crowned with a golden crown, "and in his hand," that is, in his power, "a sharp sickle," namely a very warlike army through which Pepin had many great victories.

"And another angel," namely Pope Stephen, "came out of the temple," that is, the Roman Church, "crying with a loud voice," earnestly beseeching "the one sitting upon the cloud," namely King Pepin: "Send your sickle and reap," that is, direct your army against the tyrannizing Asculphus [read: Aistulf], "because the hour has come for it to be reaped," that is, for his tyranny to be taken away, "because the harvest is dry," that is, he and his army are hardened in their malice.

"And the one sitting upon the cloud sent his sickle," because Pepin sent forth his army, entered Italy with a strong force, "and reaped the earth," for he fought valiantly against Asculphus [read: Aistulf] and restored to Pope Stephen what Asculphus [read: Aistulf] had taken from his jurisdiction.

"And another angel." Here is described the aid rendered to the Church against the Lombards by Charlemagne.

It should be known that in the year of the Lord 774 Charles, king of France, entered Italy at the entreaties of Pope Adrian with a strong army against Desiderius, king of the Lombards, who was afflicting the Church in many ways. This is also contained in

Gratian's *Decretum*, Distinction 63, *Adrianus*. After attacking King Desiderius, Charles finally captured him and took him with him to France, where the kingdom of the Lombards came to an end.

This is touched upon when it says: "And another angel," namely Charlemagne, "came out of the temple," that is, in the month in which he was crowned, from the temple which is in the heaven of the Church militant, "himself also having a sharp sickle," that is, a strong army, indeed one stronger than his father's army.

"And another angel came out from the altar," namely Pope Adrian, who had approached that altar for the celebration of Mass to pray for the Church, that the Lord might protect her. He "had power over fire," that is, to impose the penalty of excommunication and its aggravation, for every penalty is sometimes designated by the name of fire.

"And he cried with a loud voice," that is, with great affection he besought Charles to bring him aid: "Send your sharp sickle," namely your army, "to gather the clusters," that is, to deprive the Lombards of their power, "because the grapes are ripe," that is, because they are worthy of destruction.

"And the angel," namely Charlemagne, "sent his sickle," that is, his army, "upon the earth and gathered the vineyard," that is, took away the power of the Lombards, "and cast it into the great winepress of God's wrath," for he took the king captive with his wife and sent them into exile outside their own land.

[Running head: Sixth Title.]

Sixth Title: On the Church Militant

Chapter One, § XI (continued): Charlemagne and the Lombards

"And blood came out from the bodies of those killed," because in the capture of the city of Pavia, where the king also was, many Lombards were killed, "up to the bridles of the horses." The bridles of the horses of Charles's soldiers were reddened by the blood of the slain, "for one thousand six hundred stadia."

The fame of this victory of Charles was spread far and wide, namely through the four parts of the world signified by that number, because the said number is a square. A number is called square when it arises by multiplying its root-number by itself.

Chapter One, § XII: The Seven Last Plagues

"And I saw another sign." In chapter 15, after the announced destruction of the Lombards, the persecution by several persecutors of the Church is set forth.

He says, "I saw another sign," that is, something signifying a future event, "great and wonderful: seven angels having seven plagues," that is, power given by God to inflict such blows and tribulations, "the last," not absolutely, but with respect to the past, "because in them the wrath of God is consummated," that is, through them God's vengeance upon the wicked is put into effect.

"And I saw." Here divine praise is described. Although it followed the blows upon the wicked, it is placed here before their execution. Because the saints in heaven foresee those blows and rejoice before they come into effect, John says: "I saw as it were a sea of glass," that is, the Church militant, so called by reason of baptism, "mingled with fire," namely the Holy Spirit, who is given in baptism.

"And those who overcame the beast," that is, the nation of Saracens living beastly, "and his image," that is, those resembling the Saracens in life, "and the number of his name," that is, all unbelievers opposing Christ and the Church, "standing" through holiness of life, "having the harps of God." By this are understood thanksgivings in God's Church for the victories which follow against the wicked.

They were "singing the song of Moses and of the Lamb," because the saints in heaven are from both Testaments, saying: "Great and wonderful are your works, O Lord," because they attribute the aforesaid victories to divine power. "Just and true are your ways" in punishing the obstinate, and so forth.

"And after these things." Here is set forth the execution of the aforesaid plagues. "Heaven was opened," that is, the divine secret through their fulfillment in effect.

"And the seven angels came out," that is, God's messengers, who will be named afterward, "having seven plagues," that is, the power to inflict seven punishments, "clothed with clean stone," that is, with Christ, who is the clean cornerstone because he committed no sin, and clothed with him through imitation of his good works, "and girded around their breasts with golden crowns," that is, with chastity of mind.

“And one of the four living creatures,” Mark the Evangelist according to some, or another saint from the principal patriarchs already deceased, “gave to the seven angels seven bowls,” that is, the power to punish the wicked according to divine ordinance.

“And the temple was filled with smoke,” and so forth. By this is designated divine condescension. “And no one was able to enter into the temple,” which is said because of reverence for the divine presence.

Chapter One, § XIII: The Seven Bowls

“And I heard a loud voice.” In chapter 16 the greatness of divine authority is denoted by the loud voice from the temple of divine glory, saying to the seven angels: “Go,” and so forth, namely to execute the divine commands concerning the punishment of the wicked.

It should be known that Constantine began to reign in the year of the Lord 742 [read: 741] and was exceedingly evil. As Sigebert says, he removed images of Christ and the saints from churches. He deprived of their patrimonies those who invoked the Mother of God, those who kept vigils in churches, those who lived religiously, and those who abstained from oaths and uncleanness, and he tortured them in many ways. He compelled monks and nuns to contract marriages. Many who avoided this were martyred.

Afterward, when Irene, wife of Leo, was ruling with her son Constantine, Pope Adrian, at the urging of the patriarch of Constantinople, assembled a synod at Nicaea. Their rule began in the year of the Lord 783 [read: 780]. At that synod the heresy of those who detested images of Christ and the saints was condemned, because the images are the books of laypeople and move them to devotion, as is found in *On Consecration*, Distinction 3, *Venerabiles*.

The synod also condemned the Felician heresy, which posited a double filiation of God in Christ: a true filiation in the divine nature and an adoptive filiation in the human. From this it follows that there are two persons in Christ, as the heresiarch Nestorius said, and that the Virgin Mary is not the mother of God but only of a man.

These heresies have a likeness to Muhammad’s faithlessness, for the Saracens detest images and say that Jesus, son of the Virgin Mary, is a mere man.

What is said, therefore--“And the first angel departed”--is understood of Adrian, a holy and good man. “And he poured out his bowl upon the earth,” casting the sentence of excommunication upon earthly people who held the aforesaid heresy, “and there was made a grievous and most evil wound.” A spiritual plague, namely excommunication, is worse than a temporal one.

It fell “upon the men who had the mark of the beast,” that is, a way of life resembling Muhammad’s, “and those who worshiped his image,” namely the princes resembling Muhammad, to whom they referred honor.

“And the second angel.” Here the second plague is set forth. This angel was Charlemagne, who at that time fought against the Saxons. They are designated here by the sea because of the multitude of that people, for, as is said below, “Many waters are many peoples”; and also because the Saxons, crossing the seas, afflicted several lands of the Christians.

Therefore it says: “And the second angel,” that is, Charlemagne, “poured out his bowl upon the sea,” that is, exercised his vengeance upon the Saxons, “and blood was made as the blood of a dead man,” because many Saxons were killed.

But because some of the survivors, seeing that Charles’s victory had been accomplished by God’s power, received baptism, it does not say simply that the blood of a dead man was made, but “as the blood of a dead man.” The rest, who remained obstinate, were killed. In one day Charles caused four thousand five hundred of them to be beheaded. Therefore it follows: “Every living soul died in the sea.” Those captured alive who remained obstinate in Saxon unbelief were killed.

“And the third angel.” This too is understood of Charlemagne, but after he had been made emperor, whereas what was said of the second angel is understood of the same Charles before he assumed the empire. He reigned over the Franks for thirty-three years and afterward held the empire for thirteen years.

In the third year of his empire he entirely defeated the Huns, who had afflicted and laid waste many Christian lands, according to Sigebert’s chronicle, and subjected those who remained to the faith.

Therefore it is said: “The third angel,” that is, Charles after he had been made emperor, “poured out his bowl,” that is, God’s vengeance, “upon the rivers and upon the fountains of waters,” that is, upon the Avars or Huns. They are named rivers and fountains because they first dwelt beside the Maeotian marshes, where there are many surgings of water like fountains.

[Running head: Chapter One. Folio 177.]

Believing those marshes impassable, they did not dare to cross. But after learning that they were passable, they crossed them and defeated the Goths who dwelt beyond those marshes in Scythia. Elated by that victory, under King Attila they laid waste other lands as far as Gaul with fire and sword.

“And blood was made,” because Charles’s army killed many of those Huns.

“And I heard the angel.” It should be known that good angels from the order of Principalities are assigned to various kingdoms and nations to procure the good of the kingdom entrusted to them. They appear to resist one another when the nations entrusted to them oppose and wage war against one another, before they know the determination of the divine will concerning the future subjection or preeminence of one nation or another, as appears in Daniel 10.

But when they know the divine will through revelation or through the event’s occurrence, they harmoniously approve the divine sentence and execute it.

Therefore it says: “I heard the angel of the waters,” that is, of the Huns signified by the waters, saying: “You are just,” and so forth, approving the divine sentence concerning the defeat of the nation entrusted to him, “because they shed the blood of your saints.” Before the Huns were defeated, they killed many Christians. “And you have given them blood to drink,” punishing them with a similar punishment.

“And I heard another,” namely the angel of the Franks, saying: “Even so, Lord.” Both angels approved the divine sentence, namely the angel of the Franks and the angel of the Huns.

“And the fourth angel.” Although some expound this of Crescentius, a Roman patrician who deposed a Pope Gregory--not the first but another--and caused a man of no merit named John to be installed in his place, it is better expounded of Pope Leo.

Leo, a holy man, was attacked by the Romans and blinded; his tongue was also cut out. When his tongue and sight had been divinely restored, he sent to Charles seeking aid.

Therefore it says: “And the fourth angel,” that is, Pope Leo, a holy man, “poured out his bowl upon the sun,” announcing the bitterness of his spirit to the emperor Charles because he had been unjustly and contemptuously treated against God in this way and cast from his see.

Charles is called the sun because, just as the sun surpasses the other planets in brilliance, so Charles surpassed the other kings of the earth in faith and magnanimity.

“And it was given to him to afflict men with heat,” because, with power given him by God, he went to Rome, examined the causes, gravely afflicted and punished those rebelling against God and the Church, and again placed Pope Leo in his see, as is found in Sigebert’s chronicle.

“And the men,” namely the wicked, “were scorched with great heat” of pain and anger because they could not resist Charles, “and they blasphemed the name of the Lord,” namely those who remained obstinate and died in their sins.

“And the fifth angel.” Here is set forth the fifth plague, in which John returns to the persecution carried out by the Saracens and their punishment.

Although some expound this of the emperor Otto, who restored to his see the Gregory expelled by Crescentius and expelled the intruded John, it is better expounded of the Saracens, as Helinand writes.

When the patriarch of Jerusalem, expelled from the city, sought assistance from the emperor Charles, announcing to him the division of the Holy Land, Charles gathered an army greater than he had ever possessed and proceeded to the Holy Land. Finding unbelievers there, he killed some and put others to flight, restored the patriarch to his see, and returned to his own land.

Therefore it says: “And the fifth angel,” that is, the patriarch of Jerusalem, “poured out his bowl,” that is, Charles, who was God’s instrument for punishing Muhammad’s nation, “upon the seat of the beast,” that is, upon Muhammad’s nation living beastly. The patriarch is said to have poured out this bowl because he invited Charles to punish the contempt shown toward God and the Church.

“And his kingdom,” namely Muhammad’s, “became dark,” because some Saracens were killed and others shamefully expelled from there. “And they gnawed their tongues for pain.” It is the custom of an angry and afflicted person to bite his lips and gnash his teeth as though chewing his tongue.

“And they blasphemed the God of heaven” through impatience, and also because the Saracens say that Christ is a mere man and thus blasphemed. “And they did not repent,” but died in their faithlessness.

“And the sixth angel.” Here is set forth the sixth plague.

Some expound this of Pope Gregory, who was first called Hildebrand and presided over the Church during the reign of Henry IV, who began to reign in the year of the Lord 1057 [read: 1056]. Dissension arose between Henry and Pope Gregory because Gregory excommunicated everyone elected in the Church who received investiture by ring and staff from the hand of a layman, although kings and emperors had previously exercised such power. On this reading the sixth angel would be this Pope Gregory.

But it can be expounded otherwise, and better, of Charlemagne. Invited by blessed James, he cleared the way to his previously unknown tomb, because all Spain had formerly been occupied by the Saracens, including Gascony and Navarre.

With much labor Charles partly killed the Saracens in these regions and nations, partly put them to flight, and partly subjected them to the Christian faith, their affliction giving them understanding.

This is what follows: “And the sixth angel,” that is, blessed James, “poured out his bowl,” that is, the power of Charlemagne, whom he invited to punish the Saracen nation, which is called “the great river” because of the multitude of that great people, “and dried up its water,” taking away the Saracens’ power, “that the way might be prepared for the kings,” that is, the pilgrims of Saint James, among whom were and are many kings, princes, and powerful men.

Hence Charles himself devoutly visited that place. The sepulcher of blessed James is in the western part of the habitable earth, and therefore the way to come to it is from the rising of the sun absolutely for those who come from the east, or relatively for those coming from the north and south.

“And I saw.” Here the seventh plague is set forth.

Concerning this it should be known that from the time of Khosrow, king of the Persians, the Catholic people in and around the Promised Land were for the most part in affliction and harsh servitude until their liberation by the western Christian princes in the time of Godfrey of Bouillon, duke of Lorraine.

The other liberations of that land accomplished by Heraclius and Charlemagne, of which he spoke above, were almost momentary, because they passed away quickly. When Heraclius withdrew from Jerusalem, the Arabs under Omar subjected the Holy Land and several other regions. Likewise, after Charlemagne withdrew from Jerusalem, the Saracens ruling in Egypt subjected Judea to themselves.

Afterward the Turks took Judea from the hand of the Egyptian caliph and held it until they were defeated by the aforesaid princes in the region of Antioch. Then, when the strength of the Turks had been weakened, the Egyptians took Jerusalem and Judea from the Turks’ hands. But within a year or thereabouts the Christians took it from the Egyptians by force of arms.

It should also be noted that, just as among Christians there are preachers who exert themselves to wage war against the Saracens, so among the Saracens are certain learned men who incite them against Christians. Foreseeing this, John says:

[Running head: Sixth Title.]

Sixth Title: On the Church Militant

Chapter One, § XIII (continued): The Seventh Bowl

“And I saw coming from the mouth of the dragon,” that is, of the supreme prince in the Persian kingdom, “and from the mouth of the beast,” that is, of the caliph or supreme prince in Egypt, “and from the mouth of the false prophet,” that is, of the preachers who incite the Saracens against the Christians, “three unclean spirits,” that is, the words of prophets, teachers, and even princes.

They are called unclean spirits because they lead us to the uncleanness of sin, “like frogs,” for by their croaking they disturb others. “For they are the spirits of demons,” because demons incite them to this, “working signs.” Even among the faithful, demons are sometimes permitted by God’s just judgment to perform signs.

Those who write the histories of the lands beyond the sea say that after Muhammad’s death the Saracens were divided into two sects. One part established its seat in Egypt and the other in the Persian kingdom. They were divided not only by place but also on certain points of their law, so that each group called the other subversives and schismatics. There was contention and war between them until the time of Saladin, who began to reign in the year of the Lord 1179, long after the liberation of the Holy Land by the princes mentioned above.

Saladin induced the Saracens dwelling in Egypt to observe the ceremonies of those living in Persia and brought them back into concord. Hence the words here, “Gather them for battle,” are not to be understood as gathering all at once but successively “unto the great day,” and so forth, which can be sufficiently understood from the foregoing.

Chapter One, § XIV: The Seventh Plague and the Holy Land

“And the seventh angel.” In chapter 17 the persecution of the seventh plague is described.

It should be known that some expositors said that this seventh angel was Alexius, the emperor of Constantinople, who wrote to Pope Urban concerning the recovery of the Holy Land. But this does not appear right, because Alexius was deceitful and plotted against the Latins.

It seems better to others that the angel was a certain Peter the Hermit. Moved by devotion, he visited those holy places and spoke with the Catholics living in that region about recovering the Holy Land. He induced them to appeal to Pope Urban for that enterprise. Peter the Hermit presented their letters, went to Pope Urban, and urged the same thing.

After Urban had celebrated a general council in Gaul at Clermont and issued several statutes, in the year of the Lord 1095 he encouraged faithful princes to recover the Holy Land, soliciting lords everywhere for that work through the said Peter the Hermit.

Many Catholics from France, Spain, England, Germany, Italy, and other regions affixed the cross to their shoulders. With one mind they intended to assist the Christians held in servitude in those parts.

Thus this seventh angel, Peter the Hermit, "poured out his bowl into the air," because with effective words he explained the misery of the Holy Land. "And a loud voice came out of the temple," that is, the Church, "from the throne," that is, by the authority of the supreme pontiff, saying, "It is done," that is, the petition of the Christian people dwelling in Jerusalem has been heard.

"And there were made lightnings," namely visions and signs, "voices and thunders," namely the preaching of the cross, "and there was made a great earthquake," that is, a great movement among peoples leaving their own lands to bring aid to the said place, "such as never had been," and so forth.

As is said in William's chronicles, never had so many nations come together in one resolve. The number surpassed human estimation, although it was reckoned at six million.

"And the great city was made." This great city was that army, for with one mind they advanced in three parts. For the sake of finding lodging and provisions, one part followed Peter the Hermit; another army followed the principal prince, joining Godfrey the duke; and a third went with Bohemond, duke of Apulia, by ship.

"And the cities of the nations," that is, of the Saracens, "fell," because from Nicaea of Bithynia and Antioch, which are in the Persian kingdom, as far as Jerusalem and the River of Egypt, cities held by unbelievers were subjugated by that army.

"And great Babylon," that is, the Saracen sect, full of confusion in its laws and rites, "came into remembrance before God," namely to be punished by him. "And all the islands fled," that is, the Saracens properly dwelling upon islands fled by sea, "and great hail like a talent," that is, a war unbearable to the Saracens.

"And one came." Here the seventh plague is described more particularly, according to the opinion of those who say that all this text from the present point to the passage around the middle of chapter 20, "When the thousand years shall be finished," was fulfilled in the past. According to this view the text will be expounded as far as that passage; afterward I shall say what seems to me about it.

According to their opinion, therefore, this angel was not the emperor Alexius, as some say, nor Peter the Hermit, but rather blessed James the Apostle. Triumphing in heaven, he revealed this to John, saying: "Come, and I will show you the condemnation of the great harlot," that is, of the Saracen sect, "who sits upon the waters," and rules many peoples, "with whom the kings of the earth committed fornication," because many kings received the laws of Muhammad, "and were made drunk," and so forth.

"And he carried me away," says John, "into the wilderness," namely to see the state of the Saracens, abandoned by God because of their sins. "And I saw a woman sitting upon a beast," that is, the sect of the Turks and Saracens living beastly and effeminately, "scarlet," reddened with the blood of Christians, "full of names of blasphemy," because they say that Christ is a mere man and that the Virgin Mary is not the mother of God, "having seven heads and ten horns," as was expounded above.

Or the seven heads and ten horns are the seven capital vices and the transgression of the Ten Commandments belonging to peoples of this sort. The woman had "a golden cup," that is, teaching sweet to the flesh.

Everything that follows throughout this chapter is expounded of the Saracens and Turks who usurped Judea and Syria successively and were afterward expelled from there by Christians in Godfrey's time. Syria and Judea were first possessed by the Egyptians, but the Turks took them away. Later the Egyptians recovered them after expelling the Turks. This variation of the kingdom is noted here.

Chapter One, § XV: Later Expositions

The words in the following chapter, chapter 18, which begins "After these things I saw another angel," are expounded by some concerning Abdamarus [read: Adhemar], bishop of Le Puy, a man of English purity [read: a man of angelic purity]. In the army of the western Christian princes he undertook the office of papal legate to direct the Christian armies.

They expound "descending from heaven" as proceeding from the height of the Apostolic See, and "having great power" in spiritual matters because he was a legate from the pope's side.

[Running head: Chapter One. Folio 178.]

“And the earth,” that is, the Christian army, “was illuminated by his glory,” namely his life and teaching. “And he cried out with a loud voice,” preaching by word and example: “Great Babylon has fallen, has fallen,” that is, the Saracen nation. He says “has fallen” twice because they were twice defeated by Christians, first by Charlemagne and afterward by Godfrey. What follows in the text is expounded of the defeat of the Saracen nation.

“After these things I heard a loud voice saying, Alleluia.” In chapter 19 John sets forth the thanksgiving made in the Church militant for the defeat of the Saracens and the exaltation of the Christians. In the Church triumphant also, the saints give thanks to God for the benefits conferred upon the faithful in the present life.

When John wished to worship the angel who showed him these things, the angel forbade him, saying: “See that you do not do it,” and so forth. After the Incarnation of the Word, angels dread being venerated by human nature, which they see united to the Word and raised above themselves. “Worship God” with the worship of latria.

What is afterward said, “And I saw heaven opened,” means that what was closed to us in God’s foreknowledge was revealed to John.

“And behold, a white horse” is expounded of the kingdom of Jerusalem, made white by the holiness of the Christians who dwelt there after Godfrey captured it and was established as the first king there.

“And he who sat upon it,” and so forth. This was Baldwin, who succeeded his brother Godfrey in the said kingdom of Jerusalem and immediately began to enlarge that kingdom by conquering the Saracens, in the year of the Lord 1100. “His eyes,” and so forth, describe his qualities.

Where it says later, “I saw one angel,” and so forth, John notes a certain great victory which the aforesaid Baldwin had against the Saracens in the fifth year of his reign. When the sultan, king of Egypt, gathered a very great army and came against the Christians to recover the lost Holy Land, Baldwin with a few men gained victory and inflicted a great slaughter upon the Saracens.

The words from “And I saw an angel,” and so forth, in this chapter 20 as far as the passage “When the thousand years shall be finished,” are expounded by some of Pope Calixtus and the emperor Henry V.

Compelled by the pope under threat of anathema, Henry renounced the custom used by emperors for three hundred years and more, namely of investing bishops and abbots by staff and ring. That power had been granted to him under Pope Adrian in a council held at Rome, as is found in Sigebert’s chronicle.

Hence they expound: “I saw an angel,” that is, Pope Calixtus, “having the key of the bottomless pit,” that is, the power to excommunicate, “and a great chain,” that is, the multitude of cardinals and prelates; “and he seized the dragon,” that is, the Roman emperor, “and bound him” through ecclesiastical censure so that he should no longer exercise such power, “for a thousand years,” namely until the time of Antichrist. A determinate number is placed for an indeterminate one.

Yet, according to Nicholas of Lyra, a better exposition is that of those who say this angel was Pope Innocent III, who approved the Orders of Preachers and Minors in the year of the Lord 1200. Through their teaching and examples the Church was in a certain manner renewed and the power of demons restrained.

Therefore it says: “I saw an angel,” namely Pope Innocent, “descending from heaven,” that is, condescending from the height of the pontificate to Dominic and Francis, “having the key of the bottomless pit,” that is, the power to approve the said orders for restraining the power of demons, “and a great chain,” that is, the multiplication of the friars of those orders.

“And he seized the dragon,” because through their teaching and life the power of the devil was restrained and will be restrained until the time of Antichrist, which is signified by the thousand years. At the time of Antichrist, however, he will be released and given power to rage more fiercely, but for a short time.

As to what is said afterward, “And I saw thrones,” and so forth, some expound it of Saladin’s persecution; but it seems better expounded of the Tartars, who came out from their land in the year of the Lord 1211 and killed many peoples, both Christians and pagans.

Nicholas of Lyra says, however, that this exposition from chapter 17 to the present passage appears to him improper, that is, forced, and in many respects he disproves it.

For example, it has been said concerning the Saracen nation signified by Babylon that it was destroyed temporally, although it is now more vigorous and possesses Jerusalem with those regions. Again, things commonly expounded by the doctors concerning Christ are understood of Baldwin, such as: “He has a written name which no one knows but he himself”; “his name is the Word of God”; and “he has written upon his thigh, King of kings.”

Again, according to the said exposition, what is written in the three aforesaid chapters was fulfilled two hundred years and more ago, while the text immediately following is commonly expounded by all of the time of Antichrist.

It does not seem fitting that John should have written nothing about events concerning the state of the Church during so great an interval, when Antichrist's coming does not appear near, especially since the doctors commonly say that in this book John wrote noteworthy events concerning the Church down to the end of the world.

For these and other things which can be said against the aforesaid exposition, it appears to me--subject to a better judgment--that this entire text from chapter 17 to the present passage has not yet been fulfilled.

Because I am neither a prophet nor the son of a prophet, I do not wish to say anything about future things except what can be drawn from Holy Scripture or from holy and authoritative doctors.

It can also be added to what Nicholas says that the exposition made concerning the seven seals, the seven angels sounding trumpets, and the seven angels pouring out their bowls--although it is a pure accommodation and the historical events described were truly fulfilled--leaves it uncertain to us whether John the Evangelist understood those events which were expounded or others.

Thus Hugh the Cardinal expounds all these things morally rather than literally.

"And when the thousand years shall be finished," and so forth. Here is described the persecution of Antichrist, of which Sacred Scripture and the holy doctors speak in many places.

By Gog, which is interpreted "covered," Antichrist is understood, for he will be covered, that is, a dwelling of Satan. By Magog, which is interpreted "uncoverer," are understood those adhering to Antichrist, his followers. "And he shall gather them together for battle," that is, against the assembly of the faithful.

"And I saw a throne." After John has described the Church's general persecution preceding the judgment, he here sets forth the judgment itself. Then, in the following chapter, chapter 21, he describes the state of the Church triumphant after the judgment, when he says:

"And I saw a new heaven and a new earth," because after the judgment all things will be renewed for the better, not by a change of substance but in the quality of the heavens and elements, in brightness and other such qualities. All of this will yield to the glory of the blessed.

"And I saw the holy city Jerusalem," that is, the society of the elect united by perfect charity, "new" with respect to the glorification of bodies. Because this will occur through the glory of souls overflowing into bodies, he adds, "descending from heaven," for the souls will descend from heaven to reassume their bodies and appear in the judgment. Those bodies will be impassible, bright, agile, and subtle.

[Running head: Sixth Title.]

Sixth Title: On the Church Militant

Chapter One, § XV (continued): The New Jerusalem

The holy city is "prepared by God" with the gifts of the soul, namely vision, possession, and fruition, and with the aforesaid gifts of the body. Hence it follows: "As a bride adorned for her husband."

Describing the final consummation with respect to the elect, John says: "I heard a loud voice from the throne," namely of the divine majesty, saying in effect: "Behold the tabernacle of God with men," that is, God's inseparable dwelling with blessed human beings, because they will always possess him as present through open vision.

By this every evil of guilt and punishment is excluded. Hence it follows: "And death shall be no more," and so forth, neither of soul nor of body as regards the blessed, for as regards the wicked there will be death without death.

"And the one who sat upon the throne," namely through the effect of the work, "said"--God, three and one--"Behold, I make all things new," namely the heavens, the elements, and the bodies of the saints.

"And he said to me: Write," namely for the instruction of the Church militant. "It is done," that is, the joy of the blessed is consummated.

"I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end." God is the beginning of all effects because all things proceed from him, and the end to which all things are ordered.

"To the one who thirsts," that is, desires in a due manner, "I will give freely from the fountain of living water," namely a participation in the blessed life, because no one merits the first grace.

“He who overcomes,” namely the flesh, the world, and the devil, “shall possess these things” by perpetual inheritance. “And I will be his God,” namely by giving glory, “and he shall be my son” through assimilation.

“But the fearful,” namely those who through worldly fear decline into mortal sins and die in them; “and the unbelieving,” such as Jews, Saracens, heretics, and other unbelievers; “and the abominable,” those returning to enormous sins; “and poisoners,” that is, evildoers and sorcerers; “and liars,” namely through pernicious falsehood; and those guilty of other mortal vices: “their portion shall be in the lake of fire,” that is, their recompense in the Gehenna of hell.

Afterward John describes more particularly the magnificence of the heavenly Jerusalem and the names of the apostles written there. They will now be treated.

Chapter Two

Jerome says in the prologue to the Bible: “The Acts of the Apostles indeed seem to sound forth bare history and to weave the infancy of the newborn Church. But if we know that their author is Luke the physician, whose praise is in the Gospel, we shall likewise perceive all his words to be medicine for the languishing soul.”

At the beginning, therefore, he treats of Christ’s Ascension. When it had been accomplished, as he says there, the eleven apostles returned to Jerusalem to the upper room. Judas Iscariot, the twelfth, after his betrayal, had hanged himself in despair and, bursting open in the middle, had descended to hell.

All these apostles were persevering with one accord in prayer with the women and Mary the mother of Jesus, and with his brethren, that is, Christ’s relatives on his mother’s side, not uterine brothers, for just as the Virgin bore Christ as her firstborn, so also as her only-begotten.

The crowd of people together was nearly one hundred twenty.

In those days between the Ascension and Pentecost, Peter, knowing that he had been established by Christ as supreme pastor, rose in the midst of the brethren and said: “Men, brethren, the Scripture which the Holy Spirit foretold through the mouth of David concerning Judas must be fulfilled. He was the leader of those who apprehended Jesus and was numbered among us,” namely in the college of the twelve apostles.

This is what was written in Psalm 108: “Let his habitation become desolate, and let another receive his bishopric.” For all the apostles had been made bishops by Christ at the Last Supper.

“Therefore, from among these men who were gathered with us during all the time when the Lord Jesus entered and went out among us, beginning from the baptism of John until the day when he was taken up from us, one of these must be made with us a witness of his resurrection.”

By common counsel and consent they chose two of the seventy-two disciples of Christ who were more renowned for holiness: Joseph, who was called Barsabbas and surnamed Justus, the brother of James the Less, and Matthias, most learned in the Law.

Setting them in the midst, they prayed, saying: “You, Lord, who know the hearts of all, show which of these two you have chosen,” namely by some sign, to take the place of Judas’s apostolate. When lots were given to them, the lot fell upon Matthias.

There is a twofold opinion about the nature of these lots. Dionysius says that this lot was a certain ray of splendor which appeared over Matthias. By this sign it was indicated to all who saw it that he was called by God to the apostolate in place of Judas.

But the other, common opinion is that they were ordinary lots, whether called divisory or consultative, which people frequently use to divide something or to learn what ought to be done in a doubtful matter.

It should be noted that, as Isidore says, Matthias was chosen by lot and is the first whom we read to have been ordained by the apostles. For this reason those ordained in minor or major orders are called clerics. The Greek word *cleros*, from which “cleric” is derived, is called in Latin “lot” or “inheritance.” Such persons are called clerics because they are of the Lord’s lot or because they have God as their portion, Distinction 21, Chapter 1.

It should also be noted that although the Lord Jesus chose twelve simple and unlettered apostles, lest the conversion of the world through their preaching be attributed to human ingenuity and wisdom rather than divine power, he nevertheless wished the apostles to take Matthias, a man learned in the Law, as their fellow apostle. This was to indicate to later rulers of churches that learned men, not the uneducated, ought to be assumed into the clergy and the governance of souls. Thus he also called Paul, most learned in the Law, from heaven to the apostolate.

Matthias was therefore numbered with the eleven apostles so that he might be the twelfth. This number, sacred twelve, denotes the fullness of their perfection and the saving effect of their office.

It is a superabundant number, because its aliquot parts multiplied within it exceed the number itself. Its aliquot parts are one, two, three, four, and six, which collected together make sixteen.

It also signifies that through those twelve apostles the fourfold evangelical teaching of Christ was to be propagated in the four parts of the world--east, west, south, and north--from which the world would receive knowledge of the Trinity together with the three theological virtues.

They are said to have composed the creed containing the whole substance of things to be believed, distinguished into twelve articles, each of them contributing his own part, as Hostiensis notes in the *Summa*.

They were prefigured by the twelve patriarchs, the sons of Jacob; by the twelve scouts of the Promised Land; by the twelve precious stones inserted in the high priest's ornament; and by the twelve fountains of water found at Elim in the desert.

[Running head: Chapter Two. Folio 179.]

Chapter Two, § I: Pentecost

"And when the days of Pentecost were completed." Pentecost was the fiftieth day from the solemnity of Passover. The Jews solemnized that day for a week in memory of the benefit conferred on them by God, namely the Mosaic Law on Mount Sinai.

Jews from diverse parts of the world gathered in Jerusalem for that feast according to the command of the Law, for through their various captivities the Jews had already been dispersed throughout the world.

On that fiftieth day from Christ's Resurrection, while the apostles were gathered together with the other disciples of Christ of both sexes and with Mary the mother of Jesus, as they prayed at the third hour, there came from heaven a sound as of a mighty rushing spirit, that is, as though a strong wind were blowing. It filled the entire house of that upper room.

In that sound there appeared over all who were gathered divided tongues as of fire. By this visible sign the grace of the Holy Spirit was sent invisibly into them in the greatest fullness.

The visible fire which appeared over them was not the person of the Holy Spirit, who is an invisible spirit; nor did he assume that fire in unity of person as God the Son assumed human nature. Rather, that fire was newly formed by God and afterward resolved into preexisting matter, to show the invisible effect which he worked in them: that with fiery tongues they might promulgate throughout the world the fiery law of charity infused into their fervent hearts, kindling the hearts of their hearers to the love of God and neighbor, and that with burning zeal they might seek the salvation of souls.

This soon became evident in effect. Putting aside all the fear through which they had previously remained shut in, they left the house to preach publicly to everyone.

When that great sound was heard throughout the city, a very great multitude of diverse nations who had come for the feast suddenly gathered at that upper room to learn the cause of the sound. Seeing the multitude, the apostles began to speak in various languages of the mighty works of God.

Some understand this to mean that while the apostles spoke in only one language, perhaps Hebrew, all the hearers of other languages understood their own language under that one.

But if this had been so, the miracle could have been slandered and attributed more to the power of the hearers, who understood a foreign language, than to the power of the speakers.

Therefore Thomas says in the *Summa* that, as the text states, the apostles themselves spoke in various languages at different times: now Hebrew, which the Hebrews present understood; now Greek, which the Greeks perceived; now Italian, which the Romans knew; now Arabic; and so with the others.

For this reason those who had gathered said to one another in amazement: "Are not all these men Galileans? And how have we heard, each one, our own language in which we were born--Parthians and Medes," and so forth.

Other irreligious and frivolous people mocked them, saying, "These men are full of new wine," supposing that from drunkenness they spoke in such diverse ways.

Peter, however, preaching with the other apostles, rejected their speech and opinion that the apostles spoke so through drunkenness, because it was the third hour of the day, and the Jews regarded drinking before that hour as a great crime.

He declared that the prophecy of Joel had then been fulfilled in them, because Joel had foretold an abundant sending of the Holy Spirit, saying: "In the last days I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh," that is, upon both sexes of human beings, and so forth. Pouring out denotes superabundance.

Then Peter showed in his preaching that David's prophecy concerning Christ's death and resurrection had been fulfilled in what the Psalm says: "You will not give your Holy One," that is, Christ, "to see corruption. You have made known to me the ways of life," says Christ to the Father, which occurred in the Resurrection.

This cannot be understood of David, since he saw corruption, which was evident from his tomb. Peter also introduced the words: "The Lord said to my Lord," and so forth.

When they heard these things, they were cut to the heart and asked what they ought to do for their salvation. Peter answered that they should repent and receive baptism in the name of Jesus Christ. This was done.

The Holy Spirit descended upon those baptized in the form of fire, and they spoke in various languages. Three thousand baptized persons were added to them.

At that beginning, through the inspiration and dispensation of the Holy Spirit, baptism was conferred with this formula: "I baptize you in the name of Jesus Christ," so that such a name and Jesus himself might be made sweet in the hearts of the faithful, through whose invocation they saw themselves receive so great a gift, which was abominable to other unbelievers.

Luke says that those converted to the faith were persevering "in the teaching of the apostles, in the communication of the breaking of bread," that is, Holy Communion, "and in prayers."

Fear came upon every soul, and the apostles performed many miracles in Jerusalem.

Those who were converted sold their possessions, placed the price of the things sold before the apostles' feet, held all things in common, and distributed necessities to each according as each had need.

Every day they broke bread from house to house. This is commonly expounded of the sacramental bread of the Eucharist. Having gathered together in some house, after prayers and certain devout ceremonies--which can piously be believed even if Scripture has not expressed them--they all received Communion, including laypeople. The sacrament was confected by the apostles themselves or by other disciples ordained as priests by Christ or his apostles.

Chapter Two, § II: The Lame Man at the Beautiful Gate

One day, as Peter and John went up to the temple at the ninth hour of prayer, a disabled man, lame from his mother's womb, who begged at the temple gate--that is, at the gate of the temple court called Beautiful--asked alms from Peter and John as they entered the temple.

When he looked toward them and expected alms, Peter said: "Silver and gold I do not have, but what I have, this I give you. In the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, arise and walk."

He was immediately healed and walked, entering the temple with them and praising God.

When all were astonished and many ran together to see the miracle, Peter said to the people: "Men of Israel, why do you marvel and look upon us as though by our own power we had made this man walk? Jesus, whom you killed but whom God raised from the dead, has healed him.

"Repent therefore and be converted," namely to faith in him, "that your sins may be blotted out. This Jesus is he of whom Moses foretold: 'The Lord your God will raise up for you a prophet from among your brethren. You shall hear him as you hear me, according to all that he shall speak to you. Every soul that does not hear that prophet shall be exterminated from the people,'" namely from the assembly of the saints.

"All the prophets from Samuel onward announced these days. To Abraham also he said: 'In your seed all the families of the earth shall be blessed.'"

[Running head: Sixth Title.]

Sixth Title: On the Church Militant

Chapter Two, § II (continued): The Apostles before the Council

"To you therefore first, God, raising up his Son, sent him to bless you," namely this Jesus, "so that each one may turn from his wickedness."

Many of those who had heard the word believed, and the number of them became five thousand. Note that on the day of Pentecost three thousand had been converted to the faith, as was shown above. Now, however, when this miracle had been performed, five thousand were converted. Thus the primitive Church at Jerusalem already had eight thousand faithful.

While the apostles were speaking to the people, the priests, the magistrate, and the Sadducees came upon them, grieved that they preached Jesus and the resurrection from the dead. They seized them and put them in prison.

On the following day the rulers of the priests and the scribes assembled in Jerusalem, together with Annas, Caiaphas, and all who were of priestly lineage. Placing the apostles before them in their midst, they asked by what power they had performed that miracle, namely the healing of the lame man.

Peter answered that it had been done by the power and in the name of Jesus of Nazareth, whom they had crucified but whom God had raised. He added: “This is the stone rejected by you builders, which has become the head of the corner; nor is there any other name under heaven given to men by which we must be saved.”

When they saw the constancy of Peter and John, perceived that they were unlettered men, and knew that they had been with Jesus, they marveled. They could neither conceal nor disparage the miracle, because the man who had been healed stood there before them.

After taking counsel among themselves about what they should do with the apostles, they called them back and commanded them with threats that they should speak and teach no more in the name of Jesus.

Peter and John answered them: “Whether it is right to hear you rather than God, judge for yourselves. For we cannot refrain from speaking of the things we have heard and seen.”

Released with threatening commands, they returned to their brethren and recounted what the chief priests had said to them. Praying together, they said: “Lord, who made heaven and earth, who said through the mouth of David, ‘Why have the nations raged?’ and so forth: look upon their threats and grant to your servants that they may speak your word with all confidence.”

When the prayer was finished, the place was shaken, and they were filled with the Holy Spirit and spoke the word of God with confidence. With great power the apostles bore witness to the resurrection of Jesus Christ our Lord.

The multitude of believers had one heart and one soul. No one said that anything he possessed was his own, but all things were common among them. Nor was anyone in need among them, for the price of the possessions and fields they sold was entrusted to the apostles for distribution. Thus Barnabas, a Levite of Cypriot birth who was afterward appointed Paul’s companion in pilgrimage, sold a field he possessed and delivered the price to the apostles.

Ananias, a man converted to the faith, and his wife Sapphira sold their field. They brought Peter part of the price, asserting that he had sold it for no more, while he retained part for himself with his wife’s knowledge. Peter, knowing this in the Spirit, severely reproved him for so great a lie. At Peter’s rebuke Ananias suddenly fell dead and was carried away to the tomb.

A little afterward his wife Sapphira presented herself to Peter. When he questioned her about the amount of the price, she too lied. Reproved by Peter, she suddenly expired.

By this was intimated how damnable and deadly is the vice of private ownership in religious life, where all things ought to be held in common, as the first Christians lived at Jerusalem. On this see Cause 12, Question 1, *Dilectissimus*, and Question 2, *Futura*.

Through the apostles’ hands great wonders and signs were performed among the people. The multitude of men and women believing in the Lord increased more and more, so that they brought the sick into the streets and laid them on little beds, in order that when Peter came at least his shadow might fall upon any one of them. A multitude also ran together from the neighboring cities, bringing the sick and those afflicted by unclean spirits, and all of them were healed.

The chief priests and those belonging to the sect of the Sadducees were filled with envious zeal, because the number of the faithful, their teaching, and the fame of their holiness increased more and more. They seized the apostles and sent them to prison.

That night, however, an angel of the Lord released them and commanded them to preach to the people in the morning, which they did. When the council assembled in the morning, it sent its officers to bring the apostles out of prison and set them before it. The officers went and reported that they had found the prison locked, the guards standing before it, but the prison itself empty. While the council members wondered what had become of them, someone arrived and said that they were in the temple teaching the people.

Then the magistrate went to them and brought them without violence, for they feared to use force against them on account of the people, lest the people stone them. Set in the midst of the council, the apostles were reproved for not having observed the command that they preach Jesus no more, but instead having filled the whole city with that teaching.

Peter answered them: “We ought to obey God rather than men,” and added that Jesus, whom they had crucified, had been raised by God. Hearing this, they were cut to the heart and considered killing them.

But a Pharisee named Gamaliel, a doctor of the law held in honor by all the people, rose in the council and commanded that the men--that is, the apostles--be put outside for a short time. He said to those assembled in council: “Men of Israel, take care what you are about to do concerning these men.”

He gave the example of two men who, in their presumption, had made themselves leaders of many by attempting innovations. One was a certain Theudas, who said that he was someone great and promised to lead the multitude gathered to his teaching across the Jordan. He was killed together with his four hundred men. After him came a certain Judas the Galilean, who gathered a company and asserted that tribute ought not to be paid to the Romans. He too was killed and brought to nothing with his followers.

From these examples Gamaliel concluded: “Depart from these men and leave them alone, for if this counsel is from men, it will be dissolved. But if it is from God, you will not be able to dissolve it, lest perhaps you be found even to fight against God.”

His counsel pleased them all. Calling in the apostles, they had them beaten and commanded them not to speak any more in the name of Jesus. When dismissed, the apostles went away from the council rejoicing, because they had been judged worthy to suffer reproach.

This Gamaliel was Paul’s teacher, as Paul himself says. At length he became a Christian, together with his son. His body was found with the body of Saint Stephen through a revelation made by Gamaliel himself.

§ III: The Seven Deacons

As the number of the disciples increased, a murmuring arose against the Hebrews because the converts’ widows were overlooked in the daily ministry. This may mean that they were burdened excessively in manual labors, more than the Hebrew women, or that they were not admitted as the Hebrew women were. For even good women are sometimes accustomed to be jealous of one another when more services are required from others than from them, and they consider themselves despised.

The twelve apostles immediately quieted this murmuring. Gathering the multitude, they said that it was not right for them to abandon the word of God and serve tables, that is, to administer temporal goods.

[Running head: Chapter Two, Folio 180.]

“Therefore, brethren,” they said, “look among yourselves for seven men of good testimony, full of the Holy Spirit and wisdom, whom we may appoint over this work, while we devote ourselves to prayer and preaching.”

This pleased the whole multitude, and they chose seven from among them who were judged especially fit and of the best reputation: Stephen, Philip, Prochorus, Nicanor, Timion [read: Timon], Parmenas, and Nicholas, a proselyte of Antioch. The apostles laid their hands upon them and instituted them as deacons.

Hence Gratian says at the end of Distinction 21, § 1: “We read that Levites were ordained by the apostles, of whom blessed Stephen was the greatest; but in the course of time the Church established subdeacons and acolytes for herself.” Thus far Gratian.

According to Thomas, in the fourth book, this must be understood with respect to the orders’ explicit and manifest distinction in their offices. With respect to their primary institution, however, Christ instituted every order just as he instituted every sacrament.

The last of the seven named above became a heresiarch; from him the Nicolaitans were named. It is related that he had an exceedingly beautiful wife. When a suspicion arose against him that he was jealous concerning her, he said, in order to remove that suspicion, that she and other wives ought to be common to everyone--that is, for carnal knowledge of them. See Cause 2, Question 7, *Non omnis*.

§ IV: Saint Stephen

Stephen, full of grace--that is, of the Holy Spirit--and fortitude, went beyond the office of administering goods to widows: he preached and performed wonders and great signs among the people.

One day certain Alexandrian, Cyrenian, and Asian Jews rose to dispute with Stephen, as I suppose, from the Scriptures concerning the coming of the Messiah. Since they could not resist his wisdom, they put forward false witnesses to accuse him of having spoken blasphemous words against God and Moses. They seized him and brought him before the council.

The false witnesses said: “This man does not cease to speak against the holy place and the law. For we have heard him say that Jesus of Nazareth will destroy this place and change the traditions of Moses.” All who sat in the council looked upon him and saw that his face was like the face of an angel. The chief priest asked whether these things were so.

Stephen answered with a long discourse refuting the witnesses’ false charge of blasphemy. He commended God, saying, “the God of glory”--that is, the author, giver, and container, or possessor, of all glory. He commended their fathers in many ways, especially

Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, and, more than the rest, Moses, as well as David, Solomon, the temple itself, and the many benefits bestowed upon them by God.

At last, rebuking their hardness, he said: “You stiff-necked and uncircumcised in hearts and ears, you have always resisted the Holy Spirit. As your fathers did, so do you. For which of the prophets did your fathers not persecute? They killed those who announced the coming of the Just One, whose betrayers and murderers you have now become.”

Hearing this, they gnashed their teeth at him. Stephen, gazing into heaven, saw the glory of God and said: “Behold, I see the heavens opened and the Son of Man standing at the right hand of God.”

They cried out with a loud voice and stopped their ears in detestation, considering that he had blasphemed because he said that he saw Jesus at the right hand of God. Casting him outside the city, they stoned him as he invoked and said: “Lord Jesus, receive my spirit.” Kneeling, he prayed for his enemies, saying: “Do not lay this sin against them.” After saying this he fell asleep in the Lord.

So that they could cast stones at him more freely, the witnesses stripped off their garments and laid them beside the feet of a young man named Saul, who, after his later conversion, was called Paul.

On that day a great persecution arose in the primitive Church at Jerusalem, so that all except the apostles were scattered throughout the regions of Judea and Samaria. Devout men took care of Stephen after he had been stoned and made great lamentation over him.

Stephen was stoned in the same year in which Christ was crucified, namely on the third day of the following month of August. His body, however, was found in the year of the Lord 407 [read: 415] and the seventh year of the reign of Honorius.

According to Bede in his *Chronicle*, the discovery occurred in this manner. A holy priest named Lucian, who lived in the territory of Jerusalem, was resting upon his bed but keeping vigil when Saint Gamaliel, Paul’s teacher and an eminent doctor, appeared to him three times on different nights. He showed him their bodies under the appearance of four baskets: three golden baskets containing roses and a fourth silver basket full of saffron. He disclosed the place where they lay and said that they were the bodies of Saint Stephen, stoned by the Jews; Nicodemus, who buried Christ and was a Christian; and Gamaliel’s own son, who had also been faithful. He told Lucian to report this to John, archbishop of Jerusalem.

Lucian did so. The bodies were found in the designated place and translated to Zion with great veneration. Augustine relates in Book XXII of *The City of God* that at their discovery six dead persons were raised and seventy people were freed from various infirmities, some of whom were healed in the diocese of Hippo. Stephen’s body was afterward translated to Constantinople and then to Rome.

The feast of the discovery of his body used to be celebrated on the day after Christmas. But because it is more fitting to solemnize his martyrdom than the discovery of his body, the Church afterward transferred the feasts, so that his martyrdom would be commemorated immediately after Christmas and the discovery on the third of August, when he was stoned [read: when he was found].

§ V: Philip in Samaria

The faithful who had been dispersed and had withdrawn from Jerusalem passed through the cities evangelizing the word of God. Philip--not the apostle but one of the seven deacons--went down into a city of Samaria and preached Christ to its people. The crowds attended to his words when they saw the signs he performed by casting demons out of the possessed and healing the sick.

A certain man named Simon had previously practiced magic in that city, seducing the people of Samaria and saying that he was someone great. Everyone assented to him, saying, “This man is the great power of God,” and he had thus stupefied them for a long time.

When those people believed Philip as he evangelized the kingdom of God and the name of Jesus, and when they received baptism, Simon believed--or rather, pretended to believe--and was baptized. He attached himself to Philip, marveling at the very great miracles Philip performed.

When the apostles at Jerusalem heard that Samaria had received the word of God--namely by believing and receiving baptism--they sent Peter and John to them by common counsel, as the chief apostles, so that they might give them the sacrament of Confirmation. For they had only been baptized in the name of Jesus, but had not yet been chrismated.

[Running head: Sixth Title.]

Sixth Title: On the Church Militant

Chapter Two, § V (continued): Confirmation and Simon Magus

[Running head: Sixth Title.]

The conferral of this sacrament has always been reserved to bishops. Peter and John, therefore, who were bishops, first prayed and then laid their hands upon those who had been baptized. Immediately they received the Holy Spirit, namely in the visible sign of fire. On this sacrament see the Third Part.

When Simon saw that people received the Holy Spirit through the imposition of the apostles' hands, he offered the apostles a great sum of money so that they would give him that power, namely the power of giving the Holy Spirit.

Peter cursed him in detestation of the crime, saying: "May your money perish with you, because you thought that the gift of God could be possessed with money," and so forth. Simon replied: "Pray yourselves to God for me, that none of the things you have said may come upon me."

Simon was the first person in the New Testament to commit simony, and he committed it fully. He wished to buy that spiritual grace in order that he himself might later sell it to others, and in this the vice of simony consists: buying or selling spiritual things. Those who perpetrate such a vice are therefore named from him--that is, simoniacs. See Cause 1, Question 1, *Qui studet*. In detestation of so great a crime, the money itself was also cursed. For a full treatment of simony, however, see the Second Part, Title One, Chapter One.

Afterward an angel of the Lord told Philip to go toward the south on the road descending from Jerusalem to Gaza. Going there, he found a powerful Ethiopian eunuch, who was over all the treasures of Candace, queen of the Ethiopians. The eunuch had come to worship in Jerusalem and was then returning to his country, seated in his chariot and reading the prophet Isaiah.

Philip approached the chariot and heard him reading Isaiah. He said to the eunuch: "Do you think you understand what you are reading?" The eunuch answered: "How can I understand unless someone shows me?" He asked Philip to ascend into his chariot.

The passage of Scripture he was reading was this: "As a lamb he was led to the slaughter," and so forth; "who shall recount his generation?" He therefore asked Philip whether the prophet said this of himself or of someone else, and of whom.

Philip explained that it was understood of Christ Jesus, announcing to him the mysteries of Christ and the way of salvation, namely through baptism. As they traveled together, they came to a place where there was water. When the eunuch affirmed that he believed everything Philip had preached to him, Philip baptized him. The eunuch returned to his country with joy, and Philip was found in Azotus.

Meanwhile Saul was ravaging the Church like a ravening wolf, entering the houses of those converted to the faith and dragging away men and women into custody.

§ VI: The Conversion of Saul

Saul himself, breathing threats and slaughter against the Lord's disciples, went to the chief priest and requested authoritative letters so that, proceeding to Damascus, he might find believers of the Way and bring them bound to Jerusalem.

While he traveled and drew near Damascus, a light from heaven shone around him. Falling to the earth in terror, he heard a voice saying to him: "Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me?" He was indeed persecuting Christ because he persecuted the faithful, the members of the Church of which Christ himself was the head.

Saul said: "Who are you, Lord?" The other replied: "I am Jesus of Nazareth, whom you persecute. It is hard for you to kick against the goad." Trembling, Saul said: "Lord, what do you wish me to do?" He answered: "Enter the city, and there you will be told what you must do."

The men accompanying him stood astonished, hearing a voice but seeing no one. Because Saul saw nothing, they led him by the hands and brought him into the city. There he remained for three days in the house of a man named Judas, neither seeing nor eating nor drinking.

Meanwhile the Lord appeared to a disciple named Ananias, a simple man, and commanded him to go to Saul in Judas's house. Ananias was afraid of Saul and said: "Lord, I have heard how many evils this man has done against the faithful in Jerusalem," and so forth.

The Lord reassured him, saying: "Go to him, for this man is a chosen vessel for me, that he may carry my name before the nations, kings, and children of Israel. I shall show him how much he must suffer for my name."

Ananias went to Saul and said that the Lord Jesus, who had appeared to Saul on the road, had sent him. When he laid his hand upon Saul, something like scales fell from Saul's eyes, and he regained his sight. After being baptized and taking food, he was strengthened.

Entering the synagogues of Damascus, Saul preached Jesus, declaring that he is the Son of God, and he confuted the Jews from the Scriptures as he disputed with them. They marveled all the more because this was the man who had formerly persecuted Christ's disciples.

Here note, according to Augustine, that when power is granted, the wicked are to be restrained from evil and compelled to good, as this example shows. For if an evil will should always be left to its own freedom, why was Paul not left free in his persecution of the Church? Instead, he was struck down so that he might be created anew, blinded so that he might be changed, changed so that he might be sent. He was sent so that he might suffer as much for the truth as he had done while in error. See Cause 23, Question 4, *Quis*.

When the Jews took counsel and sought his death, and had the gates of the city guarded so that they might seize him, Saul learned of this and was lowered by the disciples at night in a basket through the city wall. Thus he escaped.

When he came from there to Jerusalem, he tried to join the disciples, but they all feared him, not believing that he was a true disciple but thinking that he was pretending in order to harm them.

Barnabas brought him to the apostles and explained how he had seen the Lord on the road, had truly been converted, and had preached confidently in the name of Jesus at Damascus. Saul remained with them, going in and out in Jerusalem. He disputed with Greeks and spoke with Gentiles. Because he confuted them, they sought to kill him.

When the brethren learned this, they led him down to Caesarea and sent him to Tarsus. The Church throughout Judea and Samaria then had peace and was built up, walking in the fear of the Lord and being filled with the consolation of the Holy Spirit.

§ VII: Peter, Tabitha, and Cornelius

Peter traveled about and came to Lydda. There, in the name of Jesus, he healed a paralytic named Aeneas.

At Joppa, which was near Lydda, a certain female disciple named Tabitha, full of alms and good works, died in those days. People sent for Peter and asked him not to delay coming there. When he arrived and found her dead, he raised her because of the tears and prayers of the widows and others for whom Tabitha had made garments and performed other works of mercy. When this miracle became known, many believed in Jesus.

At Caesarea there was a certain Gentile named Cornelius, a centurion of the cohort called the Italian. He was a religious man, fearing God with all his household, giving alms, and always beseeching God. At the ninth hour he plainly saw an angel of God--that is, in human form--who told him that his prayers and alms had ascended into God's sight.

[Running head: Chapter Two, Folio 181.]

Cornelius had been praying for his salvation. The angel told him to send for Peter, who was then at Joppa in the house of Simon the tanner, and that Peter would tell him what he must do to attain salvation.

Cornelius sent two of his household. As they drew near the city of Joppa, Peter was praying on the upper part of the house at the sixth hour. He became hungry, and while food was being prepared for him he fell into an ecstasy. He saw heaven opened and a certain vessel, like a linen sheet, let down from heaven by its four corners. In it were all kinds of four-footed beasts, creeping things, and birds.

A voice from heaven said: "Rise, Peter; kill and eat." Peter answered: "Far be it from me, Lord, for I have never eaten anything common and unclean." The voice spoke to him a second time: "What God has cleansed, do not call common." This occurred three times in the same manner, and afterward the vessel was taken back into heaven.

As Peter considered what the vision might signify, Cornelius's messengers knocked at the door of the house and asked for Peter. The Spirit said to him: "Rise and go with those who are seeking you, doubting nothing, because I have sent them."

By that vision it was given to be understood that Peter and the other apostles ought not to kill only Jews but also Gentiles, who were unclean through the rites of idolatry--killing them to their vices--and ought to eat them, that is, to incorporate them into the Church when converted to the faith. This was then done in Cornelius and his household, and afterward throughout the whole world.

When Peter reached Caesarea, Cornelius had called together his relatives and friends. He went to meet Peter and fell down to adore him. Peter immediately raised him, saying: "Rise, for I am a man like you."

Entering the house, Peter asked Cornelius why he had summoned him. Cornelius explained the apparition of the angel who had spoken these things. He and those present were therefore ready to do whatever Peter commanded them.

Peter said: "In truth I have discovered that God is no respecter of persons, but in every nation whoever fears God and works justice is acceptable to him." He preached to them the Passion, Resurrection, miracles, and holiness of Jesus, "to whom all the prophets bear witness that through his name they receive remission of sins."

While Peter was speaking these things, the Holy Spirit fell upon everyone who heard the word, namely in the appearance of fire. The circumcised believers who had come with Peter were astonished that the grace of the Holy Spirit had also been poured out upon the nations, that is, the Gentiles. They heard him and them [read: for they heard them] speaking in various languages and magnifying God. Peter had all of them baptized in the name of Jesus Christ.

When Peter returned to Jerusalem several days later, some Jews converted to the faith, zealous for the law, disputed with him about why he had entered among Gentile men and eaten with them, namely with Cornelius and his household.

Peter related to them his vision concerning these matters, Cornelius's summons, and the Lord's command, concluding: "Who was I that I could forbid God?" When they heard this they became silent and glorified God, saying: "Therefore God has also granted repentance unto life to the Gentiles."

From this it is suggested that prelates, even if they are not bound to do so as a matter of obligation, nevertheless ought sometimes to give their subjects a reason for obscure measures they take, in order to suppress complaints. See Cause 2, Question 7, *Petrus*, and the following section.

Those dispersed at the stoning of Stephen traveled about preaching through Phoenicia, Cyprus, and Antioch, but only to Jews. At Antioch, however, when they spoke to the Greeks, a great multitude was converted there.

When the apostles at Jerusalem heard this, they sent Barnabas, full of faith and the Holy Spirit, to confirm the converts in faith and doctrine. Barnabas went to Tarsus, where Paul was, and brought him to Antioch. For a year they remained there in the Church, teaching the great multitude converted in that place. It was there, at Antioch, that Christ's disciples were first called Christians, a name all the faithful will always retain.

When certain prophets later came from Jerusalem to Antioch, the prophet Agabus foretold that a great famine would come throughout the whole world. It occurred under the emperor Claudius.

Each of the disciples, according to his means, resolved to send assistance to the brethren living in Judea. They did so, sending it by the hands of Barnabas and Paul to the elders, namely those who had responsibility for the converts living in common.

§ VIII: Herod, Peter's Deliverance, and Herod's Death

At that time King Herod the Great [read: King Herod Agrippa I] began to afflict certain members of the Church. After he had killed the apostle James, John's brother, by beheading him during the feast of Unleavened Bread, he proceeded to apprehend Peter also. He put him in prison under heavy guard, bound with two chains.

On the night before the day on which Herod intended to kill him, while the Church prayed for him without ceasing, an angel stood beside Peter amid a light. Rousing him, the angel said: "Rise quickly." The chains immediately fell from his hands.

The angel told Peter to gird himself, put on his sandals, take his garment, and follow him. The first, second, and third gates--the third being made of iron--were opened miraculously. Peter went out with the angel. After they had proceeded along one street, the angel disappeared.

Peter came to himself, for at first he had thought that he was dreaming, and said: "Now I know truly that the Lord has sent his angel, who has rescued me from Herod's hand," and so forth.

Peter then went to the house of Mary, Mark's mother, where many had gathered to pray for his deliverance. When Peter knocked at the door, a girl came to learn who was there. Recognizing Peter's voice, she did not open immediately because of her joy, but ran to announce that Peter was there.

They said to her: "You are mad." When she continued to affirm it, they said: "It is his angel." Peter persisted in knocking. When they opened the door, they saw that it truly was Peter and were astonished. He recounted how he had been delivered, told them to make it known to James and the brethren, and departed for another, safer place.

Herod was frustrated in his malice against Peter, but he was also punished. Leaving Judea, he went down to Caesarea and remained there. He was angry with the people of Tyre and Sidon, but after winning over Blastus, the king's chamberlain, they sought peace because their territories received their food from him.

On the appointed day Herod, clothed in royal apparel, sat before the tribunal and addressed them. The people adored him as a god, crying out: "The voices of a god, and not of a man!" For his garment was wonderfully interwoven and ornamented with gold and

silver, and as he sat in a place where the sun shone, a marvelous splendor appeared upon him. Because of this the people adored him.

Because he did not give glory to God, but took pleasure in the worship and divine veneration offered to himself, an angel of the Lord struck him. Consumed by worms, he expired.

[Running head: Sixth Title.]

Sixth Title: On the Church Militant

Chapter Two, § IX: Paul and Barnabas Sent to the Gentiles

When there were several prophets and teachers in the church at Antioch, among whom were Paul and Barnabas, and while they ministered to the Lord and fasted, the Holy Spirit said: “Set apart for me Barnabas and Saul for the work to which I have taken them,” namely to travel throughout the world preaching to the Gentiles.

After fasting and praying, they laid their hands upon them and sent them away. They came to Seleucia and from there to Cyprus. When Paul and Barnabas had traveled throughout the whole island as far as Paphos, they found a certain Jewish magician and false prophet named Barien [read: Bar-Jesus], or Elymas, with the proconsul Sergius Paulus, a prudent man. The proconsul summoned Paul and Barnabas because he desired to hear the word of God from them.

But that magician Barien [read: Bar-Jesus] resisted them and sought to turn the proconsul away from the faith. Paul severely rebuked him for his malice and falsehood, called him a son of the devil, and struck him blind by his word alone. Seeing this, the proconsul believed, marveling at the teaching of the Lord.

From there they went onward to Pamphylia. There John, who was also called Mark and was Barnabas’s cousin, withdrew from them and went to Jerusalem to see his own people. Paul and Barnabas themselves came to Antioch and entered the synagogue of the Jews. At their request Paul rose and delivered a discourse.

He related how God had chosen their fathers and, leading them out of Egypt, had given them the Promised Land after their forty-year journey through the desert. In that land, after seven nations of Canaanites had been cast out and destroyed, God gave them judges until Samuel and, after him, kings, especially David. From David’s seed came Jesus Christ, whom John the Baptist had preached to the people as the Savior.

Although they had caused Pilate to crucify him without any cause, God raised him from the dead on the third day. He had been seen by many who were then preaching these things. David had foretold all this in the Psalm where he says, “You are my Son,” and so forth, and elsewhere, “You will not allow your holy one to see corruption.” The latter could not be understood of David.

Through Jesus everyone who believes is justified, not through the works of the Mosaic law. Paul exhorted them to faith in Jesus and warned them not to remain in hardness. Many Jews and proselytes followed Paul and Barnabas.

On the following Sabbath, when nearly the whole city assembled to hear the word of the Lord, the Jews, filled with envious zeal, contradicted what Paul said and blasphemed.

Paul and Barnabas said to them steadfastly: “It was indeed necessary that the word of God be spoken first to you, namely the Jews. But because you reject it and judge yourselves unworthy of eternal life, behold, we turn to the Gentiles.”

When the Gentiles heard this, they rejoiced and glorified the word of God. All who had been foreordained to eternal life believed.

The Jews incited devout and honorable women and the leading men of the city. They stirred up a persecution against Paul and Barnabas and expelled them from their territory. But the apostles shook the dust from their feet against them and came to Iconium.

At Iconium they preached in the Jews’ synagogue, and many Jews and Greeks believed. The Jews who did not believe stirred up a persecution and incited the Gentiles’ souls to anger against the brethren. But the Lord quickly granted peace, and many signs were performed through them.

The multitude of the city was divided: some sided with the Jews and some with the apostles. When the Gentiles and Jews, together with their rulers, raised a great tumult so that they might abuse and stone them, the apostles learned of it and fled to the Lycaonian cities of Lystra and Derbe.

Paul and Barnabas preached at Lystra. There a lame man who was unable to walk believed Paul’s teaching, and Paul healed him. Seeing this, the crowds cried out: “The gods have come down to us in the likeness of men.” They called Barnabas Jupiter and Paul Mercury, because Paul was the leader in speaking.

The priest of Jupiter, together with the crowds, wished to offer bulls to them in sacrifice. Paul and Barnabas tore their garments and prevented them, crying out: “Why are you doing this? We too are mortal men like you. We announce to you that you must turn away from vain gods to the living one, the Creator of all things.” They scarcely restrained the people from sacrificing to them.

Certain Jews arrived from Iconium and Antioch and persuaded the crowd. They stoned Paul and dragged him outside the city, thinking him dead. But while the disciples stood around him, he rose and entered the city.

From there they went to Derbe, and then returned to Lystra through Iconium and Antioch [read: returned to Lystra, Iconium, and Antioch]. They strengthened the souls of the disciples and exhorted them to remain in the faith, because “through many tribulations we must enter the kingdom of God.”

After appointing presbyters for them in each church and praying, they commended them to the Lord in whom they believed. Passing through Lisia [read: Pisidia], they came to Pamphylia, and afterward to Perga and Antioch, evangelizing everywhere and recounting how great were the things God had done through them and the conversion of the Gentiles.

§ X: The Council of Jerusalem

Certain converts from Judaism came down from Judea and taught the brethren: “Unless you are circumcised according to the custom of Moses, you cannot be saved.”

Paul and Barnabas contradicted them, and no small dissension arose among the disciples at Antioch from this conflict of opinions. They decided to send men to the apostles at Jerusalem for a decision of this question. On one side Barnabas, Paul, and others were sent, and on the other side men holding the contrary opinion.

When they arrived at Jerusalem, they were received honorably by the apostles and the Church. The apostles and elders assembled to consider this matter. Note that this was the first council of the Church.

When the question had been proposed, Peter rose. Because he was the supreme pontiff, he had to determine the question, which concerned a matter of faith, namely the observance of legal rites. He said: “Men and brethren, you know that from ancient days God chose that through my mouth the Gentiles should hear the word of the Gospel and believe, purifying their hearts by faith,” and so forth.

He concluded by determining that Gentile converts were not to be burdened with observance of the legal rites of circumcision and other ceremonies.

James the Less, whom the apostles had made archbishop of Jerusalem, then spoke in the council. He did not speak as though greater than Peter or as one determining the question, since this did not belong to him. Rather, on behalf of the council or of the others in the council, he approved and confirmed Peter’s determination, as the fathers at councils are accustomed to respond: “It is pleasing.”

When this had pleased everyone, the apostles and elders appointed Paul, Barnabas, and others as messengers to Antioch with letters containing these words:

[Running head: Chapter Two, Folio 182.]

“The apostles and elders, to the brethren from among the Gentiles who are at Antioch, in Syria, and in Cilicia: greetings. Because we have heard that certain men going out from among us have troubled you with words and overturned your souls, although we gave them no command,” and so forth.

They concluded: “It has seemed good to us and to the Holy Spirit to impose no further burden upon you than these necessary things: that you abstain from things sacrificed to idols, from blood, from what is strangled, and from fornication. Farewell.”

The first was prohibited in order to remove the suspicion and occasion of idolatry. The second and third were prohibited lest those who associated with Jewish converts, who abstained from these things in observance of the law, should become abominable to them by using such things, and indignation and contention should consequently arise between them. The fourth was prohibited because it is evil in itself, but also because the Gentiles thought it lawful, namely for an unattached man to lie with an unattached woman. They therefore prohibited it, according to Thomas in the *Summa*.

When the messengers returned to Antioch and the letters were read, everyone rejoiced and was consoled by them.

After some days Paul proposed to Barnabas that they should travel through the cities in which they had preached and strengthen the converts in the faith. Barnabas wished John, who was also called Mark and was his cousin, to accompany them on the journey. Paul opposed this, for he did not judge John fit for so great a ministry because, as a timid man, he had withdrawn from their company, or because, being too attached to his relatives, he had gone to Jerusalem to see them.

Barnabas, compassionate toward John's weakness and attached to him, insisted that John should travel with him. A disagreement arose between Paul and Barnabas, so that they separated from one another.

God ordered all this providentially, so that, once divided, they would go to different regions and bear more fruit by preaching to more nations. Nor did they sin in that disagreement, because each was moved by a good zeal, as Vincent says in the *Historical Mirror*.

Barnabas therefore sailed to Cyprus with John, or Mark. Paul, however, traveled through Syria and Cilicia with Silas, strengthening the churches and commanding them to observe the precepts of the apostles and elders.

§ XI: Timothy, Macedonia, and Greece

When Paul and Silas reached Lystra, Paul found there a certain disciple--that is, a convert to the faith--named Timothy, the son of a faithful widow but of a Gentile father. This is the Timothy to whom the apostle wrote the two epistles contained in the canon.

When Paul learned that Timothy was of the best reputation, he decided to take him with him. Because Timothy was uncircumcised, Paul circumcised him and took him along, lest the Jewish converts in those regions, who were zealous for observance of the legal rites, should be scandalized by his taking an uncircumcised man with him.

When they passed through Phrygia and Galatia, the Holy Spirit forbade them to speak the word of God in Asia, namely by a revelation. When they attempted to go into Bithynia, the Holy Spirit did not permit them, perhaps by presenting some obstacle.

At Troas a Macedonian man appeared to Paul at night in a vision, beseeching him and saying: "Cross over into Macedonia and help us." Understanding from this that it pleased God for him to preach in Macedonia, Paul went there.

After they had remained for some time at Philippi, which is part of Macedonia, Paul and his companions went outside the gate to a certain place of prayer. They met a girl who had a pythonic spirit and who brought her masters great profit by divination. She followed them, crying out: "These men are servants of the Most High God, who announce to you the way of salvation."

When she had done this for many days, Paul, grieved by it, one day said to that diabolical spirit: "I command you in the name of Jesus Christ to depart from her." It immediately left her.

When her masters saw that they had lost that source of profit, they became indignant against Paul and his companions. They brought them to the rulers in the marketplace and presented them to the magistrates, saying: "These men, being Jews, disturb the city and announce a custom that it is not lawful for us Romans to observe."

The people ran together, and with the prisoners' tunics torn off, the magistrates ordered them to be severely beaten with rods. They sent them into the inner prison, secured their feet in the stocks, and placed them under close guard.

At midnight, while Paul and Silas praised God, a great earthquake occurred. The doors of the prison opened and their bonds were loosed. The jailer awoke and, seeing the prison open, supposed that they had fled. Drawing his sword, he intended to kill himself.

Paul cried out: "Do yourself no harm, for we are all here." The jailer took a light, entered, and fell at the feet of Silas and Paul. Believing in Jesus through their teaching, he was baptized with his household.

When day came, the magistrate ordered the jailer to release them. But Paul said: "They beat us publicly and without condemnation, although we are Roman citizens, and sent us to prison. Now they cast us out secretly. It shall not be so; rather, let them themselves cast us out."

When the magistrates heard that they were Romans, they were afraid. They came and begged them to leave the city.

Augustine says against the heretic Petilian: "If you think that the laws of the earthly empire ought to be employed in your aid, we do not reprehend this, for Paul did it when, against those who injured him, he testified that he was a Roman citizen." This also appears below in Chapter 22.

Leaving there, they came to Thessalonica. For three Sabbaths Paul argued from the Scriptures in the Jews' synagogue, explaining that Christ had to suffer and rise again, and that "this is Christ Jesus, whom I announce to you." Many Jews and Gentiles believed.

Other Jews, filled with zeal, stirred up certain wicked men from the common people and raised the city's crowd against Paul and his companions. Coming to Jason's house and not finding them there, they dragged Jason himself, a believer, and some others before the city's rulers. They cried out that these men disturbed the city and acted against Caesar's decrees by saying that Jesus was another king. After receiving surety from Jason and his companions, the rulers released them.

Paul was sent away secretly by night and came to Berea. Its people received the word of God eagerly, searching the Scriptures every day in the synagogue to see whether these things were so. Many fell [read: many believed] from among the Jews and Gentiles of both sexes.

When certain men stirred up a disturbance against Paul, the brethren sent him away. From there he was conducted to Athens, where he disputed with the Jews in the synagogue and with idolaters in the marketplace every day.

Certain Epicurean and Stoic philosophers argued with him. Some said: “What does this word-sower wish to say?” Others said: “He seems to be an announcer of new demons,” because he preached the resurrection of the dead.

They seized him and brought him to the Areopagus, saying: “May we know what this new teaching of yours is? We wish to know what these things mean.” The Areopagus is a certain town or city where Mars was worshiped and where there was a principal school of philosophers.

The text says that all the Athenians and foreign visitors devoted themselves to nothing other than hearing or saying something new.

Sixth Title: On the Church Militant

Chapter Two, § XI (continued): Paul at Athens, Corinth, and Ephesus

[Running head: Sixth Title.]

Standing in the midst of the Areopagus, Paul said: “Men of Athens, I see that you are superstitious in all things. For as I passed by and saw your images, I found an altar upon which was written as its inscription: ‘To the unknown god.’ What you therefore worship in ignorance, this I announce to you.”

From this he took the subject of his preaching. He said that God, the Creator of heaven and earth, who gives life and breath to all, made the human race from one man to dwell upon the earth. He appointed the established times and the boundaries of their habitation so that they should seek God, if perhaps they might touch or find him, although he is not far from each one of us.

“For in him we live and move and are,” as certain of your poets have said, “for we are also his offspring.” From this Bede proves that it is lawful for teachers or preachers to introduce the authorities of Gentiles. See Distinction 37, *Turbat*. The apostle, however, rarely did this.

When they heard the words of the apostle preaching the future resurrection, some mocked him. Others said: “We shall hear you concerning this again.” Some, adhering to Paul’s teaching, believed. Among them were Dionysius the Areopagite, the greatest philosopher mentioned above, and his wife Damaris.

Paul left Athens and came to Corinth. There he found a certain Jew named Aquila, Pontic by birth, and his wife Priscilla. They had come from Italy because the emperor Claudius had commanded all Jews to leave Rome. Paul joined them. Because they practiced the same craft, namely tentmaking, he remained with them and worked. Thus by the labor of his own hands he provided for himself and for his companions Timothy and Silas.

When the Jews contradicted and blasphemed Paul’s teaching, he said to them: “Your blood be upon your own heads. I am clean; from now on I shall go to the Gentiles.” Leaving there, he entered the house of Titus Justus, a worshiper of God.

Crispus, the ruler of the synagogue, believed with his whole household, and many Corinthians were baptized. At night the Lord strengthened Paul in a vision, telling him not to fear because the Lord was with him, and to preach steadfastly because a people in that city was to be converted to the faith. Paul therefore remained there for a year and a half, teaching the word of God.

When Gallio was proconsul of Achaia, the Jews rose with one mind against Paul and accused him before the tribunal, saying: “This man persuades people to worship God contrary to the law.”

As Paul began to answer, Gallio said to the Jews: “If this were an injustice or a very wicked deed, O Jews, I would hear you. But if the questions concern a word and the names of your law, see to it yourselves. I do not wish to be a judge of such matters.” He drove them away from the tribunal.

At length Paul bade farewell to the brethren and proceeded to Syria, afterward to Ephesus, and from there to Galatia and Phrygia, strengthening all the disciples.

When Paul was at Ephesus, a certain Jew named Apollos, an Alexandrian and an eloquent man powerful in the Scriptures, arrived there. Instructed in the way of the Lord and fervent in spirit, he spoke and diligently taught the things concerning Jesus, although he knew only John’s baptism.

When Priscilla and Aquila, who had come there with Paul, heard him, they took him aside and taught him the way of the Lord more diligently. When Paul [read: Apollos] came to Achaia, he brought much benefit to those who had believed, for he vehemently confuted the Jews in public, showing from the Scriptures that Jesus, whom he preached, was the Christ.

When Paul came again to Ephesus, he found certain disciples, that is, Christians. He asked whether they had received the Holy Spirit, namely visibly in the appearance of fire. They answered that they did not know whether there was a Holy Spirit and that they had been baptized only with John's baptism.

Paul had them baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. When this had been done, Paul laid his hands upon them as a bishop chrismating them. The Holy Spirit came upon them, and they spoke in tongues and prophesied. They were twelve in number.

Paul disputed every day, persuading people concerning the kingdom of God. This continued for two years, so that all who inhabited Asia, Jews and Gentiles, heard the word of God.

God performed mighty works through Paul's hands, so that even handkerchiefs or aprons from his body were carried to the sick. Their illnesses left them, and unclean spirits went out.

Certain Jewish exorcists attempted to invoke the name of Jesus over demoniacs in order to expel the demons, saying: "I adjure you by Jesus, whom Paul preaches." Seven sons of a certain Serve [read: Sceva], a chief priest, were doing this.

The wicked spirit answered: "Jesus I know, and Paul I recognize; but who are you?" The man in whom the most wicked demon dwelt leapt upon them and prevailed against them, so that they fled naked and wounded from that house.

This became known to all the Jews and Gentiles who lived at Ephesus, and the name of the Lord Jesus was magnified. Many believers came and confessed their deeds. Many who had pursued curious arts brought together their books, namely books of magic, and burned them before everyone. When their value was calculated, they found it to be fifty thousand denarii.

§ XII: The Riot at Ephesus and Paul's Journey to Jerusalem

When these things had been completed, Paul resolved in spirit to pass through Macedonia and Achaia and go to Jerusalem, saying: "After I have been there, I must also see Rome." He sent Timothy and Erastus into Macedonia, while he himself remained for a time in Asia.

At that time no small disturbance arose concerning the Way of the Lord. A certain silversmith named Demetrius made silver shrines of Diana, from which craft he provided no small profit to the artisans.

He incited the craftsmen against Paul, saying that Paul preached against the gods and asserted that things made by human hands were not gods. Consequently, the worship of Diana would be brought to nothing not only at Ephesus but throughout Asia, and the cult which all Asia and the world worships would be destroyed.

Hearing this, they were filled with anger and cried: "Great is Diana of the Ephesians!" The city was filled with confusion. They rushed with one accord into the theater, seizing Gaius and Aristarchus, Macedonians who were Paul's companions.

Paul himself wished to enter among the people, but the disciples did not permit him, lest he be killed. Certain friends also begged him not to give himself over to the theater. Some cried one thing and others another. The assembly was confused, and most did not know why they had gathered.

The Jews pushed Alexander forward from the crowd. Alexander asked for silence with his hand and wished to give an account, but when they recognized that he was a Jew, they cried for nearly two hours: "Great is Diana of the Ephesians!"

When the town clerk had quieted the crowd, he said: "Men of Ephesus, who is there who does not know that the city of the Ephesians is a worshiper of great Diana, the offspring of Jupiter? Since these things cannot be contradicted, you ought to be quiet and do nothing rashly. For you have brought forward these men, who are neither sacrilegious nor blasphemers of your goddess.

[Running head: Chapter Two, Folio 183.]

"If therefore Demetrius and the craftsmen with him have a case against anyone, the courts are open and there are proconsuls; let them accuse one another. For we are also in danger of being charged with today's sedition, since there is no guilty cause by which we can give an account of this gathering." Having said this, he dismissed the assembly.

After the tumult ceased, Paul called the disciples, exhorted them, bade them farewell, and went into Greece. When he had remained there for three months, the Jews laid snares for him as he was about to sail to Syria. He therefore decided to return through Macedonia.

Timothy, Secundus, Gaius, and others from Asia and Thessalonica accompanied him. When they reached Troas, they remained there for seven days.

One day, when they had assembled to break bread, Paul disputed with them and prolonged his discourse until midnight. There were many lamps in the upper room where they had gathered.

A young man named Eutychus sat upon a window to listen. As he was overcome by a deep sleep while Paul disputed at length, he fell down from the third story and was taken up and brought forward dead.

Paul went down to him, lay upon him, embraced him, and said: "Do not be troubled, for his soul is in him." Paul went back up into the house, broke bread and ate, and prolonged his discourse until dawn. They brought the young man in alive and were greatly consoled.

Paul and the disciples boarded a ship and came to Assos. From there they sailed opposite Chios, afterward came to Samos, and on the following day reached Miletus. Paul was hurrying, if it were possible, to celebrate the day of Pentecost at Jerusalem.

From Miletus he sent to Ephesus and summoned the elders of the Church. When they came to him, he said:

"You know how, from the first day on which I entered Asia, I was with you throughout the whole time, serving God with all humility and with the many tears and trials that befell me through the Jews' snares. You know how I withheld nothing useful from you, but announced it to you and taught you publicly and from house to house, testifying to Jews and Gentiles repentance toward God and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ.

"And now, behold, bound in spirit, I go to Jerusalem, not knowing what will happen to me there, except that the Holy Spirit testifies to me throughout all the cities and says that bonds and tribulations await me at Jerusalem. But I fear none of these things, nor do I make my soul more precious than myself, provided that I complete my course and the ministry of the word.

"And now I know that you will see my face no more. Therefore I testify to you this day that I am clean from the blood of all, for I did not shrink from announcing to you the whole counsel of God." On this see Distinction 43, *Ephesiis*.

"Attend therefore to yourselves and to the whole flock in which the Holy Spirit has placed you as bishops to rule the Church of God, which he acquired with his own blood. I know that after my departure grievous wolves will come among you, not sparing the flock," namely heretics and false preachers.

"And now I commend you to God and to the word of his grace. Keep watch, retaining in mind what I have said. I coveted no one's silver, gold, or clothing. You know that my own hands ministered to the things I and those with me needed.

"I showed you all things: that by laboring in this way it is necessary to support the weak and remember the word of the Lord Jesus, for he said, 'It is more blessed to give than to receive.'"

This saying is not found in the Gospels, yet it must not be doubted that Christ said it, since the apostle, to whom the Gospel was revealed by Christ, reports it. For Christ both did and said many things that the Evangelists passed over in silence. See *Extra*, *De celebratione missarum*, *Cum Marthae*, and also Cause 16, Question 1, *Praedicator*.

At last Paul knelt and prayed with them. Everyone wept greatly and kissed him, grieving especially because he had said that they would not see him again. They conducted him to the ship.

§ XIII: The Journey to Jerusalem and Paul's Arrest

"Sailing, we came to Cos, on the following day to Rhodes, and from there to Patara." Note that Luke, the author of the book, speaks here and in other places about this journey in the first person--"we came"--because he was Paul's companion on the journey and his inseparable comrade.

From there they went to Syria and Tyre, from Tyre to Cholomayda [read: Ptolemais], and on the next day came to Caesarea. There they entered the house of Philip, one of the seven deacons mentioned above. He had four virgin daughters who prophesied.

When Paul remained in Philip's house for several days, a prophet named Agabus came from Judea. Entering the house where Paul was with his companions, he took Paul's belt, bound his own hands and feet with it, and said: "Thus says the Holy Spirit: the Jews at Jerusalem will bind the man whose belt this is and deliver him into the hands of the Gentiles."

When this was heard, Paul's companions and others of that place begged him not to ascend to Jerusalem. Then Paul said: "What are you doing, weeping and afflicting my heart? For I am ready not only to be bound but also to die at Jerusalem for the name of the Lord Jesus."

"When we could not persuade him," Luke says, "we rested, saying: 'The Lord's will be done.'"

After those days they ascended to Jerusalem, where the brethren received them gladly. On the following day Paul and his companions went in to James the Less, where the elders of the Church had also assembled.

After greeting them, Paul recounted one by one how great were the things the Lord had done among the Gentiles through his ministry. They magnified God for these things.

They said to Paul: “You see, brother, how many thousands there are among the Jews who have believed, and they are all zealous for the law. But they have heard that you teach the Jews who are among the Gentiles to withdraw from Moses and that they ought not to circumcise their sons or observe the other ceremonies.”

Therefore, to remove the scandal and this opinion held by the Jews, they advised him to sanctify himself in the temple according to the custom of the law with four Jewish converts who were under a vow. The Jews zealous for the law would thereby judge that the things they had heard about Paul were false, since he too observed the law by fulfilling vows of this kind with others.

Paul did this. On the following day he entered the temple with those four to make the offering.

When the Jews who had come from Asia saw Paul in the temple, they stirred the whole people against him. Laying hands upon him, they cried: “Men of Israel, help! This is the man who everywhere teaches against the people, the law, and this place. Moreover, he has brought Gentiles into the temple.”

The whole city was therefore moved. They seized Paul and dragged him outside the temple, that is, outside the temple courts.

As they sought to kill Paul, the tribune heard that the whole city was in confusion and ran to the place with soldiers. Seeing him, the Jews ceased beating Paul. The tribune seized Paul, bound him with two chains, and asked who he was.

[Running head: Sixth Title.]

Sixth Title: On the Church Militant

Chapter Two, § XIII (continued): Paul before the Tribune and Council

Some in the crowd shouted one thing and others another. Since the truth could not be discerned because of the tumult, the tribune ordered Paul to be taken into the fortress. When he reached the stairs, the soldiers had to carry him because of the violence of the people, who cried: “Away with him!”

Paul asked the tribune whether he might speak to him. The tribune said: “Are you not that Egyptian who before these days stirred up a tumult and led four thousand assassins into the desert?”

Paul answered: “I am a Jew, a citizen of no obscure city. I ask you to permit me to speak to the people.” When permission had been granted, Paul stood upon the stairs. After a great silence had been made so that he might be heard, he spoke in Hebrew, saying:

“Men, brethren, and fathers, hear the account I give you. I am a Jewish man from Tarsus in Cilicia, educated at the feet of Gamaliel and brought up in this city, a zealot for the law just as you now are.”

He then recounted what had happened concerning him: how, as he went to Damascus to persecute and seize Christians, a light shone around him near Damascus. His companions saw the light but did not hear the voice that said to him: “Saul, Saul,” and so forth, as appears above in Chapter Two.

He continued: “It happened that when I returned to Jerusalem and prayed in the temple, I fell into an ecstasy and saw him saying to me: ‘Hasten and depart quickly from Jerusalem, because they will not receive your testimony concerning me. Go, for I shall send you to the nations.’”

They listened to him as far as this word. Then they raised their voices and said: “Remove such a man from the earth, for it is not right for him to live.”

While they shouted, cast off their garments, and threw dust into the air, the tribune ordered Paul to be taken into the fortress, beaten with scourges, and tortured, so that he might learn the reason they cried out against him in this manner.

When they had bound him with straps, Paul said to the centurion: “Is it lawful for you to scourge a Roman citizen who has not been condemned?” The centurion reported this to the tribune.

The tribune asked whether Paul was a Roman. When Paul affirmed it, the tribune said: “I obtained this citizenship for a great sum,” namely a sum of money. Paul replied: “But I was born in it.” Those who were about to torture him immediately withdrew from him when they discovered that he was a Roman, and the tribune was afraid.

On the following day, wishing to know more diligently why Paul was accused by the Jews, the tribune released him from his bonds and ordered the priests and the whole council to assemble. Bringing Paul forward, he placed him among them.

Looking upon the council, Paul said: “Men and brethren, I have lived before the Lord in all good conscience even to this present day.” The chief priest Ananias commanded those standing near him to strike his mouth.

Then Paul said to him: “God shall strike you, you whitewashed wall. You sit judging me according to the law, yet contrary to the law you order me to be struck.”

In this the apostle did not curse. Rather, in prophecy he said that the old priesthood, as though whitewashed by hypocrisy, was to be destroyed.

When the bystanders said, “Do you curse God’s high priest?” he answered: “I did not know that he was the chief priest.” Nor did Paul speak falsely in this, for he did not regard the man as the true high priest, because in reality he was not: the figure had ceased. These are Augustine’s words in Cause 23, Question 1, *Paratus*.

Paul knew that one part of those assembled in the council consisted of Pharisees and the other of Sadducees. He cried out in the council: “Men and brethren, I am a Pharisee, a son of Pharisees. I am judged concerning the hope and resurrection of the dead.”

From this a dissension arose among them, and the multitude was divided. For the Sadducees say that there is no resurrection, angel, or spirit; but the Pharisees rightly confess both.

A great clamor therefore arose. Certain Pharisees stood and contended for Paul because he belonged to their sect, saying: “We find nothing evil in this man. What if a spirit or an angel has spoken to him?”

When a great dissension arose among them, the tribune feared that Paul would be torn apart. He ordered the soldiers to snatch him from their midst and take him into the fortress. On the following night the Lord stood beside Paul and said: “Be constant, Paul. For as you have borne witness concerning me at Jerusalem, so you must also bear witness at Rome.”

The next day certain men gathered and made a vow that they would neither eat nor drink until they had first killed Paul. They were more than forty men.

They disclosed this vow to the chief priests, saying that the priests should ask the tribune to send Paul to them again under the pretext of learning something more certain. Once this was done, they would kill him on the road.

The young son of Paul’s sister heard this. He entered the fortress and told Paul of the plot. Paul asked a centurion to take the youth to the tribune because he had a secret to report. Approaching the tribune, the young man explained the plot prepared to kill Paul.

The tribune feared that the Jews might seize Paul by force and that he himself might consequently suffer an accusation, as though he had assented to this deed for money, since Paul was a Roman. He ordered two hundred soldiers, seventy horsemen, and two hundred spearmen to be prepared. At the second hour of the night they were to conduct Paul safely to Felix the governor.

The tribune sent a letter explaining the cause of this transfer: Paul was a Roman and had committed nothing worthy of death, but the Jews accused him concerning questions of the law and had prepared deadly snares for him, so that he should be judged more diligently by Felix. All this was done.

When the governor Felix received the letter and heard from Paul that he was from Cilicia, he said: “I shall hear you when your accusers arrive.” He ordered Paul to be kept in custody.

Here note, according to Augustine, that Paul took counsel not for his own transitory life but for the Church of God when he caused the conspirators’ plan to kill him to be disclosed to the tribune, namely by sending his nephew to him. Hence it was holy that an armed soldier should conduct him to the place where he was to be brought, lest he suffer from their snares. See Cause 23, Question 3, *Maximianus*.

And if in that escort one of those conducting him had been killed in a clash by Paul’s rivals, or conversely one of the rivals by the escort, it would not have been imputed to Paul. See Cause 23, Question 5, *De occidendis*.

§ XIV: Paul before Felix, Festus, and Agrippa

After five days the chief priest Ananias came down to Caesarea with certain elders and an orator named Tertullus. They approached the governor Felix against Paul.

When Paul was summoned, Tertullus began to accuse him, speaking words intended to capture goodwill: “We have found this man to be pestilent, stirring up sedition among all the Jews throughout the world. He also attempted to violate the temple. We wish him to be judged according to our law. The tribune Lysias came upon us and violently snatched him from our hands.” The other Jews affirmed that these things were so.

With the governor’s permission Paul answered. He said that the Jews had not found him disputing with anyone in the temple or gathering a crowd, either in the synagogues or in the city, nor could they prove the things of which they accused him.

“But I confess to you that I serve my God according to the sect called that of the Pharisees, having hope in God and in the resurrection of the dead, which they themselves also await. After several years I came to give alms to my nation and to make an offering and fulfill a vow. They found me purified in the temple, neither with a crowd nor in a tumult.

“Let them say what iniquity they found in me when I stood in the council, except only this one statement that I cried while standing among them: ‘Concerning the resurrection of the dead I am judged by you today.’”

Felix said: “When the tribune Lysias comes down, I shall hear you.” He ordered the centurion to guard Paul while granting him some repose.

[Running head: Chapter Two, Folio 184.]

After some days Felix came with his wife Drusilla, who was Jewish. He summoned Paul and heard from him the faith of Jesus. While Paul disputed about justice, chastity, and the future judgment, Felix trembled and answered: “Go for now; at a suitable time I shall hear you again.”

At the same time he hoped that Paul would give him money. For this reason he frequently summoned Paul and spoke with him. When two years had passed, Felix received Porcius Festus as his successor. Wishing to gain favor with the Jews, Felix left Paul bound.

When Festus came into the province, he ascended from Caesarea to Jerusalem. The chief priests approached him against Paul and asked as a favor that he order Paul to be brought to Jerusalem, while they laid snares to kill him on the road.

Festus answered that, since Paul was being kept at Caesarea and Festus himself would soon go there, those who wished to accuse Paul of anything should go there. After eight days Festus went down to Caesarea, sat before the tribunal, and ordered Paul to be brought forward.

The Jews alleged many grave charges that they could not prove. Paul gave his account, saying: “I have sinned in nothing against the law of the Jews, against the temple, or against Caesar.”

Festus, wishing to gain favor with the Jews, asked whether Paul wished to be judged concerning these things by him at Jerusalem. Paul answered: “I stand before Caesar’s tribunal, where I ought to be judged. I have not harmed the Jews, as you know better. If I have harmed them or done anything worthy of death, I do not refuse to die. But if I have done none of the things of which they accuse me, no one can condemn me to them. I appeal to Caesar.”

Then Festus conferred with his council and said: “You have appealed to Caesar; to Caesar you shall go.”

After some days King Agrippa and Bernice came down to Caesarea to greet Festus. When they had remained there for several days, Festus told the king about Paul: how, when Festus went up to Jerusalem, the Jews sought Paul’s condemnation.

Festus had answered them that it was not the custom of the Romans to condemn any man before the accused had his accusers present and received a place to defend himself and clear away the charges.

Festus continued: “When I came here and sat before the tribunal, the Jews who accused Paul brought no charge of evil against him. Instead, they had certain questions against him concerning their own superstition and concerning a certain deceased Jesus, whom Paul affirmed to be alive.

“Being uncertain about this question, I asked Paul whether he wished to go to Jerusalem and be judged there. He appealed to Caesar. Therefore I ordered him to be kept until I send him to Caesar.”

Agrippa told Festus that he wished to hear Paul. On the following day King Agrippa and Bernice entered the audience hall with much display, and Festus ordered Paul to be brought in. Festus recounted what had occurred with him and how Paul had appealed.

Festus intended to send him to Caesar but had nothing certain to write about him. He therefore wished the king to question Paul so that Agrippa might inform Festus what to write. For it did not seem reasonable to send a prisoner without stating the cause.

Agrippa said to Paul: “You are permitted to speak for yourself.” Paul stretched out his hand and began to give his defense, saying:

“Concerning all the things of which I am accused by the Jews, King Agrippa, I judge myself blessed to defend myself before you today, especially because you know all the customs and questions that exist among the Jews. I therefore beg you to hear me patiently.

“All the Jews have known my life from my youth, for I lived as a Pharisee according to the strictest sect of your religion, believing in the resurrection of the dead. Concerning this hope I am accused by the Jews, O king.

“I myself once thought that I ought to do many hostile things against the name of Jesus. I did this at Jerusalem, imprisoning many of the saints and madly persecuting them even into foreign cities.”

He added the vision and the words spoken to him by Jesus as he approached Damascus to seize those converted to faith in Jesus, concluding:

“Therefore, King Agrippa, I was not unbelieving toward the vision, but announced to Jews and Gentiles that they should do penance and turn to God. For this reason the Jews seized me when I was in the temple and attempted to kill me.”

As Paul said these things, Festus cried with a loud voice: “You are mad, Paul; much learning turns you to madness.”

Paul answered: “I am not mad, most excellent Festus, but speak words of sobriety and truth. Do you believe the prophets, King Agrippa? I know that you believe.”

Agrippa said to Paul: “In a little you persuade me to become a Christian.” Paul answered: “I pray God that, both in a little and in much, not only you but all who hear me may become such as I am, except for these chains.”

The king, the governor, and Bernice rose and said to one another: “This man has done nothing worthy of death.” Agrippa said to Festus: “This man could have been released if he had not appealed to Caesar.”

§ XV: Paul’s Voyage toward Rome

When it was decided that he should go to Italy, Paul and the other prisoners were delivered to a centurion named Julius. “Boarding a ship bound for places in Asia, we set sail. From there we reached Sidon,” where the centurion permitted Paul to visit his friends and attend to his needs.

They then reached Lystra, which is part of Cilicia [read: Myra, which is part of Lycia]. There the centurion transferred Paul to another ship, an Alexandrian vessel sailing to Italy. Sailing onward, they reached a certain place called Fair Havens.

When navigation was no longer safe, Paul urged that they remain because of the imminent dangers of the sea. But the centurion trusted the shipmaster and pilot more than Paul and wished to sail from there in order to remain in a more convenient place.

They were driven by a violent storm. On the following day they cast out the cargo, and on the third day they threw the ship’s equipment overboard with their own hands. Neither sun nor moon appeared for many days. Because the storm was no small one, all hope of our salvation had now been taken from their minds.

After they had fasted for a long time, Paul stood in their midst and said: “O men, you ought to have listened to me and not sailed from Crete, and so to have avoided this loss. Now I advise you to be of good courage. No soul among you will be lost, but only the ship.

“For this night an angel of God, whom I serve, stood beside me and said: ‘Do not fear, Paul; you must stand before Caesar. God has given you all who sail with you.’ Therefore, men, be of good courage.”

On the fourteenth night, as they approached a certain island, they feared at midnight that they would come into rough places and suffer shipwreck. The sailors sought to flee from the ship and lowered the boat under the pretext that they were going to lay out anchors. Paul said to the centurion and the soldiers: “Unless these men remain in the ship, you cannot be saved.”

[Running head: Sixth Title.]

Sixth Title: On the Church Militant

Chapter Two, § XV (continued): Shipwreck and Arrival at Rome

Then the soldiers cut the ropes of the boat. As daylight began to appear, Paul urged everyone to take food, saying: “Today is the fourteenth day that you have remained fasting and waiting, taking nothing. Therefore I ask you to take food for your safety, because not a hair from the head of any of you shall perish.”

When he had said this, he took bread and gave thanks to God in the sight of everyone. After breaking it, he began to eat. All became more courageous and themselves took food. There were no fewer than 276 souls in all aboard the ship.

When they had eaten their fill, they lightened the ship by casting the wheat into the sea. The stern was being broken apart by the sea’s force, while the prow remained fixed and immovable.

The soldiers planned to kill the prisoners lest anyone swim away and escape. But the centurion, wishing to save Paul, forbade this. He ordered those able to swim to cast themselves first into the sea and escape to land. They carried the others upon planks, and some upon things belonging to the ship. In this way everyone escaped to land.

"When we had escaped, we then learned that the island was called Mitelene [read: Melite (Malta)]." The barbarians showed them no small kindness. They kindled a fire and refreshed all of us because of the threatening rain and the cold.

When Paul gathered a considerable quantity of brushwood and placed it upon the fire, a viper came out because of the heat and fastened upon his hand. When the barbarians saw the beast hanging from his hand, they said to one another: "This man is surely a murderer. Although he escaped from the sea, vengeance does not allow him to live."

Paul shook the beast into the fire and suffered no harm. They expected him to swell up and die. After waiting a long time and seeing no harm in him, they changed their minds and said that he was a god.

Publius, the chief man of the island, received them kindly for three days. Paul entered the room of Publius's father, who was afflicted by fevers and dysentery, prayed, and healed him. Everyone on that island who had sick persons brought them to Paul, and he healed them.

After three months they came to Syracuse. Sailing from there after three days, they reached Rhegium, and on the following day Puteoli. Finding brethren there, they were asked to remain with them for seven days. Thus at last they came to Rome.

When the brethren heard of their arrival, they came to meet them as far as the Appian Forum and the Three Taverns. When Paul saw them, he gave thanks to God and took courage.

When they came to Rome, Paul was permitted to remain by himself with the soldier who guarded him. After the third day he summoned the leading Jews and said to them:

"Men and brethren, although I did nothing against the people or the custom of our fathers, I was delivered as a prisoner from Jerusalem into the hands of the Romans. When they had examined me, they wished to release me because there was no cause of death in me. When the Jews contradicted, I was compelled to appeal to Caesar, not as though I had anything of which to accuse my nation. For this cause, therefore, I asked to see and speak with you."

They said to him: "We have neither received letters concerning you from Judea nor has any arriving brother announced or spoken anything evil about you. But we ask to hear what you think, for concerning this sect it is known to us that it is contradicted everywhere."

When they had appointed a day for him, many came to him in his lodging. From morning until evening he expounded and bore witness to the kingdom of God, persuading them concerning Jesus from the law of Moses and the prophets. Some believed Paul, but others did not believe.

When they did not agree among themselves, they departed after Paul said one word: "The Holy Spirit rightly spoke through Isaiah: 'Go to this people and say to them: Hearing, you shall hear and not understand. For the heart of this people has grown gross,'" and so forth.

"Therefore let it be known to you that this salvation of God has been sent to the Gentiles." The Jews therefore left, having much debate among themselves concerning this word.

Paul remained for two whole years in his rented lodging and received everyone who entered to see him, preaching the kingdom of God and teaching Jews and Greeks the things concerning the Lord Jesus.

Here ends the Acts of the Apostles that were written by Luke the Evangelist and approved by the Church. The other accounts of acts written by various persons are apocryphal, as appears in Distinction 15, *Sancta Romana*.

With a few exceptions, the deeds contained in Luke's Acts are principally those of the apostles Peter and Paul: first those of Peter up to Chapter 13, except for Paul's conversion, and the remainder those of Paul alone.

We shall now treat the deeds of those same apostles that are found in various books, and their martyrdom, but first, very briefly, Mary the mother of Jesus.

Chapter Three: The Blessed Virgin after Christ's Ascension

Jerome says in his sermon on her Assumption: "It is asked what the Blessed Virgin did after the Lord's Ascension. It is certain that the holy Virgin remained. The angel Gabriel, as a heavenly bridal attendant, guarded her inviolate; John the Evangelist, a virgin, preserved the Virgin and served her with his ministrations.

"This does not mean that the choir of apostles deserted her. Among them she went in and out and familiarly recounted Christ's Incarnation, doing so the more truly because from the beginning she had learned all things more fully through the Holy Spirit and had seen everything with her own eyes. Although all the disciples venerated and served her, John nevertheless did so more fully and spiritually to the end of her life.

"Moreover, as an example of human life, her manner of living was with the apostles until they were dispersed, as Luke recalls when he says: 'All these were with Mary, the mother of Jesus, and with the brethren.' Behold, after Jesus ascended, she devoted herself with them in the school of virtues and meditated upon the law of God's commandments, so that she too might be a form of Christ's discipline and an example of perfection for virgins.

"She lived with the witnesses of the Resurrection and was herself a witness. She lived with the senators of heaven below in the court of paradise. Under the discipline of the Holy Spirit and the teaching of the whole divine majesty, she was found first among the foremost cohorts of the supreme King, for her life was already not of earth but of heaven.

"I think that whatever capacity of heart, mind, and human strength you might apply in its entirety would not suffice to conceive with how great and unceasing an ardor of holy love she burned, or how greatly she was moved, filled with the Holy Spirit, by the promptings of heavenly secrets, as she revolved in her soul everything she had heard, seen, and known.

"Every day she was inflamed by new affections of desire. Divine love had set her wholly aflame, so that there was nothing in her belonging to worldly affection, but continual ardor and a drunkenness suffused with love.

"Perhaps, therefore, we believe that because of her exceedingly great love she sometimes dwelt in the place where her Son is said to have been buried, so that her inward love might be fed by devout contemplation. For the place is situated midway, so that from there she could approach the traces of the Passion and visit the place of his burial and Ascension, or all the places in which he suffered.

"For although she was in the spirit, nevertheless while she lived in the flesh she was moved by the senses of the flesh and therefore was refreshed by visiting those places." All these are Jerome's words.

[Running head: Chapter Three, Folio 185.]

§ I: The Virgin's Passing and Assumption

Concerning her passing, the same Jerome says in that sermon: "Nothing else can be ascertained as certain except that on this day, namely August 15, she departed from the body.

"Her tomb is shown in the middle of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, which lies between Mount Zion and the Mount of Olives. A church has been built there in which everyone proclaims that she was buried, but the tomb is now shown to observers as empty.

"It is not known how, at what time, or by what persons her most sacred body was removed from there, or where it was translated, or whether it rose, although some wish to assert that she has already been raised and clothed with blessed immortality together with Christ. We are uncertain which of these things is more true. It is better, however, to entrust the whole matter to God than rashly to define by our own authority something we do not prove." Thus far Jerome.

It is nevertheless commonly and piously held that she was raised and, glorified in soul and body, reigns with Christ in heaven. Bernard holds this in a sermon on the ground that if her body were not in heaven but had remained on earth, Christ would appear not to have honored his mother fittingly and to have granted her less than other saints.

For the bodies of apostles and other saints whose resting places and relics are known are frequently visited with great veneration, as is evident concerning the bodies of Peter, Paul, James, Antony, Nicholas, and others of this kind. Therefore, if the Virgin's body had remained on earth, God would have revealed it so that everyone might visit it. But because it is said to have been glorified in heaven, it is not found on earth.

Augustine seems to hold the same opinion in a sermon, saying among other things: "Decay and the worm are a reproach of the human condition. Since Jesus is untouched by this reproach, the nature of Mary, which Jesus is proved to have assumed from her, is excepted from it."

It is not clear in what year of her life she departed from the body, for three opinions are found.

Epiphanius asserts that she was seventy-two years old when she departed from the body. He says that she conceived Christ in the fourteenth year of her age, bore him in the fifteenth, was with her Son during the thirty-three years he lived, and survived for twenty-four years after her Son's Ascension. These numbers joined together make seventy-two.

Blessed Elizabeth, however, asserts in her revelations that an angel disclosed to her that the Blessed Virgin departed from the body after one year and about four months, and then, after forty days, was raised in the body and ascended glorified into heaven.

The more common opinion is that she survived for twelve years after the Ascension and thus died at sixty years of age, untouched by the pain of death just as she was by corruption of the body. On the third day after her death she was raised and glorified in the body and ascended with Christ coming to meet her.

Many things concerning the manner of her death and burial are contained in the book called *The Passing of Blessed Mary*. But because that book is counted among the apocrypha, those things are therefore doubtful in their truth, as appears in Distinction 15, *Sancta Romana*, and are accordingly omitted.

Dionysius testifies, however, that the apostles were present at her passing and burial and performed that office with the highest devotion and veneration.

Concerning the honor shown to her by the heavenly court and by her Son at her passing, Jerome says in the sermon cited above:

“At her funeral the angels ministered, insofar as it is lawful to believe, and all the courts of heaven served. Nor is this marvelous, for the honor is shown to his mother by him who was born from her, whom every order of the heavens venerates.

“We read that angels very often came to the funerals of various saints and rendered service, and also bore the souls of the elect to heaven with praises and hymns. Moreover, those still living afterward perceived there for a long time the fragrance of a marvelous odor.

“How much more must it be believed that on this day the heavenly host came festively to meet the Mother of God with its companies, surrounded her with a great light, and led her with praises and spiritual songs to the throne prepared for her before the establishment of the world.

“No one doubts that the whole heavenly Jerusalem then exulted with ineffable joy, and deservedly so. For it is believed that the Savior himself came wholly festive to meet her and joyfully placed his mother upon a throne, so that he might fulfill the precept he had promulgated in the law: ‘Honor your father and your mother.’” Thus far Jerome.

Bernard also says in a sermon on the Assumption: “Who can explain with what songs she was led to the throne of glory; with how pleasing a countenance, how serene a face, and how joyful embraces she was received by her Son; and how she was exalted above every creature with the honor of which so great a mother was worthy and with the glory that befitted so great a Son?”

Jerome says: “This is the day on which the undefiled mother and Virgin advanced to the height of the throne and, raised upon the royal seat, gloriously sat after Christ.”

Thus the holy Church sings everywhere what it is lawful to believe of no other saint: that she passed beyond the merits of angels or archangels. Thus far Jerome.

Note that “archangels” here is not understood strictly, namely as the second order of angels, which order many saints surpass, but broadly, as the more principal spirits in every order. The Virgin Mary was indeed exalted above all the choirs of angels.

No miracles performed by her for others during her life are recorded, although her whole life was miraculous, since she sinned in nothing. But miracles of healing and the like do not make a person holier or more acceptable to God. Thus even John the Baptist did not shine with miracles during his life, although, as the Lord bears witness, no one greater arose among those born of women.

After her death, however, the most blessed Virgin shone and continues to shine with innumerable miracles, which we now omit. She is the advocate of humanity. Hence the Church sings: “Mediatrix of humanity and cleanser of crimes, pardon of sinners.” This is understood procuratively, not causatively, and through her merits and prayers. Elsewhere it sings: “You are the hope of the guilty, Mary,” and so forth--that is, the hope of assistance, because she ought to help us.

Chapter Four: Other Deeds of Peter and Paul

After the things said about the blessed apostles Peter and Paul that are contained in the Acts of the Apostles, it is fitting to explain their other notable works found in other books, since they are called the princes of the apostles.

Hence it is said concerning both of them in Cause 2, Question 7, *Beati Petrus*: “Blessed Peter and Paul stand eminent among all the apostles and excel by a certain special prerogative. Yet between them it is uncertain which is to be preferred to the other. For I think that they are equal in merits who are equal in suffering, and that those whom we see attain the glory of martyrdom together on one day also lived by a like devotion of faith.”

We think it was not without cause that they suffered on one day, in one place, under one persecutor, so that they might reach Christ together.

[Running head: Sixth Title.]

Sixth Title: On the Church Militant

Chapter Four (continued): The Preeminence of Peter and Paul

They suffered in one place, lest Rome should be lacking to either; under one persecutor, so that equal cruelty should constrain both. The day was therefore decreed for their merit, the place for their glory, and the persecutor for their virtue.

And in what place did they finally endure martyrdom? In the city of Rome, which holds primacy and is the head of the nations, so that where the head of superstition was, there the head of holiness should rest, and where the princes of the Gentiles dwelt, there the princes of the churches should remain. Thus far the cited text.

Pope Pelagius likewise says in Distinction 21: “Although the universal Catholic Church throughout the world is one bridal chamber of Christ, nevertheless the holy Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church was not set above the other churches by any synodal constitutions, but obtained primacy through the Gospel voice of our Lord and Savior: ‘You are Peter, and upon this rock I shall build my Church.’

“To him was given the fellowship of the most blessed Paul, the vessel of election. Paul was crowned while struggling under Caesar Nero in the city of Rome, not at a different time, as heretics babble, but at one time, on one and the same day, by a glorious death together with Peter.

“They consecrated the aforesaid Roman Church to Christ the Lord and, by their presence and venerable triumph, set it above all cities throughout the whole world.”

Pope Anacletus likewise says in the same distinction, *In novo*: “The other apostles received honor and power in equal fellowship with Peter, yet wished him to be their prince. At the Lord’s command they were dispersed throughout the whole world and preached the Gospel. When they died, bishops arose in their place. Whoever receives them and their words receives the Lord, and whoever despises them despises the Lord.

“When the apostles saw that the harvest was great, they selected seventy-two disciples, whose type the presbyters bear.” Thus far Anacletus.

Gratian, however, in the same distinction, § 1, says that they were chosen by Christ, which also appears in Luke’s Gospel, Chapter 10. It can therefore be said that Christ chose them as disciples and that the apostles chose them so that they should be simple priests.

When the chapter *In novo* says that all the apostles possessed equal power, this is to be understood, as the Gloss says there, of the power of the episcopal order. In administration or jurisdiction, Peter was greater than all.

Likewise, when it is said especially of Peter and Paul that they are equal, this is to be understood either of merit and reward, as Ambrose and Pope Leo seem to hold, or of the power of order, because each was a bishop.

With regard to the power of performing miracles, Peter was greater than Paul, since the sick were healed by his shadow. With regard to wisdom and the office of preaching, Paul was greater than Peter. With regard to jurisdiction, however, Peter was greater than Paul and all the others.

§ I: Saint Peter before His Conflict with Simon Magus

Concerning Peter, it must first be known that he was brought to Jesus by his own brother Andrew in order to have familiarity with him. Jesus then said to him: “You shall be called Cephas,” which is interpreted “Peter.” Thus, according to the name, Peter is derived first from *petra*, “rock”; and the rock was Christ, namely by signification. He had formerly been called Simon, a name by which he was also sometimes called after his apostolate, as appears in the final chapter of John.

Afterward Christ called him to the apostolate together with Andrew while they fished in the Sea of Galilee, as in Matthew 4. Luke relates another call in Chapter 5, when at Christ’s word they cast the net into the sea and caught so great a multitude of fish that two little boats were filled.

Peter displayed a more fervent love and zeal for Christ than the other apostles. Thus, when Christ told them of his Passion on the road, Peter held him back, saying: “Be propitious to yourself, Lord; this shall not happen to you.” At the Last Supper he urgently sought to learn who the betrayer was so that, once known, he might kill him, according to Chrysostom. At the Master’s arrest he alone drew a sword against so great a multitude in order to defend him.

Although for an hour, overcome by fear of death, he denied that he was Christ’s disciple, nevertheless, as Ambrose says in Distinction 50: “Peter became more faithful after he lamented that he had lost his faith, and therefore received greater grace than he lost. For as a good shepherd he received the flock to guard, so that he who had formerly been weak for himself might become a support for all.” Thus far Ambrose.

He also wept bitterly for that denial, and he had not yet been strengthened from on high. It is related that he always carried a cloth in his bosom with which he wiped his frequently flowing tears, because whenever he remembered the sweetness of the Lord's speech and presence, he could not contain his tears, or also because of that denial.

Several authors wrote his Passion, including Marcellus, Linus, and Pope Leo. Isidore says in his book *On the Origin and Death of the Saints*: "After Peter founded the church of Antioch, he went to Rome under Caesar Claudius against Simon Magus. Preaching there, he held the pontificate of that city for twenty-five years. In the thirty-sixth year after the Lord's Passion, he was crucified by the emperor Nero as he himself wished."

It follows from this that Peter remained in the regions of the East for eleven years before reaching Rome. Of these years he held the chair at Antioch for seven and preached at Jerusalem and in neighboring regions for the other four.

Others say that Peter remained in the regions of the East--partly at Antioch and partly at Jerusalem and nearby places--for fourteen years before coming to Rome. This seems more true from what is found in Galatians 2: after fourteen years from his conversion, which occurred in the year Christ suffered, Paul came to Jerusalem and conferred with Peter and the others about the Gospel.

In Peter's veneration, the church of Antioch was exalted after the Roman Church so as to be the third patriarchal see. See Distinction 22, *Renovantes*. This was because Peter first held his chair there. For this reason the feast of Peter's Chair is also celebrated in February.

Its occasion was as follows. When Peter had converted many by preaching at Antioch and was also evangelizing in other neighboring cities, Simon Magus deceived many in Peter's absence, turning them from Peter's teaching and drawing them to his own. He practiced marvelous things by magic and proclaimed himself the power of God.

But when Peter returned, all those who had adhered to Simon Magus were converted to penance. They came out from the city to meet Peter barefoot and clothed in hairshirts. Peter graciously received the penitents, giving thanks to God.

When the people presented to him many persons afflicted by various illnesses and tormented by demons, Peter invoked the name of the Lord Jesus over all of them. A vast light flashed from heaven, and all were healed and ran to kiss Peter's footprints.

Within seven days more than ten thousand people were baptized. Theophilus, the chief man of the city, had his magnificent house consecrated as a basilica and a lofty chair placed there so that Peter, while evangelizing, might be seen and heard by everyone. These things are from the *Itinerary of Clement*.

As Peter thus exposed Simon's evil works more each day, Simon was confounded and finally departed from those regions. He went to Rome so that, displaying marvels through his deceptions, he might be adored. Peter followed him to restrain his malice and himself reached Rome.

[Running head: Chapter Four, Folio 186.]

Peter had a wife, as appears from the Gospel, and a daughter named Petronilla, whom he brought with him to Rome.

It is said of his wife in the *Ecclesiastical History* that when she was being led to her suffering because she was a Christian, Peter exulted with great joy and, calling her by her own name, cried: "O wife, remember the Lord."

That Peter, an apostle and supreme pontiff, had a daughter was contrary to no law. This occurred before he was assumed into the apostolate and the religious state and promoted to orders. That he had a wife and was afterward made pontiff is not repugnant to the common law. A married man, with his wife's consent, may be ordained or enter religious life while both remain under a vow of chastity, as is believed of Peter and his wife. Christ the lawgiver could also have dispensed Peter from every law, but this was not necessary.

Saint Marcellus wrote the life of Petronilla. Because she was exceedingly beautiful, she suffered from fevers by Peter's will.

One day, as the disciples reclined at table with Peter, one of them said: "Since all the sick are healed by you, why do you permit Petronilla to lie ill?" Peter answered: "Because this is expedient for her. Nevertheless, lest it be thought that the impossibility of her healing is being excused by my words, I say to her: 'Rise, Petronilla, and minister to us quickly.'"

She was immediately healed, arose, and ministered. When the ministry was completed, Peter said to her: "Return to your place." She returned to bed and suffered from fevers as before. But when she afterward began to be perfected in the fear of God, he healed her completely.

A certain count named Flaccus, captivated by her beauty, sought her as his wife. She said: "If you wish to have me as your wife, order virgins to come to me who may accompany me to your house." When he sent them, Petronilla commended herself to God with fasting and prayers, received the Lord's body, and after three days departed to the Lord. Her feast is celebrated on the last day of May.

In addition to the miracles recounted about Peter in the Acts of the Apostles and at Antioch, he worked many others at Rome and elsewhere.

Once he sent two of his disciples to preach. After they had traveled for twenty days, one of them, named George, died. His companion, said to have been Martial--or, according to another account, Fronto--returned to Peter and reported what had happened.

Peter gave him his staff and told him to go to the place of George's burial and lay it upon him. When this was done, George rose, although he had already been in the tomb for forty days.

Concerning Peter's food and clothing, Clement says in the *Itinerary*: "Bread alone with olives, and sometimes with vegetables, is my customary food. My clothing is this which you see, a tunic with a cloak. Possessing these things, I require nothing else."

§ II: Peter's Three Conflicts with Simon Magus

Peter had to labor greatly and contend with Simon Magus through words and marvelous works. Through his deceptions Simon displayed many marvels to the people and the emperor.

Among other things, he once told the emperor Nero that, so that Nero might be certain of Simon's divinity and not doubt it, he was content for Nero to have his head cut off. After Simon thus died, he would rise on the third day and manifest himself to Nero.

Wishing to test this, Nero commanded the executioner to cut off Simon's head. When this had been done, Simon presented himself alive to Nero on the third day.

This illusion could have occurred as follows. By diabolical art Simon Magus brought in a ram that no one perceived to be a ram, because, through the devil's operation, a body like Simon's, formed from air, surrounded it. Simon himself, in his own person, was seen by no one because the eyes of the people were dazzled by diabolical art.

Thus, when the executioner thought he was cutting off Simon's head, he cut off the head of the ram around which Simon's likeness appeared. Simon himself carried away the head and the remainder of the ram while no one saw him. Hence, by manifesting himself on the third day after hiding, he was believed to have risen.

Sometimes, while Simon himself spoke with Nero in a bedchamber, Simon was also found outside addressing the people in the marketplace. The same individual was not simultaneously in several places. Rather, the person who spoke to the people was the devil bearing Simon's own likeness, which God can certainly permit. God allows this to test the constancy and faith of the elect, as appears in Cause 26, Question 5, *Nec mirum*.

When this evildoer performed these and other things, the people held him in great veneration, so much so that they made an image of him with this inscription: "To Simon, a holy god." Nero loved him so greatly that Simon was thought the guardian of the emperor's safety and of the whole city.

Peter had three particular conflicts with him. The first occurred when Peter and Paul, who had entered the city in those days so that together they might confound the magician and expose his falsehoods, approached the emperor. With Simon present, they explained that he was a magician full of deceptions and a wicked spirit, as Marcellus and Pope Leo relate.

Simon said: "I shall no longer endure this enemy Peter, but I shall command my angels to avenge me upon him." Peter answered: "I do not fear your angels; rather, they fear me."

Nero said: "Peter, do you not fear Simon, who demonstrates his divinity by deeds?" Peter answered: "If divinity is in him, he knows all things, even secret things. Let him therefore say what I am now thinking or doing. And lest he deceive us, O emperor, I shall secretly tell you in your ear what I intend."

With Nero's agreement Peter did this, telling him quietly that bread should secretly be handed to him. When this had been done, Peter said: "Let Simon, who makes himself a god, say what has been done or said."

Simon replied: "Rather let Peter say what I am thinking." Peter said: "I shall demonstrate by a deed that I know what Simon is thinking."

Then Simon indignantly cried: "Let great dogs come forth and devour Peter!" Immediately great dogs--that is, demons in the form of dogs--appeared. When they charged Peter, Peter secretly brought out the blessed bread and put them to flight.

Peter said to Nero: "Behold, I have demonstrated by deeds that I know Simon's thought. The man who brought dogs against me has shown that he has not divine but canine angels."

Then Simon said: "Hear me, Peter and Paul. If I can accomplish nothing here with words, I shall come to the place where you must judge me. But I spare you for now." Thus far Leo.

The second occasion occurred when Simon boasted that he could raise the dead. His followers, deceived by him, urged him to do so in order that he might confound Peter.

It happened that a certain young man died. Peter was also informed that Simon had offered to raise him. When very great crowds had assembled, Peter and Simon came to a judgment concerning this matter, with the people insisting that whichever one could not raise the dead man should be killed as a false man and deceiver.

Simon began and used his incantations. Because of them the dead man seemed to the bystanders to move his head. The multitude, thinking that he had been raised, began to cry out against Peter and wished to stone him.

[Running head: Sixth Title.]

Sixth Title: On the Church Militant

Chapter Four, § II (continued): Peter's Conflicts with Simon Magus

Peter imposed silence and said: "If the dead man lives, let him rise, walk, and speak. Otherwise, know that it is an apparition that moved his head." When Simon had been separated from the bier as Peter ordered, the corpse remained motionless.

Then Peter, standing at a distance, prayed, and cried: "In the name of the crucified Jesus Christ, arise, young man." He immediately arose and walked.

When the people wished to stone Simon, Peter forbade them, saying: "It is enough for him that he has seen himself overcome in his deeds. Our Master taught us to render good things for evil." These things are related by Hegesippus and Linus.

Marcellus adds that Simon, thus confounded, approached Marcellus, whom he had known as his disciple, and bound a huge dog at the door of the house--that is, a devil in the form of a dog--so that it would tear Peter apart when he came to Marcellus's house.

Peter arrived, found the dog, and released it, commanding it to proceed directly against Simon without harming anyone. Once released, the dog pursued Simon, leapt upon him, and tore all his garments so that he remained naked. It sought to strangle him, but Peter ran up and commanded the dog not to harm Simon's body.

The people and their children ran with the dog after Simon and drove him from the city like a wolf. Unable to bear this disgrace, he remained hidden for a year.

At length Simon returned to the city and was received into Nero's friendship as before. Summoning the people, he said that he had been gravely offended by the Galileans and therefore wished to abandon the city that he had been accustomed to protect. He appointed a day on which he would ascend into heaven, because he no longer deigned to dwell on earth, as Leo relates.

On the appointed day and hour, the whole people assembled. Peter and Paul were also present to expose his evil works, since they had been informed of what he had promised to do.

Simon ascended a very high tower--or, according to Linus, the Capitol--and, casting himself down from it crowned with laurel, began to fly like a bird toward heaven.

Paul said to Peter: "It is mine to pray and yours to command." Peter said to Paul: "Raise your head and look." When Paul saw Simon flying high, he said: "Peter, why do you delay? Complete what you have begun, for the Lord now calls us."

Then Peter said: "I adjure you, angels of Satan who carry him through the air, by our Lord Jesus Christ: carry him no farther, but allow him to fall." Released by the demons, Simon fell, broke his neck, and expired.

We see that this happened by God's just judgment: he who wished to fly against nature was deprived of the natural office of his feet; he who attempted to fly could not walk; and he who ostentatiously sought to ascend to heaven by his own rashness descended, wholly shattered, to the depth of hell.

When Nero heard this, he grieved greatly at having lost such a man and said to the apostles: "I shall destroy you by an evil example because you have made me suspect." They were therefore delivered into the prison's custody under the care of Processus and Martinianus.

When those men were converted to the faith, Peter, through a fountain divinely provided in the prison, baptized them and many others. He opened their prison so that they might depart free. They were later found to be Christians and were crowned with martyrdom.

Although Peter did not wish to depart lest he appear to fear death, he was at last compelled by the disciples' prayers to preserve himself in life for their consolation and advancement. He left the prison.

After leaving the city, he came to the place called Saint Mary at the Steps and saw Christ coming toward him. Peter said: “Lord, where are you going?” Christ answered: “I am coming to Rome to be crucified again.” Peter understood this to mean that Christ was to be crucified in him.

Returning to the city, Peter told the faithful how the Lord had appeared to him and declared that he would depart through martyrdom.

§ III: Peter Appoints Clement

Knowing that he would soon depart to the Lord through martyrdom, Peter wished to provide for the future of the flock entrusted to him. Gathering the faithful, he appointed Saint Clement as his successor in the papacy.

Hence Pope John III says in Cause 8, Question 1, *Si Petrus*: “Although Peter, the prince of the apostles, associated Linus and Cletus with himself as helpers, he did not deliver to them the authority of the pontificate or the rule of binding and loosing. He delivered it to Clement, his successor, who merited to hold the Apostolic See after him and the pontifical power delivered to him by blessed Peter. Linus and Cletus ministered in external matters, while the prince of the apostles devoted himself to the word and prayer.”

The Gloss says there that it is evident from these words that Linus and Cletus were not popes. This is true while Peter lived. They administered temporal things by distributing them to the poor, the office for which the seven deacons were chosen by the apostles. The pope’s chamberlain holds this office today.

They also helped in spiritual matters by absolving and binding. The statement in that chapter that they did not possess the power of binding and loosing is understood, according to the Gloss, with respect to the fullness of power that the pope reserves for himself.

Likewise, according to the Gloss, Linus and Cletus were not the immediate popes after Peter, for Clement had been appointed by Peter. Clement, perceiving that it would be pernicious as an example for someone to choose his own successor, was moved by the Holy Spirit to renounce the papacy, and Linus was made pope. When Linus died by martyrdom, Cletus was created supreme pontiff. When Cletus departed to the Lord, the aforesaid Clement was assumed into the papacy.

The Gloss on Cause 8, Question 1, § *His omnibus*, says that today the pope could not appoint his own successor, because this would alter the state of the Church, as is established by many chapters in Cause 25, Question 1.

When Peter appointed Clement in the sight of the faithful, he admonished him, saying: “You must live irreprehensibly and strive with the greatest zeal to cast aside every occupation of this life. Do not become a surety; do not become an advocate in lawsuits; and do not be found wholly entangled in any occupation through the occasion of worldly business.

“For Christ does not wish to ordain you today as a judge or examiner of secular business, lest, suffocated by present human cares, you be unable to devote yourself to the word of God. Let laypeople who are free to do so perform for one another these works that we have told you are less suitable for you, and let no one occupy you away from those studies through which salvation is given to humanity.” This is in Cause 11, Question 1, *Te quidem*.

Peter likewise said to the faithful: “The one who teaches and instructs unformed souls ought to be such that he can adapt himself according to the capacity of his students and direct the order of his words according to the hearer’s capacity. Above all he ought to be learned and instructed, irreprehensible, mature, and cautious, as you yourselves have proved this brother Clement, who comes after me, to be.” This appears in Cause 8, Question 1, *Oportet*.

When appointing Clement, Peter also addressed the people, saying in Distinction 93, *Si inimicus*:

[Running head: Chapter Five, Folio 187, as printed.]

“If this Clement is an enemy to anyone because of that person’s wicked deeds, do not wait for him himself to tell you: ‘Do not be friends with that man.’ Rather, you ought prudently to observe and obey his will without admonition and turn away from the person whom you perceive him to oppose.

“Do not speak with those with whom he does not speak, so that each person who is at fault, while desiring to have the friendship of us all, may hasten more quickly to be reconciled with the one who presides over all, and through this return to salvation.” Thus far the cited text.

Peter wrote two epistles that are called canonical, authentic, and approved. One of them was written from Rome, which he calls Babylon, saying: “The church that is at Babylon greets you.” He did this because of the confusion of errors and vices to which the whole city was devoted, with the exception of the few converted to the faith.

At the end of his second epistle he also commends or praises Paul’s epistles, saying: “Beloved, take care to be found spotless and inviolate in peace, and consider the patience of our Lord to be salvation, as our beloved brother Paul also wrote to you according to

the wisdom given him. So also in all his epistles he speaks in them of these things, among which there are certain matters difficult to understand, which the unlearned and unstable pervert, as they do the other Scriptures, to their own destruction."

§ IV: Peter's Martyrdom and Relics

As Peter preached and greatly commended chastity in his preaching while reproving lust, four concubines of the prefect Agrippa were so converted by his preaching to God and to the observance of chastity that they would no longer consent in any way to approach Agrippa. Angered by this, Agrippa sought occasions to kill Peter.

When Nero's officers sought Peter, they found him and presented him to the prefect Agrippa. His face, as Linus says, shone like the sun.

The prefect said to him: "Are you that Peter who glories among the common people and the little women whom you separate from their husbands' beds?" Peter severely rebuked him for his lust and cruelty and said that he gloried in the Lord's cross.

At length, by Nero's command, sentence was given against the apostles Peter and Paul: Peter, as a foreigner who preached the cross of Christ the Lord, was to be affixed to a cross; Paul, because he was a Roman citizen, was to be punished by beheading.

Concerning this sentence, Dionysius says in a letter to Timothy, if indeed the letter is his: "O my brother Timothy, if you had seen the struggles of their consummation, you would have fainted from pain and sorrow. For when sentence was given against them, you would have seen crowds of Jews and Gentiles beating them and spitting in their faces.

"When the time of their consummation came and they were separated from one another, the pillars of the world were bound, not without the groaning and weeping of the brethren. Then Paul said to Peter: 'Peace be with you, foundation of the churches and shepherd of all Christ's lambs.' Peter said to Paul: 'Go in peace, preacher of good things, mediator and leader of the salvation of the just.'"

Paul was therefore led along the Ostian Way to be beheaded, as will be said below, but Peter elsewhere. Arriving there and seeing the cross prepared and erected for him, Peter asked the officers to turn it so that he might remain on the cross with his head and hands downward and his feet upward.

He said: "Because my Lord descended to earth, he was raised upon an upright cross. But since he has deigned to call me from earth to heaven, my cross ought to show my head toward the earth and direct my feet toward heaven.

"Because I am not worthy to be upon the cross as my Lord Jesus was, turn the cross so that my head is downward and my feet upward." This was done for him.

The assembled people, filled with fury, wished to kill Nero and the prefect and free Peter, but Peter begged them not to impede his suffering in any way.

The Lord, as Hegesippus says, opened the eyes of the disciples who mourned there. They saw angels standing with crowns made from rose and lily blossoms, Peter standing on the cross with them, and a book that he received from Christ and from which he read what he was saying.

Understanding that the faithful had seen his glory, Peter gave thanks, commended the faithful to God, and gave up his spirit. Then the brothers Marcellus and Apuleius, his disciples, took him down from the cross, embalmed him with various spices, and buried him.

In the time of Saint Cornelius the pope, as appears in the legends, Greek believers stole the bodies of the apostles and were carrying them away. But the demons dwelling in images, compelled by divine power, cried: "Men of Rome, help, because your gods are being taken away!"

The faithful understood this cry to concern the apostles, while the Gentiles understood it to concern their own gods. A multitude of faithful and unbelievers alike gathered and pursued the Greeks. Fearing them, the Greeks cast the apostles' bodies into a well at the catacombs, but the faithful afterward drew them out.

When they doubted which were Peter's bones and which Paul's, the faithful prayed and fasted, and an answer was given from heaven that the larger bones belonged to the preacher and the smaller to the fisherman. Thus they were separated and placed in their own churches.

According to another account, however, in the consecration of their churches blessed Pope Sylvester weighed both the large and small bones and placed half in each church.

Today the heads of the apostles Peter and Paul, marvelously adorned with gold, silver, and gems, are kept in the Lateran church of Saint John and displayed to the people.

Chapter Five: Saint Paul

Although Paul is not numbered among the twelve apostles who were called by Christ while he dwelt upon earth, he is nevertheless called an apostle, for “apostle” is interpreted “one sent.”

He was sent to preach throughout the world, called by Christ who sat at God’s right hand but at that time descended into the air near the earth. Paul was taught the Gospel through a revelation of Jesus Christ, not by a human being, as he himself relates.

Although in humility he says, “I am the least of the apostles, who am not worthy to be called an apostle because I persecuted the Church of God,” and in First Timothy, “Jesus came to save sinners, of whom I am the first,” that is, the greatest, nevertheless he truthfully says: “I labored more than they all; yet not I, but the grace of God with me.”

Concerning his name, it is interpreted “mouth of the trumpet,” “their mouth,” “wonderfully chosen,” “Paul” from *pausa*, which means rest, or “Paul” as though *modicus*, little.

There are three opinions concerning this name. Origen says that he always had two names, being called both Saul and Paul. Rabanus asserts that he was first called Saul from the proud Saul, but was afterward called Paul because of his great humility, as though “little,” and this after his conversion.

Bede holds that he was called Paul from the proconsul Sergius Paulus, whom he converted to the faith. He was of the tribe of Benjamin; hence Augustine expounds of him Jacob’s prophecy: “Benjamin, a ravenous wolf,” and so forth, Genesis 49.

[Running head: Sixth Title.]

Sixth Title: On the Church Militant

Chapter Five (continued): Saint Paul

Paul was converted in the first year after Christ’s Passion, that is, in the month of January immediately following Christ’s Passion.

Haimo relates that Paul applied himself to manual labor from cockcrow until the fifth hour, for he practiced the craft of tentmaking. He then devoted himself to preaching and often prolonged his discourse until night. The time that remained was needed for food, sleep, and prayer.

Jerome says in *On Illustrious Men* that in the twenty-fifth year after the Lord’s Passion--that is, the second year of Nero’s reign--Paul was sent to Rome in chains, as was said above from the Acts of the Apostles. Remaining for two years in free custody, he disputed against the Jews. Afterward Nero released him, and he preached the Gospel in the regions of the West.

When Nero heard that the dispute between Paul and the Jews concerned the law of the Jews and the Christian faith, he did not care much about such a question because he was not yet securely established in the empire. Paul was therefore released. But in the fourteenth year of Nero, on the same day on which Peter was crucified, Paul was beheaded, according to Jerome.

Paul’s wisdom and religion were proclaimed everywhere, and people regarded him as marvelous. He also joined many members of Caesar’s household to himself in friendship, especially Seneca, Nero’s teacher. Hence letters addressed by each to the other are found. Some of Paul’s writings were also read before Caesar and were wonderfully commended by everyone. The Senate likewise held no ordinary but a lofty opinion of him. Pope Linus described his passion.

While Paul was at Rome, he was preaching one day around evening in an upper room. A young man named Patroclus, the king’s cupbearer, climbed into the window of the house so that he could hear Paul more conveniently because of the crowd. He fell asleep, fell from the window to the ground, and died.

When Nero heard this, he grieved greatly over Patroclus and appointed another man to his office. Paul, however, learned what had happened through the Spirit and made it known to those present, commanding them to bring the dead Patroclus to him. When the body was brought, Paul raised him and sent him back to Caesar.

Nero heard that Patroclus was present and wished to enter. Because Nero knew that he had died and feared that he might be an apparition, he did not wish to admit him; but at the urging of his friends, he permitted Patroclus to enter.

Nero said to him, “Patroclus, are you alive?”

He answered, “Caesar, I am alive.”

Nero said, “Who made you live?”

He replied, “The Lord Jesus Christ, King of all ages.”

Nero angrily said, “Then will Jesus dissolve all the kingdoms of the world and reign himself?”

Patroclus answered, “Yes.”

Nero struck him with a blow and said, “Then you too serve that king?”

Patroclus replied, “Indeed I serve the one who made me live.”

Those who stood by reproved the emperor for striking a young man who spoke prudently, and they said that they too served the king who had raised him. Filled with rage, Nero imprisoned all those who had been converted to the faith. He ordered a search for Christians and had them tortured by various torments without any inquiry into their cases.

Among the others, Paul was brought before Nero as the chief teacher of this doctrine. Nero said to him: “O servant of the great King, yet my prisoner, why do you take my soldiers from me and gather them for your lord?”

Paul answered: “I have gathered soldiers for my King not only from your corner of the world but from the whole earth. He lavishly gives them gifts that will never fail and that exclude every need. If you are willing to be his servant, you will be saved. His power is so great that he will come to judge everyone, dissolve the form of this world by fire, and destroy all cities and kingdoms.”

Then Nero, filled with anger, ordered all Christians to be burned with fire and Paul to be beheaded as guilty of treason. While many Christians were being slaughtered, the people made a disturbance and ran to Nero’s palace, crying: “Set a limit, Caesar, to the force of your order. Those whom you destroy are our own people, and they protect the Roman Empire.”

Fearing a revolt of the people, Nero changed the edict: no Christian was to be killed until the matter had been more fully deliberated.

Paul was again presented before Nero. As soon as he saw him, Nero cried: “Take away the evildoer and behead him. Destroy this corrupter of minds for the future; remove from the face of the earth this man who changes human thought.”

Paul answered him: “I shall suffer for a little time today, but I shall live eternally with the Lord Jesus Christ.”

Nero said: “Take off his head, so that he may understand me to be stronger than his king, and let us see whether he can live forever.”

Paul answered: “So that you may know that I live eternally after death, when my head has been cut off I shall appear to you alive. Then you will be able to know that Jesus Christ is Lord of life and death.”

As Paul was being led to the place of execution, the three soldiers escorting him said: “Tell us, Paul, who is that king of yours whom you love so greatly that you choose to die rather than live for his sake, and what reward will you have from him?”

Paul then preached to them about the kingdom of God and the pains of hell so effectively that he converted them. When they asked him to go freely wherever he wished, he answered: “Far be it from me to flee. I am not a fugitive but a lawful soldier of Christ, for I know that I shall pass from this transitory life to eternal life.”

He also told them that, on the day after his death, they should come to the place where the faithful would bury him after his beheading. There they would find Titus and Luke, who would baptize them.

Meanwhile Nero sent two soldiers to determine whether Paul had yet been killed. When the apostle wished to preach to them, they said: “After you have died and risen, then we shall believe your words.”

They hurried to lead him to the place of beheading. As they passed through the Ostian Gate, Paul met a devout disciple of his named Plautilla--or Lemobia, according to Dionysius. She wept and commended herself to his prayers.

The apostle said: “Farewell, Plautilla, daughter of eternal salvation. Lend me the veil with which you cover your head, so that I may cover my eyes with it at the time of my beheading, and I shall return it to you.”

When she had done so, the attendants mocked her for giving him so beautiful a veil, which they said she would lose.

Paul came to the place of his passion, extended his hands toward heaven, and prayed for a long time with tears, facing east. He bade farewell to the assembled brethren, bound his eyes with Plautilla’s veil, extended his neck, made the sign of the cross, and received the stroke of the one striking while saying: “My Lord Jesus, into your hands I commend my spirit.”

When his head was cut from his body, it sounded forth in a clear voice, “Christ Jesus.” That name had been so sweet to him during his life that in his epistles he had named Jesus, Christ, or both together five hundred times.

A stream of milk first flowed from the wound as far as the executioner’s garments, and afterward blood flowed out, for he had been a virgin. An immense light appeared in the air above him.

At the very stroke he unfolded the veil, received the blood in it, wrapped it up, and carried it back to Plautilla.

[Running head: Chapter Five, Folio 188.]

When the ministers of the crime returned to the city, Plautilla said to them at the Ostian Gate: “Where have you left my teacher?”

They answered: “He was beheaded in the Valley of the Wrestlers, with his head covered by your veil.”

She replied: “Not at all. See, Peter and Paul have just entered the city clothed in splendid garments, with shining crowns upon their heads, and Paul has returned my veil to me.” She showed it to them, and many were thereby converted to the faith.

When Nero heard this, he was astonished. While he was speaking about it with the philosophers and his friends behind closed doors, Paul entered and said to him: “See, Caesar, I live as a soldier of the eternal King Jesus Christ. At least now believe, for I am not dead but alive. You, however, will die an eternal death because you unjustly kill God’s saints.”

Nero became like a madman. At his friends’ urging, however, he released Patroclus and the other Christians so that they might go wherever they wished.

On the following day, the soldiers who had been converted by Paul’s words went to the place, as he had told them. They found Titus and Luke and were baptized by them.

John Chrysostom wonderfully exalts Paul in his book *On the Praises of Paul*, saying: “One would not err at all who called Paul’s soul a distinguished meadow of virtues and a spiritual paradise. What tongue could be found equal to his praises, since one soul possessed every good thing found among human beings, all fully and abundantly--and not only human goodness, but, what is greater, that of the angels?”

He then shows that Paul surpassed the works of the saints of the Old Testament. In offering sacrifice he surpassed Abel, for he offered in sacrifice not lambs and sheep but himself, subjecting the whole world to God.

Noah saved his children and irrational animals in the ark; Paul saved the ark of the Church when it was endangered in the floods of errors, changing many irrational people, like beasts, into rational people.

Everyone admires Abraham because he left his homeland and kindred at God’s command; Paul left not only homeland and kindred but the entire world and the heaven of heavens for Christ.

Isaac is praised for patience when foreigners stopped up his wells; Paul strove to carry up to heaven not those who stopped up a well, but those who buried his own body beneath stones.

In the same way Chrysostom shows that Paul surpassed Jacob in forbearance, Joseph in chastity, Job in patience, Moses in charity, John the Baptist in abstinence, and so forth.

Chrysostom says in the same work: “As iron placed in fire becomes wholly fire, so Paul, set aflame by charity, became wholly charity. As though he were the common father of the whole world, he imitated the parents of everyone in his love for them, and indeed surpassed every carnal and spiritual father in care and affection. He desired to present every human being to God as though he himself had begotten the whole world.”

He also says there: “This obscure wandering craftsman who worked with hides advanced with such power that in scarcely thirty years he subjected to the yoke of truth the Romans, Persians, Parthians, Medes, Scythians, Indians, Ethiopians, Sarmatians, Saracens, and indeed every race of humanity. As fire cast into stubble or hay, he consumed every work of the demons.”

Again: “With the love of Christ he judged himself happier than all angels and archangels. Without it he did not wish to be the companion of dominions or principalities; with this love he preferred to be the lowest, indeed even among the number of the punished, rather than to be without it among the highest and most exalted honors. To depart from this charity was his greatest and singular torment; this was Gehenna to him, this alone was punishment, this was infinite torment.

“He so despised everything we fear that he regarded it as rotten grass. He considered tyrants and peoples breathing fury to be like gnats, and he regarded death, tortures, and a thousand torments as a children’s game.” Thus Chrysostom.

Gregory of Tours relates that a certain man in despair prepared a noose with which to hang himself. A filthy apparition appeared to him and said: “Come, good man, do what you have begun, and make no delay.” Yet while the man did this, he repeatedly said, “Saint Paul, help me,” for he was devoted to him.

Another apparition in human form appeared and said to the filthy spirit: “Flee, wretch; behold, Paul is coming.” When the apparitions thus vanished, the man returned to repentance and cast away the noose.

§ I: On the Teaching of Paul's Epistles

Certain extracts from the teaching of Paul's epistles, which are the summit of all sacred theology, are inserted here.

He wrote ten epistles to peoples or nations: one to the Romans; two to the Corinthians; one to the Galatians; one to the Philippians; one to the Ephesians; one to the Colossians; and two to the Thessalonians. He wrote four to disciples: two to Timothy, one to Titus, and one to Philemon.

The prologue to the Epistle to the Romans explains its occasion in this way. The Romans to whom he writes were those who had believed from among Jews and Gentiles. Through pride and contention, each party wished to subordinate the other.

The converted Jews said that they ought to be preferred because God had chosen that people out of all nations as his own, had delivered his law to it, had led it out of Egypt through many miracles, had nourished it with manna in the desert, and at last had brought it into the Promised Land after conquering the nations that inhabited it. In the end, he had assumed flesh from them. The Gentiles, by contrast, had always served idols in ignorance of the true God.

The converted Gentiles answered: "The greater the benefits you recount as having been conferred upon you, the greater the punishments you deserve, since you were utterly ungrateful for them. You despised the commandments of the law, persecuted the holy prophets, and finally crucified the Lord himself. You deserve to be rejected by God because of your hardness. We merited pardon because we did not know God and had no one to show us our error. But as soon as we understood the truth through the apostles and others, we were converted to the faith; therefore we are more loved and dear to God."

The Apostle interposed himself between these contending parties and resolved their questions in such a way as to affirm that neither had merited salvation through its own righteousness. He showed that both peoples, Jews and Gentiles, had knowingly and gravely sinned: the Jews by transgressing the law, and the Gentiles by failing to worship the God known through natural reason and instead worshiping idols.

Yet both peoples, insofar as they were converted to the faith, obtained pardon and salvation not from their own merits but from God's mercy. They were therefore equal and ought to live with one another in peace.

In the first chapter, then, he shows that the Gentiles, through their philosophers and poets, knew God by natural investigation, saying: "What is known of God"--that is, what can be known of God by reason--"is manifest to them" through investigation, such as the unity of God's essence and his attributes: wisdom, power, goodness, and the like.

[Running head: Fifth Title, as printed.]

Sixth Title: On the Church Militant

Chapter Five, § I (continued): On the Teaching of Paul's Epistles

"For the invisible things of God"--that is, God's perfections--"are seen and understood from the creation of the world through the things that have been made, as are his eternal power and divinity."

But because, although they knew God, they did not glorify him but were lifted up in pride and worshiped the creature rather than the Creator, adoring idols with the peoples, God therefore gave them over to a reprobate sense. That is, he permitted them to fall into blindness of mind and into errors, so that by following their own passions they committed without reason vices against nature and many other acts worthy of eternal death, yet formed no conscience about even the greatest crimes. These matters are treated there.

In chapters 2 and 3 Paul inveighs against the Jews. Although they surpassed the Gentiles by receiving the law from God, they nevertheless transgressed it, according to the saying, "All have turned aside," and so forth. Thus all, Jews and Gentiles, sinned and needed the grace of God in order to obtain salvation.

This justification through grace cannot be had from the works of the law or from circumcision. Even concerning Abraham their father, before the law and before he received circumcision, it was said: "Abraham believed God, and it was reckoned to him as righteousness," that is, for justification. He believed that Christ, through whom all would be saved, was to be born from him. People are therefore saved not from the law but from faith in Jesus Christ together with grace.

Hence in chapter 5 Paul shows that just as through one man, namely Adam, sin--that is, original sin--entered the world, and through sin came the death of soul and body, which was Adam's sin when he transgressed God's command by eating from the forbidden tree.

All who descend from Adam through the union of man and woman were then within him in seminal power, just as an entire great tree is potentially within its seed. Therefore, when the root was corrupted, all branches or fruits derived from him, who was the active principle of human generation, were infected by original sin. Christ alone was excepted, for he was not conceived from male seed but by the Holy Spirit, as in *On Consecration*, Distinction 4, *Most Firmly*.

This is what is meant by the statement that all sinned in Adam. Thus the Apostle says that through the obedience of one man, namely Jesus Christ, who was made obedient even to the death of the cross, many will be constituted righteous--that is, justified by his grace. He does not say "all," because not all believe and receive grace.

This comes about through Baptism properly received, in which Christ's Passion works especially: the mortification of every vice and the resurrection of the spiritual life of the virtues. Baptism itself signifies this, as is noted at the beginning of chapter 6.

This mortification of vices and justification could not be accomplished through observance of the Old Law. Although that law showed what was sin by means of its commandments, it did not furnish help for observing them and avoiding sin. The result was that a person experienced a greater incitement to sin because a thing was forbidden, according to the saying, "We strive for what is forbidden."

The law was therefore an occasion of sin, though it was not given for that purpose. In itself it was good, for it taught that evil should be avoided; but the occasion was taken by a person who used it badly.

The Apostle says: "The good that I will, I do not do; but the evil that I hate, that I do." According to the Gloss, this is understood in two ways.

In one way it is spoken of a person, or in the person of someone established in mortal sin. Such a person sometimes wills to do something good, insofar as natural desire, stirred by reason, urges it; yet while the passion of sin dominates, he does not do the good. Instead, he does the evil of sin that he hates according to reason, knowing it to be evil. Knowledge of the law does not help him in this, but the grace of Christ does.

In another way, the statement can be understood in the person of someone liberated by grace. Such a person also does not do the good he wills--that is, he does not do it so perfectly and without any defect--but instead does the evil that he hates, namely such a defect.

The righteous person would wish to do good without any rebellion of sensuality, any burden, or any suggestion of evil, even in the first movements; but he cannot do this because of concupiscence, that is, the inclination toward evil or sensible things. This is called the law of the members or the law of the tinder of sin.

The Apostle says of it here: "I see another law in my members, concupiscence, fighting against the law of my mind and making me captive in the law of sin that is in my members." This is also treated in Cause 15, Question 1, at the beginning and in the chapter *If Concupiscence*.

A person is liberated from this law of the flesh through grace--not so that there is no struggle and inclination toward evil, even as far as venial sins, but so that this law of the tinder does not dominate the person and make him consent to mortal sin. The law did not furnish such strength.

Thus, after the preceding words, the Apostle said: "Unhappy man that I am, who will deliver me from the body of this death?"--that is, from the death of sin into which this concupiscence, existing in the body or sensitive part, leads. He then adds: "The grace of God through Jesus Christ." This appears in chapter 7.

In the following chapter, chapter 8, he shows that Christ's grace liberates from condemnation and conquers concupiscence itself, or the law of sin, provided that a person lives according to the spirit--that is, reason or the impulse of grace--and not according to the flesh, that is, sensuality. Sensuality must be mortified in many ways so that it may remain subject.

Lest anyone shrink from such labors, he says: "The sufferings of this time are not worthy to be compared with the future glory that will be revealed in us." Below he adds: "For those who love God, all things work together for good, for those who according to his purpose are called saints," that is, for those predestined to eternal life.

Augustine says in *On Penance*, Distinction 2, *To Such People*, that this is true to such an extent that, even if any of them wander or depart from the path, this causes them to advance toward good, inasmuch as they rise again more humble, cautious, and fervent.

The Apostle adds: "For those whom he foreknew"--namely such people--"he also predestined to be conformed to the image of his Son," that is, afflicted and mortified as he was. "Those whom he predestined, he also called; those whom he called, he also justified; and those whom he justified, he also glorified."

Here it should be known that God's foreknowledge properly signifies his eternal prior knowledge of all future events, especially human acts, whether those of the reprobate or of the elect. He knows them all.

Predestination signifies more: not only God's eternal prior knowledge of human acts, but also the bestowal of final grace at its proper time, when the creature actually exists. Because this occurs only in the elect, God's predestination concerns only the elect.

Foreknowledge, when taken more strictly as distinguished by opposition from predestination, is commonly used for God's eternal prior knowledge of the reprobate. Yet this foreknowledge places nothing in the reprobate by which they are compelled to evil.

Calling signifies the preparation for grace that God causes in a person through inspiration. Justification is the infusion of grace itself, by which an ungodly person is made righteous. Glorification is the conferral of glory.

Augustine therefore says: "God's predestination must always be understood in a good sense. Through it he knows that sin, which is committed by the human will alone, is either to be forgiven with praise of mercy or punished with praise of justice. In our evil works only God's foreknowledge is to be understood."

[Running head: Chapter Five, Folio 189.]

"For just as he foreknew and predestined the things that he himself did and that he caused us to do, so he only foreknew, but did not predestine, the things that he neither did himself nor required us to do." This appears in Cause 23, Question 4, *Nebuchadnezzar*.

Since God has granted us so many good things of grace and glory, and even gave his Son to death, nothing adverse or afflictive ought to separate us from the love of the one who loved us so greatly. Rather, we ought to labor to procure the salvation of others.

Hence Paul himself says in chapter 9: "I wished to be anathema from Christ for my brethren," that is, for the conversion of the Jews, whom he calls brethren because he too was from the Jewish people. "Anathema" signifies separation.

A person can be separated from Christ in the present life in two ways. One is with respect to grace, so as to lose grace. Paul must not be understood to have wished this, because it would have been contrary to the order of charity.

The other is with respect to a certain enjoyment, namely the greatest sweetness that the perfect perceive in contemplation and meditation on divine things. In this way Paul desired to be separated from Christ in this world so that he might procure his neighbors' salvation.

To humble each of the two parties contending against the other--the converts from the Jews and those from the Gentiles--Paul shows that God did not choose the Jewish nation as his own peculiar people from all nations because of the works of their fathers. He gave them the law and was incarnate from them while the other nations fell into idolatry.

Nor did he now call the Gentiles to the faith because of their virtues, since they were idolaters, while the greater part of the Jews fell into unbelief. By his mercy or grace alone, as he willed, he called the former then and the latter now.

Paul therefore introduces the authority of the Lord's words in Exodus: "I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy," that is, as I will, by granting prevenient mercy or grace, "and I will show mercy"--that is, the mercy of subsequent grace--"to whom I will have mercy."

The Apostle therefore adds: "It is not of the one who wills"--that is, merely or principally wills the good, and that meritoriously--"nor of the one who runs"--that is, merely or initially runs, advancing fervently along the way of the commandments--"but of God who shows mercy."

That a person believes or acts well is principally from God; that he acts badly is from himself, not from God. Thus, when the Lord said to Moses concerning Pharaoh, "I will harden his heart," it is not understood that God sent the evil of obduracy into Pharaoh's heart. Rather, because God did not infuse grace and illumination while Pharaoh's malice impeded it, God is said to have hardened him.

Paul therefore treats there at length the rejection of the Jews and the election of the Gentiles as foretold by the prophets, introducing the authority of the Law and Isaiah.

Moreover, he shows that no one can complain against God--neither the Jewish nor the Gentile people, nor any private person--that God did not give him grace and illumination. God is debtor to no one for any good, while the whole mass of the human race is subject to perdition.

That he takes some from that mass in order to save them must be ascribed solely to his will and mercy, and continuous thanks must be given to his goodness and grace. In giving nothing to others, he withholds nothing owed to them, since they are debtors to damnation.

The Apostle gives the example of a potter who from the same lump of clay makes one vessel beautiful and honorable, to contain precious things, and another base, to contain filth. No other reason can be assigned except the potter's will.

Thus, as to why some peoples or persons are predestined and others are not, we ought not to seek a reason that cannot be found. There ought instead to be wonder born of reverence and solicitous fear in the person who acts well, lest he fall. Hence the Apostle says: "Do not be high-minded, but fear."

Below he exclaims: "O depth of the riches of the wisdom and knowledge of God! How incomprehensible are his judgments and how unsearchable his ways"--that is, the reasons for his works cannot be discovered. They are called ways because through them we are led to knowledge of God. He adds: "Who has known the mind of the Lord?" as though to say, no one. These things are found from chapter 9 through chapter 12.

Note what Augustine says in *On Rebuke and Grace*: "Whoever mocks us when in these matters we cry, 'How unsearchable are his judgments,' and so forth, is compelled, as we are, to confess that it is a gift of God when a person ends this life before changing from good to evil. For it is said, 'The innocent person was taken away lest wickedness change his understanding.'

"Why this is given to some and not to others is unknown. Let them acknowledge with us, according to the Scriptures, that perseverance in good is a gift of God; and let them deign to remain ignorant with us, without murmuring against God, why it is given to some and not to others." This appears in *On Penance*, Distinction 4, *If from Good*, where this matter is treated at length, and in the following section.

Since, therefore, God's judgments are unknown to us according to the Apostle--namely, who is predestined and who is not, and why this person and not that one--we should observe what Augustine says in Cause 23, Question 4.

Just as prayer, correction, and admonition for people's conversion and amendment should not cease, although these do not benefit those merely foreknown and although the predestined might be corrected without them, so even a person who is predestined ought not to cease from good works. For, as Gregory says, the predestination of the eternal kingdom was so ordained by the Almighty that the elect should attain it by labor. This appears in Cause 23, Question 4, *To Obtain*.

The Apostle therefore exhorts everyone to good works in chapter 12. First, he teaches that they should be rightly ordered in themselves, saying: "I beseech you to present your bodies"--that is, your actions, which are done through the body--"as a sacrifice," through the mortification of vices and passions. An animal offered in sacrifice was slain and called a victim.

He calls the sacrifice "living" through indwelling charity or the spirit of grace, for "it is the Spirit who gives life"; "holy" through persevering continuance, for a thing is called holy from being made firm; "pleasing to God" through fearful humility, according to the Psalm, "The Lord is pleased with those who fear him"; and "your reasonable service" through prudent observance, for prudence is right reason concerning things to be done by us.

Second, Paul instructs them to be well regulated toward others in their offices. He compares the Church's mystical body to the human body, in which there are many members possessing diverse functions. Each diligently serves the other in a manner suited to the body's preservation.

So too in the Church, which is one in faith, love, and end, there are many faithful in number, diverse in graces and offices. Each ought diligently to serve the others in his own office.

Hence Paul says: "Having gifts that differ according to the grace given by God, whether prophecy or ministry"--namely, the ministry of dispensing temporal and spiritual goods, as prelates do--"or one who teaches," and so forth. Each should diligently, fervently, and humbly serve others in the grace granted to him. What is found in Distinction 89, *Each One*, supports this.

He admonishes them not to return evil for evil but good for evil. This is not to be overcome by another person's evil, but to overcome the evil of a neighbor's injury by the good of patience and beneficence.

[Running head: Sixth Title.]

Sixth Title: On the Church Militant

Chapter Five, § I (continued): On the Teaching of Paul's Epistles

In chapter 13 Paul teaches that people ought to be subject to their superiors. He says: "Let every soul be subject to higher powers." This is treated in Cause 11, Question 1, *A Great Thing*.

The Apostle adds: "There is no power except from God." Augustine's Gloss says: "Either by his command," with respect to good power, "or by his permission," with respect to evil power. This appears in Cause 23, Question 1, *What Is Blamed*.

The text continues: "Whoever resists the power"--when it commands just things--"resists the ordinance of God." It is otherwise if a superior commands something contrary to God, for the rule is that among subordinate powers the higher power must always be

obeyed more than the lower. God must therefore be preferred to everyone. This appears in Cause 11, Question 3, *Whoever Resists*, and Distinction 8, *Things Contrary to Custom*.

The Apostle adds that everyone must be rendered what is owed to him: honor; fear, that is, obedience; tribute; and temporal tax or revenue.

He thus shows generally that debts must be paid so that a person remains bound in nothing that can be discharged, except the debt of love. A person ought to pay the debt of love by loving and helping his neighbor in such a way that he always remains bound by it. By doing this, he fulfills the whole law and thereby puts on the Lord Jesus, following his way of life perfectly, as Paul exhorts.

In chapter 14, concerning things sacrificed to idols, Paul says two things. First, those who ate such food were not to be judged guilty of sin, because they could eat it without sin when they did so neither in veneration of an idol nor with scandal, but merely as other food.

Second, he shows that scandal to the little ones must be avoided. When some saw the faithful eating things offered to idols, they thought that the faithful did this in veneration of the idol. Although those eating had no such intention, they ought to abstain from such food to avoid scandalizing these people.

This is what Paul means when he says: “If food scandalizes my brother”--that is, the eating of things sacrificed to idols--“I shall never eat such meat.”

He also adds: “Everything that is not from faith is sin.” This is not to be understood as meaning that every act of unbelievers is sin. Rather, as Gratian says in Cause 28, Question 1, § *From These Things, Therefore*, everything that is not from faith--that is, everything contrary to conscience--builds toward Gehenna, which means that it is mortal sin. According to the Gloss, this is true if it is done against the conscience of a command or prohibition. Alternatively, what is outside faith is called sin because it is useless and fruitless for eternal life.

In chapter 15 Paul admonishes the stronger, that is, the more perfect, to bear with the weakness and imperfection of the weak. He exhorts all, with one mind and one voice, to honor God for the mercy and benefits granted to them, whether they were converted from among the Jews or from among the Gentiles. They should receive one another with honor and charity, just as Christ by his mercy and not their merits received both peoples, as the Scriptures also foretold.

In the final chapter he gives the names of many people whom he greets.

§ II: The Epistles to the Corinthians

Paul wrote two epistles to the Corinthians. They had heard the word of truth from the Apostle and had been converted by him to the faith, having previously been Gentiles. After the Apostle departed from them, however, they were seduced and overthrown by false apostles. Some were led to the wordy eloquence of philosophy and others to the Jewish sect.

By the epistle sent to them from Ephesus, Paul recalls them to the way of salvation and evangelical wisdom, reproving and instructing them about many things.

At the beginning of the epistle he first anoints them so that afterward they may bear his piercing words more patiently. He praises them greatly, saying: “In all things you have been made rich in Christ, so that you lack no grace.” According to Gregory, this was true with respect to the perfect, even though they were few among the Corinthians.

Paul then begins to reprove the divisions and contentions among them and their many other vices, as will appear. This concerns the imperfect or wicked faithful.

They contended with one another about those who had baptized them. They thought that a person baptized by a holier or more celebrated teacher was baptized better and thereby received greater grace. This is false.

Hence Paul says in chapter 3: “Neither the one who plants,” by preaching, “nor the one who waters,” by baptizing, “is anything,” with respect to effecting or giving the power of the sacrament, “but God, who gives the increase,” bestowing power upon the word and sacrament. This appears in Cause 1, Question 1, *Just as Christ*.

They also gloried in the teaching of the false apostles as though they preached more wisely and eloquently than the apostles. Paul shows that he had refrained from preaching sublime things because of the Corinthians’ incapacity. Since they were untaught, he had given them, like little children, the milk of simple and clear teaching rather than the food of difficult and lofty doctrine.

At that time he had also preached the cross of Christ simply, so that their conversion to the faith would not be attributed to human wisdom and eloquence but to God’s power.

“Yet we speak wisdom”--that is, sublime things concerning divine realities--“among the perfect” who are capable of them. This is not human wisdom but Wisdom incarnate, “which none of the princes of this world knew,” that is, neither the teachers of the

Mosaic Law, the Gentile philosophers, nor the demons. “For if they had known,” he adds, “they would never have crucified the Lord of glory.”

The demons did not know with certainty that Christ was God until the cross, although at times they conjectured it. For this reason they cried, “You are the Son of God,” in Luke 4. They are said to have crucified Christ insofar as they incited the Jews to crucify him. The teachers of the Law did not know this because they were blinded by their own malice.

In chapter 3 Paul says: “No one can lay another foundation”--in the spiritual edifice of works leading to beatitude--“besides that which has been laid” by God, namely the Lord Jesus in a living faith in Christ Jesus.

A person builds upon this foundation by teaching or acting. If someone builds gold, silver, and precious stones upon it, this means that he teaches right things for the proper end: gold represents philosophical wisdom; silver, human eloquence; and precious stones, moral maxims and even the moral sayings of the pagans. His building will remain, and he will receive a reward from it.

If someone builds “upon,” that is, alongside this foundation, “wood, hay, and stubble,” he gives frivolous and useless doctrines, such as fables and the like. He himself will be saved because the foundation does not fail in him, “yet so as through fire,” namely purgatorial fire. Here “as” expresses the truth of the matter rather than a mere likeness.

With respect to works, a person builds directly upon the foundation Jesus--that is, upon living faith--gold if he persists in works of contemplation; silver if he serves in the active life through works of mercy; and precious stones if he observes the counsels of perfection. This building will be stable in merit and will receive the reward of recompense.

A person builds alongside, rather than directly upon, the foundation wood, hay, and stubble when living faith remains in him but he commits venial sins, whether more or less serious, for degrees exist even among them. His building--that is, his way of life--will remain upon living faith with respect to merit, but what exists alongside it or together with it, namely the guilt of venial sins, will be destroyed.

He will indeed be saved, but he will pass through purgatorial fire, where those sins will be purged if he carries them with him by failing to repent here. Augustine treats this in Distinction 25, § *Elsewhere These Things*.

Paul further shows that the wisdom of this world is foolishness before God, who knows that the judgment of the worldly is not what they themselves think according to their own reason.

[Running head: Chapter Five, Folio 90 [read: Folio 190].]

In chapter 4 he shows that prelates and teachers should not be regarded as authors, but as ministers and dispensers of Christ and of his sacred things. For this work it is difficult to find a faithful person; nevertheless, one should not easily be judged unfaithful or unfit for that ministry when this is not manifestly apparent.

For if Paul himself did not judge even himself by confidently considering himself justified, much less should others do so. In all other cases, too, no one should judge the hidden matters of another person’s heart when he cannot judge even himself. This appears in Cause 2, Question 1, *Many*.

In chapter 5 Paul reproves them severely because they tolerated, without correcting him, one of their number who had converted to the faith but was publicly committing incest with his stepmother.

Paul therefore excommunicates him, delivering him to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that is, for the torment of the body. Excommunication had this effect in the primitive Church. This is treated in Cause 11, Question 3, *Hear*, and Cause 24, Question 1, § *But If*, where Gratian says that the form of excommunication is handed down here and that only a believer can be marked by a believer, namely with excommunication.

Paul further explains what he had written to them in another epistle, which we do not possess: that they should not associate or converse with fornicators, plunderers, the greedy, and the like. They understood this simply and indiscriminately of all believers and unbelievers, which was nearly impossible for them to observe.

The Apostle therefore says that he did not mean everyone indiscriminately. He did not mean unbelievers, who are outside and whom the Church does not judge; nor did he mean wicked believers who are tolerated. He meant those believers who are “named,” that is, excommunicated, because of such offenses. He commanded them not even to take food with such people but to avoid them as persons excommunicated by the Church. Thus, as Augustine says in Cause 2, Question 1, *Many*, he calls excommunication a naming.

In chapter 6 Paul reproves them because in lawsuits they dragged other believers before unbelieving judges, and because they fraudulently summoned others to judgment. This is treated in Cause 14, Question 1, § 1.

Because they did not regard certain crimes as sins, or considered them slight, he also shows that they are so grave as to exclude people from God’s kingdom, saying: “Neither fornicators, nor servants of idols, nor adulterers, nor the effeminate”--that is, those

who voluntarily pollute themselves--"nor men who lie with men, nor drunkards, nor the rapacious, nor revilers" who act from hatred, "will possess the kingdom of God."

Among all these things, they formed the least conscience concerning fornication, namely an unmarried man's intercourse with an unmarried woman. Paul therefore labors especially to make them detest it.

Through fornication, a person takes his body--which was made a member of Christ because it belongs to the body of the Church--away from Christ and makes it a member of a prostitute. Through other sins a person sins against his soul by staining it; through this sin he also stains the body. He is thus said to sin against the body because he dissolves it improperly.

He is also said through fornication to sin against his own body because he draws not only himself, as in other sins, but also those with whom he sins into perdition. He thus sins against the body of the Church with respect to others as well. Through fornication he also makes himself a temple of the devil, whereas he had formerly been a temple of the Holy Spirit.

Paul therefore says, "Flee fornication," by avoiding its occasions and rejecting such thoughts when they occur, not by dwelling upon them in order to overcome them by reason, as with other vices, for this arouses concupiscence.

In chapter 7 Paul treats marriage more fully than in any other place in sacred Scripture, for they had asked him certain questions about it.

He first says: "It is good in itself for a man not to touch a woman," that is, not to know her carnally even by way of marriage. But because not everyone is fit for virginal or widowed continence, "because of fornication"--that is, so that such people may avoid it--"let every man have his own wife and every woman her own husband." This appears in Cause 32, Question 2, *These Things Being So*, and the following chapter.

Once marriage has been contracted, "let the husband render the debt to his wife, and the wife to her husband," when explicitly or implicitly asked, while observing the due circumstances of place, time, and preservation of the subject. This is treated in Cause 32, Question 5, *If He Says*, and the chapter *According to the Words*. "Do not defraud one another," says the Apostle, by denying the marital debt, "except by consent."

When the married state is compared with widowhood or virginity, widowhood is more perfect and virginity more perfect still. Yet each person has his proper gift from God: one has the gift of continence, which is indeed God's gift, while another has not this gift but another.

For one who does not perceive himself to possess such continence, "it is better to marry than to burn," that is, to fall into illicit corruptions by failing to contract marriage. A virgin does not sin by marrying, nor does her father sin by giving her in marriage; neither does a widow sin by contracting marriage with another after her husband's death. Yet she would act better by not marrying and remaining in virginity, as Paul is believed to have done. Hence his statement, "I wish all to be as I am," is explained to mean virgins.

A man joined to a wife or a woman joined to a husband thinks about the things of the world and how each may please the other. One who is without a spouse has a greater aptitude for thinking about God and how to please him.

If one of two unbelieving spouses is converted to the faith and the other is not, and if the unbeliever consents to live with the believing spouse without insult to the Creator and without drawing the believer away from the faith received, the Apostle tells the believer not to dismiss the unbeliever so as to take another wife or husband. In the course of time, the unbeliever may be converted to the faith, and the marriage will thus be ratified and that man or woman saved.

But if the unbeliever is unwilling to live with the believer, or is unwilling except with insult to Christ or by drawing the believer into unbelief, then the man or woman converted to the faith may contract marriage with another. This appears in Cause 28, Question 1, *If the Unbeliever*, with the following chapter.

In chapter 8 Paul says that one should abstain from things sacrificed to idols in the sight of those weak in faith. Otherwise, seeing knowledgeable believers eat such food, they may be scandalized by thinking that those believers do it improperly in veneration of the idol, although this is not their intention; and thus they may be provoked to do the same in veneration of the idol.

In chapter 9 he shows that he could have demanded temporal support for his life from them, since by preaching he had sown spiritual things among them. Divine and natural law declare that a person who labors for another should receive wages. This is treated in Cause 12, Question 1.

Nevertheless, Paul did not wish to use this power but obtained food for himself and his companions through the labor of his hands. He did this lest the Corinthians, being devoted to greed, think that he preached to them for temporal profit and thereby be drawn farther away from his teaching.

He also acted thus lest false preachers, following his example, dare all the more to demand temporal things, which they sought principally from their preaching, if Paul had done so.

He concludes that he did all these things and conformed himself to everyone in matters that were not evil, becoming all things to Jews and Gentiles alike so that he might save all. He then shows by a material example that one must labor to the end and abstain from vices and pleasures in order to obtain the prize of glory and victory over temptations. He presents himself as an example by chastising his body and subjecting it to reason. This appears in Cause 32, Question 5, *If Paul*.

[Running head: Sixth Title.]

Sixth Title: On the Church Militant

Chapter Five, § II (continued): The Epistles to the Corinthians

In chapter 10 Paul indicates that all the deeds of the people of Israel were figures of the Christian people. Hence their sacraments also signified the sacraments of the New Law.

For this reason he says that they were all baptized in figure when they passed through the waters of the Red Sea while Pharaoh was submerged. There was a figure of Baptism both in its matter and in its effect, the extinguishing of vices, while the cloud signified the grace of the Holy Spirit.

They also received Communion in a sign, namely in the manna and the water flowing from the rock. Thus he says: “They all ate the same spiritual food.”

He then admonishes the Corinthians not to imitate the Israelites in their vices, lest they be punished like them by failing to enter the land of promise, that is, the glory above. Some gave themselves to idolatry, worshiping the golden calf in the desert; others fell into fornication with the Moabites; others tempted God; still others murmured because of weariness from labor. All were punished even temporally.

Paul says that these things were written for our correction. Therefore, if a temptation concerning some vice comes upon us, he says: “Let no temptation seize you except what is human.” That is, even if a person is incited toward sin as far as sensual delight, at least consent should not follow, for then a diabolical temptation would seize and capture him. This is treated in *On Penance*, Distinction 2, *Among These Things*.

The Apostle adds: “God is faithful, who will not permit you to be tempted beyond what you are able, but with the temptation will also provide an outcome”--that is, help for overcoming it--“so that you may be able to endure.”

Moreover, he exhorts them: “Do everything for God’s glory, whether you eat,” and so forth. “Be without offense”--that is, scandal--“to Jews, Gentiles, and the Church, just as I please everyone in all things,” namely lawful things, “not seeking what is useful to me but what is useful to the many, so that they may be saved.”

He had previously taught them to abstain from eating things sacrificed to idols when someone was present who might be scandalized about this because of ignorance. “All things are lawful for me,” he says--that is, things prohibited by no law--as in Cause 13, Question 2, § *The Preceding*. “But not all things are expedient.” Explaining this, he adds: “All things are lawful for me, but not all things edify.” Some things sometimes scandalize others, and such things are not expedient. This appears in *Extra*, *On Vows*, *A Great Thing*.

In chapter 11, after explaining an observance--namely that a woman ought to let the hair of her head grow because it is a sign of subjection and ought to pray with her head veiled, while a man ought not to grow his hair and ought to pray with his head uncovered--Paul reproves the Corinthians for irreverence in receiving the Eucharist. These matters concerning sensuality and reason are also explained morally beyond the literal sense.

He sets forth the institution of this sacrament as revealed to him by Christ, with respect to its matter, form, and cause, namely in memory of Christ’s Passion.

Because Christ’s true body is present in it, Paul says: “Let each person prove himself,” that is, examine his conscience carefully to determine whether he is fit, because free from mortal sin, “and so let him eat of that bread.”

“For whoever eats unworthily eats and drinks judgment to himself,” that is, toward his damnation, “not discerning the Lord’s body” from other foods but taking it heedlessly like common food. This is treated in *On Consecration*, Distinction 2, *Whoever Wickedly*, and the chapter *Fear*.

In chapter 12 Paul sets forth all the divisions of graces in the Church, of which one person has one and another person another. He speaks of gratuitously given graces. All the righteous, and no wicked people, possess sanctifying grace, which exists together with charity; but both good and wicked people can possess a gratuitously given grace. This appears in Cause 1, Question 1, *Many Operations*.

He enumerates nine kinds of gratuitously given grace, bestowed principally for the Church's benefit: the word of wisdom, the word of knowledge, faith, the working of powers, the grace of healings, prophecy, discernment of spirits, the grace of tongues, and interpretation of speech. These are treated in the fourth part, in the title on grace.

All the faithful are one mystical body whose head is Christ. Just as the human body has many members with diverse actions, so in the Church there are many people with diverse graces and offices. Although one member in the body is nobler than another, all are necessary to the body, each serves the other, each rejoices with the other in good things and suffers with it in evil things, and one does not despise another. Rather, the less honorable members receive more abundant honor.

It ought to be so in the Church, in which, says the Apostle, "God has placed first apostles, second prophets, third teachers; then powers; afterward graces of healing, assistance, governance, kinds of tongues, and interpretation of speech." Not everyone possesses all these offices and graces alike, but different people possess different ones.

"Desire the better gifts," he adds, "and I shall show you a still more excellent way," namely charity. Why charity is called a way is treated in *On Penance*, Distinction 2, *This Is*.

In chapter 13 charity is commended more highly than in any other passage of sacred Scripture. First, Paul shows its necessity. Other gifts--wisdom; eloquence, called the tongues of angels and human beings; faith together with miracles; the distribution of alms; and martyrdom--profit nothing without charity for obtaining eternal life. This appears in *On Penance*, Distinction 2, *But If Anyone*.

Second, he expresses its fruitfulness or usefulness, because charity commands all the virtues and gives form to their acts so that they are meritorious: "Charity is patient, is kind," and so forth.

Third, he describes its permanence, because "it never fails." This appears in *On Penance*, Distinction 2, *Charity*. Yet in the future the gift of tongues, prophecy, knowledge, and faith will be destroyed with respect to the manner in which they now exist.

Finally, among the theological virtues--faith, hope, and charity--which surpass all the others in perfection, charity is the greatest.

In chapter 14, some contended with one another about which was the greater gift, prophecy or the kinds of tongues. Many considered the gift of tongues greater. The Apostle declares the contrary to be true: prophecy is greater because greater usefulness can come from it to the Church. Unless someone interprets what a person speaking in a foreign language says, no benefit comes from it to the hearers.

He concludes that they ought not to contend about such matters: "Let all things be done among you honorably and according to order." And "the ignorant person will be ignored," that is, rejected by God. This is understood of ignorance of divine and natural law concerning things necessary for salvation. It is treated in Distinction 37, the final section, and more fully in Cause 1, Question 4, the final section in the Gloss.

In chapter 15 Paul makes manifest that Christ died and rose, appearing to the disciples many times, and that his resurrection is the cause of our resurrection. From Christ's resurrection he argues that the future resurrection of our bodies will occur. Some denied it because they considered the reduction of bodies to ashes.

He guards them against that false opinion, saying: "Do not be deceived. Evil communications corrupt good morals." He proves the future resurrection in many ways, especially through the example of a grain that is sown. Once it is dead in the earth, it rises in a certain manner when it springs forth.

[Running head: Chapter Five, Folio 191.]

There Paul also sets forth the four endowments of glorified bodies, saying: "It is sown in corruption," that is, corruptible; "it will rise in incorruption," that is, impassible. "It is sown in dishonor," that is, obscure; "it will rise in glory," namely in the greatest brightness. "It is sown in weakness," that is, heavy; "it will rise in power," that is, agility. "It is sown an animal body," that is, gross; "it will rise a spiritual body," that is, in subtlety.

Just as one star differs from another in brightness because one is more luminous than another, so it will be in the resurrection of the dead, because one person will be more glorious than another in soul and body.

He adds that although all, both good and evil, will rise, not all will be changed from present misery into the aforesaid glory, "for flesh and blood will not possess the kingdom of God," that is, those who live carnally will not possess it.

This resurrection will occur at the end of the world, "in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye. For the trumpet will sound"--that trumpet being divine power manifesting itself in this act--and all the dead will then rise together.

In the final chapter Paul urges them to make collections, that is, alms, for the faithful gathered at Jerusalem who lived in common. Thus, when he came to them, they would not then have to prepare the gifts, but he would send them already prepared to Jerusalem or carry them himself.

Finally, he strengthens them, saying: “Watch; stand in the faith; act courageously and be strengthened; and let all your things be done in charity.” He commends Timothy to them, if he should come, so that they may treat him kindly. He gives the greetings of many and says: “Greet one another with a holy kiss.”

§ III: The Epistle to the Hebrews

Paul wrote one epistle to the Hebrews, which is placed last. In ancient times it was doubted whether it was his. Some attributed it to another author because its manner differs from his other epistles, since his name is not placed at the beginning as it is in the others. But the Church now affirms with certainty that it is Paul’s.

The reason assigned for his silence about his name at the beginning is that his name was hated by the Hebrews. Lest they recoil from such teaching upon hearing his name at the outset, he withheld it.

In the epistle Paul shows Christ’s dignity, because he is both God and man. He declares the divinity when he says: “In these last days God has spoken to us in his Son, through whom he also made the ages, who, being the brightness of his glory and the figure of his substance, bears all things”--that is, sustains them--“by the word of his power.”

He shows the excellence of Christ’s humanity united to the deity, saying: “He appointed him heir of all things,” that is, Lord. “Making purification of sins,” namely of the human race through his Passion, “he sits at the right hand of majesty on high,” having risen and ascended to the higher degree of glory. “He was made so much better than the angels as the name he inherited is more excellent than theirs.”

Paul proves that Christ surpasses the angels insofar as he is man, because what is said to Christ in the Psalm was never said to any angel: “You are my Son; today I have begotten you.” Nor was it said to any angel: “Sit at my right hand.”

Neither was that said of any angel which is said of Christ: “You made him,” namely Christ insofar as he is man, “a little lower than the angels” through his assumed mortality; “you crowned him with the glory of the Resurrection and the honor of the Ascension and appointed him over the works of your hands. All things,” and so forth.

God did not subject the world to angels. Indeed, it is said to the angels: “Let all his angels worship him,” namely Christ. Concerning the firmness of his kingdom the Psalm says: “Your throne, O God, is forever and ever.”

Those who did not hear and obey the angel--that is, the law given through an angel--were punished. Much more will those be punished who do not hear the voice of evangelical teaching.

This evangelical law, “when it began to be declared by the Lord Jesus, was confirmed to us by those who heard him, God bearing witness by signs and wonders, various powers, and distributions of the Holy Spirit.”

Because Christ took hold not of angels but of Abraham’s seed--that is, human nature--in order to liberate it, the Apostle says in chapter 2: “It was fitting that he be made like his brethren in all things,” namely by assuming penal conditions, yet without sin, “so that he might be found merciful. For in that wherein he himself suffered and was tempted, he is able to help those who are tempted.”

In chapter 3 Paul shows that Christ was worthy of greater glory than Moses, in whom the Hebrews gloried so greatly. Moses, as a faithful servant of God, lived in God’s house, that is, the synagogue; but Christ, as Son, lived in God’s house, that is, the Church.

He therefore tells them to attend to what the Psalm says: “Today, if you hear his voice, do not harden your hearts,” and so forth. Just as those in the desert who were hardened and did not obey the Lord’s voice did not enter the Promised Land, as he swore to them, so now those who do not hear the voice of Christ’s teaching will be excluded from the kingdom and from rest.

“Having, therefore, a great high priest who has passed through the heavens, Jesus the Son of God, let us hold the confession” of faith. “For we do not have a high priest unable to suffer together with our infirmities, but one tempted in all things according to our likeness, without sin.”

In chapter 5 Paul proves that Jesus is truly the great high priest because he possesses the conditions of that office. He says: “Every high priest taken from among human beings is appointed for human beings in the things that pertain to God, so that he may offer gifts,” namely oblations, “and sacrifices for sins. He must be able to suffer together with those who are ignorant and err, because he himself also is surrounded by infirmity. Nor may anyone take the honor” of the pontificate “to himself, but only one who is called by God, as Aaron was.” All these things are found in Christ.

Beginning with the final condition: “Christ did not glorify himself so as to become high priest,” but God the Father glorified him, saying to him: “You are my Son,” and so forth, and: “You are a priest forever according to the order of Melchizedek.”

He was taken from among human beings because he was born of the Virgin. He offered prayers and sacrifice when, “in the days of his flesh,” that is, mortality, he offered himself in sacrifice upon the cross, praying for the salvation of the human race with tears

and saying, “I thirst,” namely for the salvation of human beings. “He was heard because of his reverence,” in the salvation that followed from it.

He also knows how to suffer together with others, for “he learned obedience from the things he suffered, and he was made the cause of eternal salvation for all who obey him.”

In chapter 6 Paul says to those who do not remain in grace but relapse: “It is impossible,” that is, very difficult, “for those who were once enlightened, tasted the heavenly gift, were made partakers of the Holy Spirit, and have fallen away, to be renewed again to penance, since they crucify the Son of God again for themselves and hold him up to mockery.”

In chapter 7 he shows how Christ is a priest according to the order of Melchizedek, that is, like him. According to Genesis 14, Melchizedek was “priest of the Most High God” and “king of Salem,” that is, king of righteousness and peace. He is read to be “without father and without mother” insofar as his genealogy is not found; neither his beginning nor his end is found. All these things befit Christ: he is King of righteousness and peace, without father on earth and without mother in heaven, and, according to his divinity, has neither beginning nor end.

[Running head: Sixth Title.]

Sixth Title: On the Church Militant

Chapter Five, § III (continued): The Epistle to the Hebrews

Paul proves that Christ’s priesthood according to the order of Melchizedek--that is, a priesthood like his--is worthier and more perfect than the Levitical priesthood of the Old Law.

He proves this because Abraham, returning from the slaughter of the kings, met Melchizedek and gave him tithes of everything, while Melchizedek blessed Abraham.

At that time Levi, from whom the Levitical priesthood--which belonged only to that tribe--was to descend, was in Abraham’s loins according to seminal power and principle. Thus, when Abraham offered tithes to Melchizedek and received his blessing, Levi and the Levitical priesthood offered them potentially.

The one who receives tithes and gives a blessing is greater and worthier than the one from whom he receives them, namely the one who is blessed. The lesser yields to the greater and the imperfect to the perfect. Therefore, when Christ’s priesthood arrived, the Levitical priesthood ceased.

From this follows what the Apostle adds: “When the priesthood is transferred, the law also must be transferred.” The chief and worthiest element in that law, as in every law, is the priesthood, which pertains to divine worship and religion and is like the foundation of every law.

But the Levitical priesthood is transferred and fails because Christ’s priesthood succeeds it. Therefore, with the coming of the evangelical law, the former law must also cease with respect to its ceremonial precepts.

It fittingly ceases, for that law brought nothing to perfection. It was a figure of the evangelical law and therefore ought to cease when the figure is fulfilled.

The imperfection of that law and priesthood is also shown because no sacrifice of that law sufficed to purge sins; new sacrifices were therefore made every day. Those priests were sinners who also had to offer for their own sins, and they died.

But Christ, by the one sacrifice of his Passion, cleansed his people from their offenses. Because this high priest is holy, innocent, undefiled, and separated from sinners, he did not need to offer for himself, and he lives forever.

In chapter 8 Paul declares, by the authority of the prophet Jeremiah, that the evangelical law and a new testament were to come after the old: “Because they did not remain in my testament,” namely by observing the Old Law, “I neglected them, says the Lord. For this is the testament that I shall establish with the house of Israel after those days, placing my laws in their mind,” and supply, “I shall write them in their hearts,” namely the evangelical precepts, and so forth.

In chapter 9 Paul shows that what was chief and figurative in the Old Law--the tabernacle, and afterward Solomon’s Temple, divided into the Holy Place and the Holy of Holies with the things contained in them--was fulfilled through Christ and the Church.

The chief office or most solemn act performed by the high priest was his entry once a year into the Holy of Holies with the blood of goats and calves offered in sacrifice. All these things were fulfilled through Christ and through the Church signified by the tabernacle, which is divided into the Church militant and the Church triumphant.

“For Christ,” says the Apostle, “appearing as high priest of the good things to come, entered into the Holy of Holies,” opening the kingdom of heaven, “through blood”--not the blood of animals but his own--“having obtained eternal redemption.”

This sacrifice of his Passion was so perfect that it sufficed when offered once. It avails not merely for cleansing the flesh as did the sacrifice of the ancient law--that is, for removing certain impediments that prohibited entry into the Temple and certain other things--but cleanses human consciences from dead works, that is, sins. This occurs in the proper reception of the sacraments of the New Law, in which the power of the Passion remains.

In chapter 10 Paul shows that the ancient law was a shadow and figure of the New Law, and that sins could not be taken away through those sacrifices but were taken away through Christ and his Passion, according to the Psalm: “Sacrifice and oblation,” namely of the Old Law, “you did not desire; but you prepared a body for me,” namely for enduring the Passion, and so forth.

The old law must therefore cease with respect to its ceremonial precepts when the evangelical law of faith in Christ has been introduced.

“Therefore, brethren,” Paul says, “having confidence in entering the holy places through the blood of Christ, who inaugurated for us a new and living way, let us draw near with a true heart and in fullness of faith, our hearts sprinkled clean from an evil conscience.”

“A person who makes void the law of Moses dies without mercy upon the testimony of two or three witnesses. How much worse punishment do you think is deserved by one who has trampled upon the Son of God and regarded the blood of the testament as defiled,” namely by living wickedly?

In chapter 11 Paul defines faith and commends it wonderfully, showing that from the beginning, from Abel and through all the fathers of the Old Testament, every magnificent work was done through faith.

He defines it by saying: “Faith is the substance of things hoped for, the proof of things not seen.” That is, it is a certain virtue or light infused by God that possesses the substance or beginning of the things for which we hope, namely the future beatitude for which we ought to hope. It is a proof convincing the mind--that is, a certain means from which a conclusion is inferred--so that it assents to things that do not appear to us through sense or necessary natural reason.

In chapter 12 he says: “Having so great a cloud of witnesses set over us,” those of whom he had spoken above as approved by the testimony of faith, “laying aside every weight and the sin that surrounds us, through patience we take care [read: let us run] toward the contest set before us, looking to Jesus, the author and perfecter of faith, who for the joy set before him endured the cross, despising shame, and sits at God’s right hand.

“Therefore consider him who endured such contradiction from sinners against himself, so that you may not grow weary and fail in your souls. For you have not yet resisted sin to the point of bloodshed.” He leads them to this patience by many authorities and arguments.

In chapter 13, the final chapter, he exhorts them to brotherly charity, hospitality by the example of the fathers, honor in marriage, avoidance of greed, obedience to those who preside, and resistance to being drawn away from truth by various and foreign doctrines.

“For it is best to strengthen the heart by grace,” not by legal ceremonies. “For here we have no abiding city, but we seek the city to come. Through him,” namely Jesus, “let us always offer to God a sacrifice of praise.”

Chapter Six: John the Evangelist and Apostle

John was the brother of James the Greater. His father was Zebedee the fisherman and his mother Mary Salome, who was the sister, on her mother’s side, of the glorious Virgin. John was an evangelist, apostle, and prophet.

He was a prophet in the book of the Apocalypse, in which he describes the future state of the Church, but so obscurely that no one can be found who explains it with certainty according to the letter; rather, one conjectures.

He was an apostle, one of the Twelve appointed by Christ. In his three epistles he commends brotherly love more frequently than anyone else. As an evangelist he was fourth in the order of writing the Gospels and is signified by the eagle because of the loftiness of the matter of his Gospel.

[Running head: Chapter Six, Folio 192.]

Hence Christ called him and James “sons of thunder,” according to Mark. For, as Origen says, John thundered so loftily at the beginning of his Gospel that if he had thundered any higher the whole world could not have comprehended him.

Peter Damian says in a sermon: “This is the one whom our Savior made like an instrument for disclosing the essence of his divinity. Because he had for a time kept him suppressed by dispensation, he left him as his vicar.”

The name John is interpreted "in whom there is grace," which fittingly agrees with him by a certain excellence. Christ's grace of benevolence toward him was especially great.

Hence, when John speaks of himself in the Gospel, he says, "the disciple whom Jesus loved." This does not mean, as Bede says, that Christ loved John alone to the exclusion of the others, but that by a privilege of love he loved the apostle John more familiarly than the rest.

According to Thomas on John near the end, Christ had this special grace of benevolence toward him because of three things found together in him.

First was the keenness of his intellect. Teachers usually love more those students whom they find more capable. Jerome says: "John was an untaught fisherman. Whence, I ask, came that voice, 'In the beginning was the Word,' and so forth? Learned Plato did not know this; eloquent Demosthenes was ignorant of it."

Second was the purity of his chastity. "A virgin was chosen by the Lord," sings the Church. At John's wedding, Christ changed water into wine, and John left his bride untouched and followed Christ. The prerogative of chastity therefore made him worthy of greater love.

Third was the tenderness of his age. Young people are loved more familiarly by their parents, and John was called to discipleship at a younger age. This also signifies that those who devoutly give themselves to God from childhood live more familiarly with God.

From these things it seems possible to infer that, since John was loved more by Christ, he himself also loved Christ more than the others, for Wisdom says in Proverbs 8: "I love those who love me," and as greatly as one is loved, so greatly does one love.

But the contrary seems to follow from Jesus's words to Peter: "Simon, son of John, do you love me more than these?" A sign of this seems to be that Christ entrusted the Church to him.

According to Thomas in the place cited, weighing their merits belongs to God alone. Hence Proverbs says: "The Lord is the weigher of spirits." It therefore cannot safely be said that Peter loved Christ more, for then he would have possessed greater merit and reward; nor can it be said that John was simply better than Peter.

Christ did not assert but asked whether Peter loved more, showing from this a certain fittingness that one who presides ought to excel his subjects in love, but not an absolute necessity. Peter did not presume to assert this; he stated only that he loved.

Some therefore say that Christ loved Peter more insofar as he conferred upon him a keener intellect. But since charity surpasses the knowledge of God according to the Apostle, it would seem from this that Peter was greater in perfection, unless perhaps someone said that Peter was a greater lover with respect to the outward fervor of charity.

Others say, and better, that Peter loved Christ more in his members, and in this way he was also loved more by Christ in his members; hence Christ entrusted the care of the Church to him. John loved Christ more in himself and in this way was loved more by him; hence Christ entrusted to John the mother from whom he had taken the substance of his flesh.

Alternatively, Peter loved more in promptness and fervor, while John was loved more with respect to certain signs of familiarity that Christ showed him more than others because of his purity. Hence Christ revealed the betrayer to him alone, and John reclined upon his breast at the Last Supper as a sign that he was to draw the greatest profundity of the Word from the fountain of divine wisdom.

Or it can be explained according to mystery, because in these two men the twofold life, active and contemplative, is figured. The active life, signified by Peter, loves God more because it feels more greatly the distresses of the present life and desires more ardently to be liberated from them and to go to God. The contemplative life, figured by John, is loved more by God because God preserves it more: it does not fail when it migrates from here but is perfected.

§ I: John's Teaching and Deeds

Bede says that John taught that heretics and schismatics must be avoided, saying in an epistle: "If anyone comes to you and does not bring this doctrine," namely the doctrine that we preach, "do not receive him into the house or say 'Hail' to him." John exhibited this in his deeds.

His most holy disciple and hearer Polycarp the bishop relates that once, when John entered the baths at Ephesus to wash and saw the heretic Cerinthus there, he immediately went out and departed without bathing, saying: "Let us flee from here, and let the baths themselves collapse [read: lest the baths themselves collapse], in which Cerinthus, the enemy of truth, bathes." This appears in Cause 24, Question 1, *Everyone Who*.

When a living bird called a partridge was offered to blessed John, he stroked it with his hand and touched it repeatedly. A young man who saw him despised him and said to his companions: "See how that old man plays with a little bird like a child."

John perceived this, called the young man, and ordered him to draw the bow that he held in his hand. When he had done so and John said nothing further, he relaxed the bow.

The Apostle asked him: "Why did you not keep it drawn for a long time, but relaxed it?"

He answered: "Because if it were kept drawn for a long time, it would afterward become weaker for shooting arrows."

John replied: "So too the human mind would become less strong for contemplation if it always persisted in the rigor of contemplation and did not sometimes yield to recreation because of human frailty. Even the eagle, which rises higher than other birds and gazes upon the sun, descends to the lowest places when necessity compels it."

Clement also relates, as appears in the *Ecclesiastical History*, that John converted to the faith at Ephesus a handsome and fierce young man. When departing to preach in other cities, he carefully entrusted him to the bishop of the place.

But the bishop, relying too much on the young man's goodness, paid little attention to his conduct. Enticed by wicked company, the young man gave himself to crimes and returned to worse things. At length he left the city and became the leader of robbers in a certain forest.

After some time John returned to Ephesus and visited that bishop. He asked him for the deposit entrusted to him. The bishop did not understand, thinking of a deposit of money.

John said: "I mean the young man whom I so carefully commended to you."

The bishop replied with tears: "Father, he is dead in soul, and in such-and-such a place he practices robbery with many others."

John, grieving over the young man's ruin, tore his garment, struck himself with his fists, and said: "A fine guardian of our brother's soul I left behind!" He immediately ordered a horse to be prepared for him and asked to be shown the place where the young man lived.

He rode there. As he approached the place, he found fellow robbers, whose leader the young man was, coming before him. When John told them that he sought to speak with their lord, they led him to the young man. When the young man saw John from afar, overcome with the greatest shame and confusion, he began to withdraw in flight, running swiftly.

[Running head: Sixth Title.]

Sixth Title: On the Church Militant

Chapter Six, § I (continued): John's Teaching and Deeds

But John, forgetting his old age, spurred his horse with the spurs and pursued him, crying: "O son, why do you flee from your father, an old and unarmed man? Stop; wait for me. I shall render an account to God for you and shall procure pardon for you, if only you acknowledge your sin."

Pierced by these words, the young man came to John, threw himself at his knees, and sought pardon with the bitterest tears.

He hid his hand because, having committed many murders, he possessed a consciousness of crime. John took that hand and kissed it, comforting him and giving him confidence of pardon if he truly repented.

The young man was therefore brought back to the city, did penance at John's command, and became a holy man. O what an example for showing the danger and proneness of youthful liberty and wicked company, the harm of a superior's negligence, and the greatness of divine mercy!

Moreover, John preached for a long time after the Lord's death in Jerusalem and the surrounding regions. Paul says that fourteen years after his conversion he went to Jerusalem and visited Peter, John, and James the Less, and compared his Gospel with theirs. Some say that John remained there until Jerusalem was destroyed by Titus.

At length, at the Holy Spirit's prompting, he went to Asia Minor, especially the city of Ephesus. Later Emperor Domitian brought him to Rome. After John was placed in a vat of boiling oil and emerged unharmed, he was banished to the island of Patmos.

When Domitian was killed by the Senate because of his crimes, everything he had done was abolished and annulled. John was consequently recalled from exile. As he returned to Ephesus, the entire multitude of the city came to meet him, praising God and giving thanks for so great a benefit, crying: "Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord."

As John entered the city, several people met him carrying a disciple of his named Drusiana on a bier for burial. They asked him to raise her, because she had been a mother to orphans and widows and had greatly desired to see him.

John first prayed, then raised her and commanded her to go prepare food for him.

On the next day, while John was walking through the city, he saw a great crowd gathered before the philosopher Crato. Crato had foretold that on this day and hour he would teach contempt of the world. He had ordered two wealthy citizens of Ephesus whom he had drawn into his sect to buy precious stones with the price of their entire sold inheritance, break them before the people, and reduce them to dust. They did so.

Seeing this, John reproved the people concerning such a work. He said that it was not truly to despise the world but to seek the world’s glory, and that Christ their teacher had not taught them to forsake the world in this manner but to distribute those goods to the poor.

Crato then said: “If your teacher is God, as you preach, let him restore these stones, so that what I did for the glory of the world he may do to display his power.”

After praying, John accomplished this. Because of this wonder, Crato, his two disciples, and many others were converted to the faith.

Among them were two noble young men who distributed their rich inheritance to the poor, freed their servants and gave them gifts, and followed the Apostle in poverty.

One day after their conversion they saw their former servants passing through the city merrily in splendid clothing. Considering their own mean garments and austere food, and tempted by the devil with the spirit of sloth, they began to regret having assumed such a state.

When they returned home, John saw that they were sad and knew in spirit that they had fallen. He therefore said to them: “Forced services do not please God. I see that you regret despising the world. But lest you believe that you cannot regain what you left, go into the forest and bring wooden rods, and bring pebbles from the riverbank.”

They did this as quickly as possible. John changed the rods into gold and the pebbles into precious stones. Many goldsmiths judged all of them to be of the finest quality.

John then said to them: “See, you possess more than you left. Go and buy yourselves palaces, estates, servants, garments, whatever you desire, and other things. Flourish in this age so that you may wither in the next. Rejoice for an hour so that you may mourn forever.”

Gratian says in Cause 17, Question 4, § *And It Should Be Noted*, that by this example things offered to a church or religious house by those who enter may not be returned to those who gave them, nor may they be returned to religious who leave their religious life.

John did not return the very things they had left but miraculously procured what was, as it were, his own. He also did this according to the law of heaven rather than the law of the forum.

While John was inveighing against them in this way, a man with his friends and relatives brought a young man who had just died. They asked John to raise him just as he had raised Drusiana.

After a long prayer John did so, and commanded the raised young man to tell those two men who had turned aside from their holy purpose what he had seen concerning them in the other world.

He said to them: “O wretched men, what have you done? I saw your angels weeping over your destruction and the demons rejoicing. You have lost the eternal palaces built for you from gold, silver, and precious stones, full of light and abundant feasts, and you await the most bitter punishments prepared for you in hell.”

Pierced by the miracle they had seen and the raised man’s words, the two threw themselves at John’s feet and sought mercy.

John commanded them to do penance for thirty days and to take this as a sign that God had received them in mercy: the golden rods and precious stones would be restored to their former nature. They did so. Afterward they remained in their holy purpose and shone through miracles.

§ II: John’s Conflict with the Worshipers of Diana

Because John, traveling through Asia and teaching, caused the temples of the idols to be overthrown, a popular uprising arose against him.

To calm the people, John proposed this choice: if they could overthrow a church of Christ by invoking Diana, he would sacrifice to Diana with them; but if they could not and he caused Diana’s temple to fall by invoking Christ, they would believe in Christ.

When this pleased the greater part of the people, Diana's priests were unable to accomplish anything. But when everyone had left Diana's temple as John had arranged, at his invocation he caused Diana's temple and statue to fall utterly. Many thousands of people were thereby converted to the faith.

Aristodemus, the pontiff of the temple, stirred up a sedition against John. John said to him: "What do you wish me to do to appease you, Aristodemus?"

He answered: "If you wish me to believe in your God, I shall give you poison to drink. If you suffer no injury from it, I shall believe in Christ."

John replied: "Do what you have said."

Aristodemus therefore administered the poison to drink. So that John might know its deadly power by experiment, Aristodemus asked the ruler of the city for two criminals sentenced to death and gave it to them to taste. They immediately fell dead to the ground.

[Running head: Chapter Seven, Folio 193.]

Seeing this, John took the cup joyfully and without any fear. Neither his color changed nor did he feel pain.

Aristodemus said: "Doubt still remains in me. But if you restore to life those who died from that poison, I shall believe completely."

The Apostle gave him his cloak so that he might touch their bodies with it. When he had done so, they rose from the dead. Because of this, Aristodemus, the governor of the province, his entire household, and many others believed in Christ. They destroyed the idols and built a church in honor of blessed John, in which he preached for a long time.

When John was ninety years old and, according to Isidore, had completed the sixty-eighth year after the Lord's Passion, the Lord Jesus appeared to him and summoned him to his banquet with his disciples, signifying that he was to come to the Lord on the following Sunday.

On Sunday, therefore, John entered the church from the first cockcrow, preached to the people, and exhorted them to remain in the faith. Then he entered a square pit that he had ordered to be made in the church. An immense light appeared so that no one could look upon it. After the light withdrew, the pit was found full of manna, and his body was not found.

§ III: Opinions Concerning John's Body

There are several opinions concerning what happened to John's body.

Some say that his tomb at Ephesus contains him alive as though sleeping and that he still lives there until Christ comes to judgment. As proof they claim that the earth there wells upward as though boiling, which they say is caused by his breath.

Augustine rejects this opinion, saying that it is less if John lives while sleeping than if he were dead and lived blessedly with Christ. Why, then, would Christ have given so long a sleep as a great gift to the disciple whom he loved above the rest while depriving him meanwhile of so great a good?

This should therefore not be believed. It should rather be believed that he died, according to the saying: "Who is the man who will live and not see death?" Afterward he rose again glorified in soul and body, and therefore his body is not found. This is the second opinion.

The third opinion, which Thomas also reports in his commentary on John and which Lord John Dominici, cardinal, followed, is that John was translated into the earthly paradise after he descended into the pit prepared for him while an immense light appeared over it so that he could be seen [read: so that he could not be seen].

He will come from paradise into this world in the time of Antichrist to preach against him with Enoch and Elijah and to suffer the death of martyrdom through Antichrist with them. Since the evangelical law is worthier than the law of nature or the Mosaic Law, it seems sufficiently probable that just as the law of nature will have Enoch and the Mosaic Law Elijah, so the evangelical law will have John as witnesses for Christ against Antichrist.

Thus the saying of Christ to John and his brother James will be completely fulfilled: "You shall drink my cup," Matthew 20--that is, the cup of the Passion by departing through martyrdom.

But even if he did not die a violent death and instead died a natural one according to another opinion, it remains true that he drank the cup of the Passion, since he endured many persecutions and martyrdoms for Christ.

He is read to have been scourged with the others in the Acts of the Apostles. Because of his unconquerable constancy in the Gospel, Caesar Domitian brought him to Rome and had him cast into a vat of boiling oil before the Latin Gate. By divine grace he emerged unharmed, as alien to the pain of the flesh as to its corruption.

He was then banished into exile on the island of Patmos. Although deprived there of human company, he did not lack the consolation of angels, for there he received the revelation of the Apocalypse through an angel.

Christ's statement that he wished John thus to remain until he came can therefore mean: "until I come to judgment," if John lives in the earthly paradise.

But if he died, whether or not he has already risen in the body, it means: "Thus I wish him to remain"--without a violent death, unlike you, Peter, to whom Christ was speaking as he passed--"until I come for him," whether for both his body and soul or for his soul alone.

A fourth opinion likewise holds that, after entering the tomb, John died and his body alone remained in the tomb. Yet it is not found, just as Scripture says of Moses' body, because God so disposes it by a judgment hidden from us.

Or "until I come" may mean until I come in the kingdom of the Church extended throughout the world. Thus Bede explains the saying in Matthew: "There are some standing here," such as John, "who will not taste death until they see the Son of Man coming in his kingdom."

This happened when the Church had spread everywhere throughout the world and Christ reigned everywhere through faith in human minds. For John survived the other apostles by many years, until the time of Trajan.

Chapter Seven: James the Greater

The apostle James, brother of John the Evangelist, is called James the Greater because he was called to the apostolate before the other James. He was also the first of all the apostles called through martyrdom to the kingdom of heaven.

He was quite familiar with Christ and was admitted with Peter and John to more secret matters, as appears in Christ's Transfiguration, in Christ's raising of the ruler of the synagogue's daughter, and in the expression in the garden of his intense grief over the approaching Passion.

After the coming of the Holy Spirit, James went to Spain to preach. When he saw that the wild people did not receive his teaching--for he converted only nine, or according to others only two, to the faith--he took those two with him and returned to Jerusalem.

He preached fervently, showing from sacred Scripture that Jesus Christ was the true Son of God. He refuted the scribes and doctors of the Law with powerful arguments and confirmed his teaching by miracles.

They offered a sum of money to a magician named Hermogenes and asked him to dispute with James and confound him. Hermogenes promised to do this not in person but through his disciple Philetus.

He therefore sent Philetus with the Jews to James. When Philetus disputed with James, James overcame him in everything and worked many miracles in his sight.

Pierced by these things, Philetus returned to his teacher Hermogenes and greatly commended James for his irrefutable teaching. He also related the wonders performed and urged Hermogenes to adhere to James, for Philetus himself had resolved to become his disciple.

Indignant, Hermogenes bound Philetus by magical art so that he could not move from that place, saying: "Now we shall see whether this James can liberate you."

Philetus made this known to James through a messenger. James sent him a handkerchief and said: "Let him receive it and say, 'The Lord looses those who are fettered, and he himself raises up those who are cast down.'" When Philetus did this, he was immediately freed.

Mocking Hermogenes, Philetus went to James, was instructed in the faith, was baptized, and followed him.

Angered, Hermogenes adjured demons and commanded them to bring James and Philetus, his former disciple, bound before him, so that his other disciples, after being turned away from him, would not dare mock him.

Many demons, adjured by Hermogenes, went forth. When they drew near the dwelling of most blessed James, they began to cry: "Apostle of God, have mercy on us, for we are severely tormented."

[Running head: Sixth Title.]

Sixth Title: On the Church Militant

Chapter Seven (continued): James the Greater

James asked them: “Why have you come to me?”

They answered: “Hermogenes sent us to bring you and Philetus, his former disciple, bound to him. But when we approached, an angel of the Lord bound us with fiery chains and inflicted torment upon us.”

James said: “May that same angel of God release you. Go to Hermogenes and bring him to me bound, but without doing him any injury.”

They did this immediately. They seized Hermogenes, bound his hands behind his back, and set him before James. They asked James to give them permission to harm him and to avenge both their injuries and his.

James said: “Why do you not hold Philetus, as Hermogenes commanded you?”

The demons answered: “Not only can we not touch your disciple Philetus; we cannot even touch an ant in your house.”

The Apostle therefore commanded the demons to depart. He said to Philetus: “Because our Lord commanded us to return good for evil, release Hermogenes from the demons’ bonds, since he first bound you through their enchantments.”

When Hermogenes had been released, James said to him: “Our Lord does not desire forced services but voluntary ones. See, you are free. Do what pleases you and go wherever you wish.”

Hermogenes replied: “I know the wrath of demons. When I leave you, they will kill me unless you give me some protection.”

James gave him the staff that he carried on his journeys. Hermogenes returned home, pierced in heart, gathered all the books of magical art, and brought them to James. Throwing himself at the Apostle’s feet, he said: “Liberator of souls, have mercy on me, and receive as a disciple one whom you had as an enemy in the past.”

Converted and baptized, Hermogenes cast those magical books into the sea at the Apostle’s command. He followed James so perfectly that he himself worked miracles in Jesus’s name.

When the Jews heard of Hermogenes’s conversion, they were moved with jealousy and went to James, reproving him because he preached that Jesus was the Son of God. James demonstrated from the Scriptures that this was most true, and because of his words many believed in Christ.

But Abyathar [i.e., Abiathar], high priest that year, stirred up a popular uprising against him. They seized James and delivered him to Herod, king of Judea, to be killed.

By Herod’s sentence James was beheaded, as is said, on the day on which Christ was both incarnate and suffered, after one full year had elapsed. Luke also mentions this in the Acts of the Apostles, saying: “Herod killed James, John’s brother, with the sword,” Acts 12.

As James was being led to the place of his passion, he healed along the way a paralytic who commended himself to him, invoking Jesus’s name.

A certain scribe named Josias, who was leading James to be beheaded, saw the miracle and believed. Abyathar [i.e., Abiathar] obtained from Herod that Josias should be beheaded with James. This was done after James baptized him at the place of the passion.

At night James’s disciples seized his body and carried it to the seashore. They found a little ship divinely prepared, boarded it with the body, and entrusted themselves to God’s governance. They reached the coast of Spain, entered the city of Compostela, and honorably buried him in a church built in his honor.

How they approached the princess of that region, named Lupa, to obtain an honorable tomb for the Apostle; how she treacherously sought to destroy them in various ways; how she believed after seeing miracles concerning these matters; and how she caused a church to be built for him are omitted for brevity.

The devotion infused into the minds of the faithful for visiting his shrine is astonishing. The decree of the Church so firmly confirmed it that no one *circa* [read: *citra*] the Apostolic See can dispense from such a vow.

It is as though divine generosity supplied after his death the honor and glory from the faithful that, because of the brevity of his life, had been granted to him less than to the other apostles. His relics are visited and honored more than those of all the other apostles.

Many wonders have been shown at various times in connection with this visitation or pilgrimage. One in particular will be recorded, in which a marvelous deception of the devil also appears.

A man from Lyon who was greatly devoted to the Apostle visited his shrine many times. Once, when he had begun this pilgrimage, he fell into fornication during the night.

Afterward the devil appeared to him in the form of Saint James and said: “I am the apostle James, whose tomb you have often visited. But this pilgrimage of yours is not pleasing to me on this occasion, because you have fornicated and have not confessed. You must therefore return home, confess your sin, and afterward complete the journey in purity of conscience.”

The man believed everything and decided to return. But while he slept, the same devil appeared again and said that the sin he had committed could not be forgiven through confession unless, in satisfaction for it, he cut off his genitals. He would be even more blessed as a martyr if he also killed himself in James’s honor.

When the man awoke, he thought that blessed James had revealed all this to him. He cut off his genitals and also killed himself.

When his companions awoke and saw him dead, they feared that they would be seized as guilty of the crime and fled as quickly as possible.

As his funeral rites were being prepared, since the truth of what had happened was unknown, he suddenly returned to life. He began to speak and told everyone the manner of his death and the devil’s deception.

He added that, when his soul departed from his body, demons hurriedly carried it toward Rome in order to bring it to hell because of his self-murder. Blessed James followed them, rebuking the demons for such fraud.

When they came to a certain meadow, they found the glorious Virgin, the Lord’s mother, remaining there with many saints. Blessed James presented before the Virgin his complaint about the fraud that the devil had perpetrated against his devotee.

The Virgin rebuked the devil and commanded him to go into the abyss; she restored the man to life and health. The scars of the wounds remained to establish faith in the miracle. When the man found his companions, he related everything to them in order.

Chapter Eight: James the Less

James the Less was assumed by Christ from the number of the twelve apostles, as appears from the Gospels. He is called “the Less” with respect to James the Greater discussed above, not with respect to merit or holiness but with respect to his calling to the apostolate, because he was called after the other James.

Pope Anacletus says of him in Distinction 68: “Moreover, blessed James, who was called the Just and was named the Lord’s brother according to the flesh, was the first archbishop of Jerusalem. He was ordained by the apostles Peter, James”--namely the Greater--“and John, giving a form to their successors that a bishop should not be ordained by fewer than three bishops.” Thus far Anacletus.

The Gloss says there that although James, like the other apostles, had been made a bishop by Christ through invisible anointing--said to have occurred at the Last Supper--he was then ordained a bishop by the aforesaid apostolic bishops through visible anointing, that is, through certain exterior ceremonies, although these are unknown to us.

Or all were ordained bishops by Christ but without the title of a determinate place. The aforesaid apostolic bishops and Peter, the supreme pontiff, gave James a certain and determinate title and jurisdiction, namely Jerusalem and its territory.

This archiepiscopal title was afterward enlarged into a patriarchal title. After the Roman See, which is above all, it holds fourth place among the other patriarchal sees, as appears in Distinction 22, the final chapter.

James is called the Lord’s brother for two reasons. First, he was the son of Maria Cleophe [i.e., Mary of Clopas], who was sister on her mother’s side to the Virgin Mary, Christ’s mother. James the Less was therefore Christ’s brother as a first cousin.

Joseph, Mary’s spouse, is also said to have been Clopas’s brother. Since many thought Joseph was Christ’s father, many likewise considered James to be Christ’s brother as a first cousin on both his father’s and his mother’s side.

Second, he is called the Lord’s brother because he so greatly resembled Christ in appearance that, unless a person had lived familiarly with them, he could not distinguish one from the other.

Thus, when the officers came with Judas the traitor to seize Christ, Judas gave them the sign of the kiss to distinguish Christ from James, lest they seize James in Christ’s place. Because Judas belonged to the household, he distinguished the two very well.

Ignatius, John’s disciple, also testifies to this in an epistle to John, saying: “If it is permitted me, I wish to come to you in the regions of Jerusalem so that I may see that venerable James, whom they say is so like Christ Jesus in face, life, and manner of conduct that he appears to be his twin brother from the same womb. If, as they say, I see him, I shall see Jesus himself according to all the lineaments of his body.”

James is also called the Just because of the merit of his most excellent holiness. According to Jerome, he possessed such reverence and holiness among the people that they eagerly sought to touch the hem of his garment.

Egisippus [i.e., Hegesippus], who lived near the time of the apostles, writes of his holiness, as is read in the *Ecclesiastical History*: "James, the Lord's brother, who was called the Just, received the Church at Jerusalem to govern, and he endured until our times.

"He was holy from his mother's womb. He drank neither wine nor strong drink. He never ate meat; a razor did not go upon his head; he was not anointed with oil and did not use baths. He wore a linen garment. He had bent his knees in prayer so many times that he had calluses upon his knees as upon his heels. Because of this unceasing and supreme righteousness, he was called the Just.

"He alone among the apostles, because of his exceedingly great holiness, was permitted to enter the Holy of Holies." Thus Egisippus [i.e., Hegesippus]. He did this for the sake of prayer, not sacrifice.

It is also said that he was the first among the apostles to celebrate Mass. Because of the excellence of his reputation for holiness, the apostles themselves accorded him this honor. Or he is understood to have been the first to celebrate it solemnly, namely pontifically.

According to Jerome against Jovinian, James remained in perpetual virginity.

Jerome and Josephus also relate that on the day of Preparation James vowed to the Lord that he would not eat until he saw the Son of Man risen from the dead.

James therefore tasted nothing until that day. On the very day of the Resurrection, the Lord appeared to him and to those who were with him, saying: "Set out the table and bread." When they had done so, Jesus took bread and gave it to James the Just, saying: "My brother James, eat, for the Son of Man has risen from the dead."

Paul notes this apparition to James in First Corinthians 15 when he says, "He was seen by James," although he does not state when or how.

§ I: James's Ministry and Martyrdom

In the seventh year after Christ's Passion, when the apostles came to Jerusalem for the day of Passover, James asked them what great things the Lord had done through them among the people.

James and his companions preached to the people for the seven days of the feast before Caypha [i.e., Caiaphas] and the other Jews. When the people were almost ready for Baptism, a man instigated by a diabolical spirit rose in their midst and cried: "O men of Israel, what are you doing? Why do you permit yourselves to be deceived by these magicians?"

He so stirred up the people that they wished to stone them. The man who had cried out climbed the step where James was preaching and hurled him down. From that time James limped greatly.

In the thirtieth year of James's episcopate, the Jews saw that they had been unable to kill Paul because he had appealed to Caesar. They therefore directed the tyranny of their persecution against James, seeking an occasion.

As Egisippus [i.e., Hegesippus], a contemporary of the apostles, relates in the account given in the *Ecclesiastical History*, the Jews came to James and said: "We ask you to call back the people, for they err concerning Jesus by thinking that he is the Christ. We therefore beg you to persuade everyone assembling for the day of Passover.

"We shall all obey you, and both we and the people bear witness concerning you that you are just and show partiality to no one."

On the appointed day, they placed him upon the pinnacle of the Temple. When a very great multitude had gathered, they cried: "O most just of men, whom we all ought to obey, since the people err after Jesus who was crucified, declare to us what seems true to you."

James answered with a mighty voice: "Why do you ask me concerning the Son of Man? Behold, he sits in heaven at the right hand of the highest Power and will come to judge the living and the dead."

When the Christians heard this, they rejoiced greatly. But the Pharisees and scribes were troubled and said: "We acted badly in allowing him to give such testimony. Let us climb up and throw him down so that others may be terrified and not presume to say such things."

Together they cried with a loud voice: "Oh, oh, even the Just has erred!" Some climbed up and threw him down. While he lay there, they covered him with stones, saying: "Let us stone James the Just."

Although cast down, he not only did not die but fell upon his knees and prayed for them, saying: "Lord, I beg you, forgive them, for they do not know what they are doing."

Then one of them seized a fuller's club, struck his head with a powerful blow, and dashed out his brains. By this martyrdom James passed to the Lord.

He was then buried beside the Temple, but his body is now said to be at Rome.

Josephus relates that the destruction of Jerusalem and dispersion of the Jews occurred because of the death of James the Just. But it should be believed that Judea was destroyed with so great an extermination of that people not only because of his death, but because of the Lord's Passion and their hardness in that perfidy, as the Lord himself had foretold to them in the Gospel: "They will not leave in you one stone upon another," and so forth, "because you did not know the time of your visitation."

But because the Lord does not desire the death of a sinner but that he be converted and live, he waited forty years for them to do penance, recalling them to penance through the apostles for many years and continuously through James for thirty years.

Chapter Nine: Andrew

Andrew, whose name is interpreted "beautiful," "answering," or "manly," was the brother of the apostle Peter and his companion in the passion of the cross.

[Running head: Sixth Title.]

Sixth Title: On the Church Militant

Chapter Nine (continued): Andrew

The priests and deacons of Asia described Andrew's passion.

He was first a disciple of John the Baptist. One day, when he was with John the Baptist, his teacher, Jesus passed near the Jordan and John said of him: "Behold the Lamb of God." Andrew and another fellow disciple followed Jesus, went with him to his dwelling, and remained with him that day.

Afterward Andrew brought his brother Peter to the Lord Jesus so that Peter might become familiar with him. On another occasion Christ called them while they were fishing in a little boat on the Sea of Galilee, and they followed him. He chose them among the number of the twelve apostles.

After the coming of the Holy Spirit, when the apostles went to diverse parts of the world to preach, Andrew departed for Achaia, a province of Greece. Preaching there, he multiplied the Church by converting very many to the faith. Among others, he regenerated Maximilla, the wife of Egeas [i.e., Aegeas] the proconsul of the province, in sacred Baptism.

When Egeas [i.e., Aegeas] heard this, he was disturbed. He entered the city of Patras and compelled Christians to sacrifice to idols.

Andrew met him and said: "You who have merited to become a judge of human beings ought to acknowledge your Judge who is in heaven, worship him when known, and by worshiping him recall your soul from false gods."

Egeas [i.e., Aegeas] said: "Are you that Andrew who preaches the superstitious sect that the Roman princes ordered to be exterminated?"

Andrew answered: "The Roman princes have not yet understood how the Son of God, coming into the world, taught that idols are demons. We teach that God is offended through them, that when offended he turns from their worshipers, and that those from whom God turns do not hear him. By failing to hear his commandments, they are held captive until they depart from the world carrying nothing with them except sins."

Egeas [i.e., Aegeas] said: "While preaching these vain things, your Jesus Christ was affixed to the gibbet of the cross."

Andrew answered: "He voluntarily accepted the gibbet of the cross for our restoration, not for his own guilt."

Egeas [i.e., Aegeas] replied: "Since Jesus was betrayed by his disciple, captured by the Jews, and led to the cross by soldiers, how do you say that he underwent the cross willingly?"

Andrew showed by several arguments that Christ suffered voluntarily and not by compulsion: because, foreknowing the Passion, he foretold it to his disciples; because he knew his betrayer and did not avoid him; and because he chose the place to which he knew the betrayer would come to seize him. He asserted that he had been present to all these things and added that the mystery of the cross was exceedingly great.

Egeas [i.e., Aegeas] said: "It should not be called a mystery but a punishment. Unless you obey my words, I shall make you experience that mystery."

Andrew answered: "If I feared the gibbet of the cross, I would not preach the glory of the cross. I wish you to hear the mystery of the cross so that perhaps, once you know it, you may believe and be saved."

He then endeavored by many arguments to show how fitting and necessary it was for the Son of God to become incarnate and to suffer in this manner.

Egeas [i.e., Aegeas] said: "Tell these trifles to your own people. Obey me and sacrifice to the almighty gods."

Andrew answered him: "Every day I offer to almighty God the immaculate Lamb, namely the Eucharist. After the whole faithful people has eaten it, it remains one and whole."

When Egeas [i.e., Aegeas] asked how this could occur, Andrew said that he should assume the character of a disciple and would then understand the mystery.

Egeas [i.e., Aegeas] replied: "I shall extort knowledge of this matter from you by torments." In anger he ordered Andrew cast into prison.

In the morning Egeas [i.e., Aegeas] ordered the Apostle to be brought before his tribunal. He again began to invite him to sacrifice to the idols, saying: "Andrew, let the ruins of the gods be restored through you. Otherwise I shall have you suspended upon the cross that you have praised."

When Egeas [i.e., Aegeas] threatened him with many punishments, Andrew answered: "Devise whatever punishment seems greatest to you. I shall be more acceptable to my King the more constant I am in torments for his name."

The governor ordered twenty attendants to beat him and, when he had been beaten, to bind him to a cross with ropes so that he would suffer a longer torment there.

As he was being led to the cross, a crowd of people gathered, mourning and saying: "His innocent blood is condemned without cause." When the people wished to make a sedition against the governor, the Apostle earnestly asked them not to impede his martyrdom, for their Master had displayed patience in his own Passion. Gratian treats this in Cause 23, Question 1, § 1.

Seeing the cross from afar, Andrew greeted it, saying: "Hail, holy cross, which was dedicated in Christ's body and adorned from his members as with pearls. Before my Master ascended you, you possessed earthly fear; now you possess heavenly love and receive what is desired.

"Secure and rejoicing, I come to you, so that you too may exult and receive me, the disciple of him who hung upon you. I have always been your lover and have desired to embrace you."

After saying these things, he came to the place and stripped himself. The attendants did not fasten him to the cross with nails but bound him with ropes. He lived there for two days and preached to the twenty thousand people standing nearby.

When the crowd threatened Egeas [i.e., Aegeas] with death unless he took Andrew down from the cross, Egeas [i.e., Aegeas] promised to do so. As Egeas [i.e., Aegeas] went to the place of the passion to have him taken down, Andrew saw him and said that if he came to obtain mercy, there was still time to obtain it; but if he came to take him down from the cross, he could not do so, because Andrew already saw his King awaiting him with the crown.

When they tried to take him down at the governor's command, they were unable, for their arms grew numb.

The Apostle prayed that the Lord would not permit him to be taken down alive but would admit him to the rest above. At last an exceedingly great splendor appeared around him so that he could not be seen, and he rendered his spirit to the Lord.

Egeas [i.e., Aegeas] returned home but was seized by the devil along the way and expired. His wife Maximilla took the Apostle down and buried him honorably.

Andrew's body was afterward translated and now rests in the city of Amalfi in the regions of the kingdom. Manna like oil still flows from his tomb. It is given to everyone who asks and does not fail.

§ I: Andrew's Miracles

During his life Andrew shone through many miracles. He restored to life forty men who had drowned in a river while coming to hear the teaching of the faith from him.

A woman who could not give birth to a son conceived in adultery repented; when she believed, Andrew caused her to give birth freely.

He wonderfully liberated a young man who fled to him for help after his utterly shameless mother accused him before a judge of having wished to violate her, because he had refused to consent to her lust when she wished to lie with him. That most wicked woman was struck by lightning and changed into charcoal before the judge, who was converted to the faith with his household.

A certain Nicholas, a seventy-year-old man immersed in the filth of lust, had grown so inveterate that he could not remain continent even when he resolved to do so. Andrew obtained continence and pardon for him through a four-day fast and prayer. The old man fasted on bread and water for six months and afterward lived praiseworthily and rested in peace.

After Andrew's passing, he delivered a certain bishop from a subtle deception of the devil by appearing as a pilgrim. He knocked at the door of the bishop's house and sought to speak with him.

The devil had come to the bishop in the form of a most noble and beautiful girl in order that she might preserve the resolve of virginity and spiritual life according to his teaching. The pilgrim revealed her to be the devil, with whose concupiscence the bishop had already been inflamed.

First, however, he solved three questions that she had proposed to the pilgrim through a messenger.

The first was: what was the greatest miracle that God had made in a small thing? He answered: the diversity of human faces.

The second was: where is earth higher than every heaven? He answered: in the empyrean heaven, because Christ's body, assumed from Adam's substance, is there above all the heavens, and Adam was formed from the clay of the earth.

The third question was: how much distance separates heaven from earth? The pilgrim answered that the one who was speaking had measured it by falling from heaven and therefore knew it very well.

When the messenger reported these things, the devil vanished and the pilgrim disappeared. The bishop was pierced by remorse for the evil he had conceived, and it was revealed to him that the pilgrim had been blessed Andrew.

Chapter Ten: Thomas

Thomas, who is also called Didymus, is interpreted "abyss" or "twin." He was one of the twelve apostles.

According to Gregory, his doubt concerning Christ's Resurrection benefited us more than Mary Magdalene's immediate belief, for when he touched Christ's wounds he cut the wound of future doubt from our minds.

He became a witness of Christ's Resurrection not only through hearing and sight but also through touch. This appears in Cause 27, Question 7, *Thus the Disciple*.

He is therefore called "abyss" and "twin" because he confessed a twofold nature in Christ--his humanity and the abyss of his divinity--saying: "My Lord and my God."

After Christ's Ascension, while Thomas was preaching at Caesarea, the Lord appeared to him and said: "Thomas, Gandoforus [i.e., Gundaphorus], king of India, has sent to this city Abanes [i.e., Abbanes], his agent, to hire and bring him a man highly skilled in architecture to build him a palace in the Roman manner."

Thomas finally answered: "You are my God and I am your servant. Let your will be done."

The Lord went with Thomas through the marketplace and found Abanes [i.e., Abbanes]. When the Lord asked where he came from and what he sought, he heard that at the king's command Abanes [i.e., Abbanes] sought an architect most skilled in building to bring back to his own region.

The Lord, whom I take to have been an angel in the form of the Lord, greatly commended Thomas, who was with him, as most learned in that craft.

This was no lie, for Thomas knew how to build spiritual palaces of virtues in human minds and also material buildings when necessary, being immediately taught by the Holy Spirit, who is the maker of all and possesses all knowledge.

Ibanes therefore took Thomas with him. [i.e., Abbanes] Sailing, they came to a certain city in which a king was celebrating his daughter's wedding.

When the king learned of Thomas's holiness through miracles, he begged him to bless the bridegroom and bride. During the night Thomas entered their chamber through closed doors and exhorted them to preserve virginity, commending it greatly and saying: "Virginity is the sister of the angels, the possession of every good, the victory over lusts, the trophy of faith, the defeat of demons, and the security of eternal joys."

Converted to the faith, they remained virgins. The bride, named Pelagia, received the sacred veil and suffered martyrdom; the bridegroom Dionysius was ordained bishop of that city.

It is also said that at the wedding banquet a man slapped the Apostle because he remained suspended in prayer without eating; that after leaving the house the man was strangled by a lion and torn apart by dogs; and that one of the dogs carried his right hand into the middle of the banquet. Augustine rejects this in his book against Faustus and says that it was inserted by heretics.

At length Abanes [i.e., Abbanes] and the Apostle reached the city in which Gandoforus [i.e., Gundaphorus] resided and visited the royal majesty. Abanes [i.e., Abbanes] greatly commended the Apostle's skill in building.

After the Apostle designed a marvelous palace and the king set out an abundant treasure for the purpose, the king departed for another province. The Apostle distributed that treasure to the poor. By applying himself to preaching, he built not merely one but many palaces in heaven during the two years in which the king was absent from the city.

When the king returned and heard what the Apostle had done, he thought himself mocked. He sent Thomas and Abanes [i.e., Abbanes] to prison, intending to have them flayed alive and delivered to the flames.

Meanwhile Gad, the king's brother, died, and his burial was prepared with excessive pomp. On the fourth day he rose from the dead. Although many fled, Gad said to his brother the king: "O king, this man whom you intended to deliver to the fire after imprisoning him is a friend of almighty God, and God's angels serve him.

"When they led me into paradise, they showed me a palace built from gold, silver, and precious stones. As I admired its beauty, the angels said to me: 'This is the palace that Thomas built for your brother. But because he made himself unworthy of it by imprisoning the Apostle, if you wish to have it, we shall ask the Lord to raise you so that you may buy it from your brother by returning to him the money that he thinks he has lost.'"

Running to the prison, Gad brought Thomas and Abanes [i.e., Abbanes] out and sought pardon for the injury inflicted upon them by the king. He offered Thomas a precious garment.

Thomas refused it, saying: "Do you not know that a person who longs for a dwelling in heaven seeks nothing carnal or earthly on earth?"

When Thomas left the prison, the king also met him and sought pardon.

Thomas said to them: "God has bestowed much upon you by showing you his secrets. Believe in Christ so that you may become participants in the kingdom of God."

The king's raised brother said: "I saw the most beautiful palace that you built for my brother, but I have merited to buy it."

The king answered: "Let the palace built for me remain mine. Let the Apostle make another for you; or, if he cannot, let it be common to us both."

The Apostle said: "Innumerable palaces prepared in heaven from the beginning are bought by the price of faith and alms."

The Apostle therefore caused the peoples of that province to be gathered and the sick with diverse illnesses to be brought and to remain apart.

When he prayed over them, an exceedingly great flash descended and so terrified them that they all fell to the ground as though dead.

The Apostle said: "Arise. My Lord descended like lightning and healed you." They arose healthy, glorified God, and were converted to the faith. Thomas taught them to live well according to the twelve degrees of virtues, as appears in his legend, § I.

After this Thomas went into Upper India. Among other miracles, he gave sight to a blind woman named Sintice, a friend of Migdonia [i.e., Mygdonia], the wife of Caritius [i.e., Charisius], a kinsman of the king.

After hearing the Apostle's teaching, Migdonia [i.e., Mygdonia] was converted to the faith and no longer wished to approach her husband's bed because of his unbelief. Disturbed by this, Caritius [i.e., Charisius] sent Thomas to prison and arranged for the king's wife, Migdonia [i.e., Mygdonia]'s sister, to approach her and recall her from her profession of faith. But the queen herself was converted through Migdonia [i.e., Mygdonia].

[Running head: Sixth Title.]

Sixth Title: On the Church Militant

Chapter Ten (continued): Thomas

The king was vehemently angered by this. On the advice of Charisius he had the Apostle cast into a burning furnace, but Thomas remained unharmed in its midst.

At last the king had him led to an image of the sun so that he might adore it. Bending his knees, the Apostle said in a clear voice: "Behold, I adore neither the idol, the metal, nor the image, but my Lord Jesus Christ. In his name I command you, demon who lurks within it: come out and shatter the image."

When this occurred, the priests of the temple raised a great outcry over the destruction of their god. One of them took a sword or spear and pierced the Apostle through, saying: "I shall avenge the injury done to my god."

Thus Thomas passed to the Lord and was honorably buried. After a certain time his body was translated from that place.

Isidore says in his book *On the Birth and Death of the Saints*: "Thomas the Apostle, who resembled the Savior, preached to the Parthians, Medes, Persians, and Bragmanis [i.e., Brahmans]. Entering the eastern region and penetrating the interior territories of the nations, he carried his preaching as far as the goal of his mission and was pierced with spears."

Chrysostom says of Thomas that, when he came to the land of the Magi, he instructed and baptized them. They afterward became helpers of the Christian faith.

The account that Thomas was not present at blessed Mary's passing, that he afterward arrived and doubted the assumption of her body together with her soul, and that the Virgin Mary therefore appeared and gave him her girdle as testimony of this is apocryphal and not credible. Nevertheless, it may be believed with sufficient piety that her girdle is preserved on earth at the place called Prato, where it is shown to the people.

Chapter Eleven: Philip

Philip, whose name is interpreted "mouth of a lamp" or "mouth of hands," was one of Christ's college of twelve. Christ called him to follow him, as is recorded in John 1. Philip in turn brought to him his brother Nathanael, a doctor of the Law in whom, as Christ said, there was no deceit, presenting Christ to him as the Messiah.

Yet Nathanael, learned and innocent though he was, was not called to the apostolate. No sufficient reason for this can be assigned other than God's will, which cannot be unjust. Nevertheless, it may be said that this was done so that the conversion of human beings to the faith through apostolic preaching would not be attributed to human skill or goodness.

After this Apostle had preached throughout Scythia for twenty years, he came to the city of Hierapolis, where he found the heresy of the Hebeonites [i.e., Ebionites], who say that Christ assumed an imaginary flesh rather than true flesh. He was finally seized by the pagans and led away to sacrifice to a statue of Mars.

A huge dragon came out from beneath the base of the statue. With its breath it killed the priest's son, who was tending the fire for the sacrifice, and two tribunes whose attendants were holding the Apostle. It also infected many others and made them sick.

Philip said to them: "Believe in Jesus Christ, take down this statue, and erect the Lord's cross in its place. Your sick will be healed and your dead restored to life."

Those who were tormented by that sickness or infection cried: "Only cause us to be healed, and we shall destroy this Mars."

Philip commanded the dragon to go to a desert place without harming anyone, and it immediately disappeared. By his prayer the Apostle of God healed all those who were sick and restored the dead to life and health. After their conversion to the faith, he preached to them for a year.

Seven days before his martyrdom he summoned all the bishops and priests. He admonished them to preserve constancy in the faith and to instruct the peoples committed to them.

When he was eighty-seven years old, the unbelievers seized him and fastened him to the cross he had preached, in imitation of his Master.

He had two daughters by a wife whom he had married before he was called to the apostolate. These daughters were most holy virgins and drew many to the faith by their example of holiness and their admonition. When they had rested in peace, they were buried beside their father, one on his right and the other on his left. This is found in Cause 13, Question 2, § *Item Joseph*.

It should be noted that this Philip differs from the one discussed in Acts 8. This man was one of the twelve apostles; the other was one of the seven deacons instituted by the apostles, as appears in Acts 6. This man was buried at Hierapolis; the other rests at Caesarea. The Apostle had two virgin daughters who were prophetesses; the deacon had four. Although the *Ecclesiastical History*

seems to say that Philip the Apostle was the one who had four daughters, Jerome thinks the contrary, and his opinion is more generally followed.

Chapter Twelve: Bartholomew

Bartholomew is interpreted “son of the one who suspends me” or “son of the one who suspends the waters.” Dionysius says of him in the *Mystical Theology*: “The divine Bartholomew says that theology is both extensive and very brief, and that the Gospel is broad and great yet again concise.”

He means that, considered in one way, everything can be affirmed of God, while in another and more proper way everything can be denied of God. The Gospel is concise--that is, brief--with respect to its end, which is faith in Christ and charity. It is broad and great with respect to its subject matter because of the innumerable teachings and mysteries contained within it.

Bartholomew was one of the senators of the Church, the apostles of Christ, as appears in Luke 9. After the coming of the Holy Spirit, he entered India, which lies at the end of the world. Arriving at a certain city, he began to lodge in a temple where the god Astaroth was worshiped.

The devil dwelling in that idol deceived human beings by imposing certain illnesses upon them. To obtain deliverance, the sick offered sacrifices to the idol, after which the devil ceased inflicting the suffering he himself had caused.

When Astaroth’s temple was full of the afflicted and the devil gave none of his customary answers through the idol to those who sought them, they went to a neighboring city where Berith was worshiped. They asked why their god did not answer them.

Berith said: “Your god has been bound with fiery chains so that he can neither speak nor breathe, ever since Bartholomew, an apostle of God, entered your city.”

They asked: “Who is this Bartholomew?”

He answered: “He is a friend of almighty God. He has come to this province to render all the gods of India powerless.”

They said: “Give us a sign by which we can distinguish and recognize him among so many thousands of people.”

The demon replied: “His hair is black and curly; his flesh is fair; his eyes are large; his nostrils are even and straight; his beard is long and has a few gray hairs; and his stature is well proportioned. He wears a white tunic bordered with purple and a white cloak bearing purple gems at each corner. Twenty-six years have passed during which his garments and sandals neither grow old nor become soiled.

[Running head: Chapters Eleven and Twelve, Folio 196.]

“A hundred times each day and a hundred times each night he prays upon bended knees. Angels of God accompany him and do not permit him to grow weary. He always remains cheerful and joyful, with the same expression and disposition. He foresees everything, knows everything, and possesses knowledge of every language. He already knows what I am now saying to you.

“When you seek him, he will show himself to you if he wills; if he does not will it, you will be unable to find him. But I beg you, when you find him, ask him not to come here and do to me what he has done to Astaroth.”

They went away and searched diligently for two days but could not find him. On the following day a demoniac walking near him cried out: “Bartholomew, Apostle of God, your prayers burn me!”

Bartholomew said to him: “Be silent and come out of him.” The man was immediately delivered.

When Polemius, king of that province, heard this, he sent to Bartholomew and begged him to come and heal his daughter, who was a lunatic and possessed by a demon. When the Apostle arrived at the royal palace and saw that she was bound with chains because she tore those who approached her with her teeth, he ordered her to be released.

When the servants were afraid to do this, he said: “I hold that demon bound, and yet you are afraid?” Once she had been released, he immediately freed her from the devil.

King Polemius sent many camels laden with gold, silver, and precious stones, intending that those seeking the Apostle of God should find him and present these things to him as a royal gift. When they could not be found [read: when they could not find him], they returned to the king.

The next morning, while the king was alone in his chamber, Bartholomew appeared and said to him: “Why did you make people search for me throughout the whole of yesterday with gold and precious stones? Such things are necessary to those who desire earthly and carnal possessions, but I seek nothing worldly.”

The Apostle then spoke to him about the mystery of our redemption and showed that Christ had conquered the devil through a marvelous harmony of power, wisdom, and justice. After explaining these things, he said: “If you are disposed to be baptized, I shall give you and your people your god bound in chains.”

When the king declared himself ready, on the following day the priests of Astaroth and the people assembled at the temple. While the priests sacrificed to the idol, the demon began to cry out from the statue in the presence of the king and the people: “Cease, wretched people, to offer sacrifices to me, lest you suffer worse torments than I do. I have been bound with fiery chains by the angels of Jesus Christ, who was crucified by the Jews, who thought him to be detained by death. But that Jesus conquered death, our queen, and bound the prince of death, our lord.”

They immediately all cast ropes around the image to pull it down, but they were unable. The Apostle commanded the demon to shatter that idol and break all the other images of the temple by his own power. This was done, and all the sick who were in the temple were healed while the Apostle prayed for them. He also dedicated the temple to Christ.

An angel of the Lord flew around the temple, appearing in human form, and carved the sign of the cross upon its four corners. He said: “Just as the sick have been healed of their illnesses by the Apostle, so this temple has been cleansed from its impurities and from the devil who inhabited it.

“But before the devil goes to the desert to which the Apostle has commanded him to go, I shall show you his horrible appearance. When you see him, do not be afraid; instead, imprint upon your foreheads the sign that I have carved upon the temple.”

They all then saw an Ethiopian blacker than soot, with a sharp face, a long beard, hair extending to his feet, fiery eyes emitting sparks like heated iron, sulfurous flames breathing from his nostrils, and his hands bound behind him with fiery chains.

The angel of the Lord said to him: “Because you obeyed the Apostle and shattered all the idols of the temple, I shall release you. Go into a desert place where no human being dwells, and remain there until the day of judgment.”

With a great crash and howl the demon disappeared. The angel ascended into heaven in everyone’s sight.

King Polemius, his wife and children, his whole household, and a great part of the people were baptized. Polemius himself abandoned his kingdom and became a disciple of the Apostle.

The priests of the idols then went to Astiages [i.e., Astyages], the brother of Polemius, and complained against the Apostle: he had injured their gods, transformed their temple, and deceived Astiages [i.e., Astyages]’s brother by magical art.

Furiously angry, Astiages [i.e., Astyages] sent a thousand armed men to seek the Apostle, seize him, and bring him before him. When Bartholomew had been brought into his presence, Astiages [i.e., Astyages] said: “Are you the man who has overthrown my brother?”

The Apostle answered: “I did not overthrow your brother; I converted him.”

Astiages [i.e., Astyages] said: “Just as you made my brother abandon his god and sacrifice to yours, so I shall make you abandon your God and worship mine.”

The Apostle answered him: “I bound the god whom your brother worshiped, showed him in chains, and made him shatter his own image. If you do the same to my God, you will be able to provoke me to worship your image. But if I shatter your gods, believe in my God.”

As he said this, it was announced to the king that his god Baldach had been shattered and had fallen to the earth. When he heard this, the king tore the purple robe he was wearing in his great sorrow. He ordered the Apostle beaten with clubs, flayed alive after the beating, and finally beheaded after he had been flayed.

Thus Bartholomew flew to heaven through the palm of martyrdom. The faithful took the Apostle’s body and buried it honorably. Astiages [i.e., Astyages] and the priests of the idols were seized by demons and suffocated. Polemius was made bishop and commendably governed that church for twenty years. Full of virtues, he rested in the Lord.

Opinions differ concerning Bartholomew’s death. Blessed Dorotheus says that he was crucified upside down at Abbano [i.e., Albanum], a great city of Armenia. Blessed Theodore says that he was flayed. Others assert that he was beheaded. These accounts can be reconciled by saying that he was first flayed, then crucified, and finally beheaded before he had yet died.

After a time the body of blessed Bartholomew was translated to the island of Lipari near Sicily. About the year of the Lord 331 [read: 838], unbelievers invaded and completely devastated the island and scattered the Apostle’s bones through the streets.

At the Apostle’s command, however, he appeared in a dream to a holy man and identified which bones were his--namely, those shining like fire. They were gathered and carried by him to Benevento, the metropolitan city in the kingdom of Apulia.

It is commonly held that his body is preserved at Benevento, although the Romans also assert that they possess it.

Sixth Title: On the Church Militant

Chapter Thirteen: Matthew

Matthew was called by Christ, who said, “Follow me,” while he sat at the tax booth, as appears in Matthew 19 [read: Matthew 9]. According to Bede, a tax booth is a place where tolls or *gabelles* are exacted, for the Greek *telos* is interpreted “tax” in Latin.

This office or occupation was devoted to avarice and unjust profits. Hence such tax collectors were called *publicani*, as though they were public sinners. Matthew himself calls himself a tax collector, but Mark and Luke, when writing of his conversion, call him by another name, namely Levi. He had two names and was called both Matthew and Levi.

Matthew is interpreted “gift of haste” or “giver of counsel.” Levi is interpreted “assumed,” “called,” or “approached.”

Because the occupation of the tax booth could not be practiced without sin, Matthew never returned to it after his conversion, unlike Peter and his companions, who practiced the fisherman’s trade after their calling because it could be done without sin. See *On Penance*, Distinction 5, *Business*.

This apostle and evangelist was therefore the first to write a Gospel, composing it in Hebrew for Jews converted to the faith. Blessed Barnabas traveled about preaching and carried the original or a copy with him; by placing it upon the sick, he healed many.

After the coming of the Holy Spirit, Matthew went to the regions of Ethiopia to teach the faith there. Entering the city of Vadaber, he found two magicians named Zaroes and Arphaxat. They so maddened people that through their magic they seemed able to deprive whomever they wished of the use and health of their bodily members. They had risen to such pride that they caused themselves to be worshiped as gods.

Matthew the Apostle lodged in the house of the eunuch who was steward over all the treasures of Candicis [i.e., Candace], queen of the Ethiopians. Philip the deacon had baptized this man while he was returning by road from Jerusalem to his homeland, as appears in Acts 8.

Matthew exposed the magicians’ evil works. When by diabolical art they sent two dragons against the Apostle to destroy him, Matthew made them as gentle as lambs with the sign of the cross and commanded them to depart to a desert place without harming anyone.

The Apostle began to preach to the people about the glory of paradise and the mystery of the Incarnation. While he preached, a rumor arose among the people, who were lamenting the death of the king’s son. The magicians had been summoned but could not raise him. They advised the king that his son had passed into the company of the gods and that he should therefore have a temple built for him.

The eunuch brought the Apostle to the king and told him of Matthew’s power. Matthew raised the son by his prayer. When he saw this, the king, whose name was Egippus, sent messengers through the diverse provinces of his kingdom, saying: “Come and see a god hidden in the form of a human being.”

An innumerable multitude came with golden crowns and diverse kinds of sacrifices that they wished to offer. The Apostle restrained them, saying: “Men and brothers, what are you doing? I am not God but a servant of the Lord Jesus Christ.”

By preaching Christ to them, he converted them. From the crowns and gifts brought to him and from other resources, they constructed a great church, completing it within thirty days. The Apostle occupied his see there for thirty-three years and converted that entire country to Christ.

King Egippus, his wife and his whole household, and all his people were baptized. Matthew consecrated the king’s daughter Epigenia to God under a profession of virginity and placed her over more than two hundred virgins.

After Egippus’s death, Hirtacus succeeded him in the kingdom. Desiring to marry the virgin Epygenia [i.e., Epigenia], he asked the Apostle, under whose counsel she was governed, to persuade her to this. He promised Matthew half the kingdom if he could accomplish it.

The Apostle told Hirtacus to come to church with the people on Sunday, according to the custom of his predecessor, and promised that in Epigenia’s presence he would commend the great benefits of marriage. Hirtacus gladly accepted, thinking that Matthew would persuade Epigenia to marry him.

When Sunday came, the whole people assembled, Epigenia came with the consecrated virgins, and the king arrived. Matthew preached at length about the benefits of marriage. The king praised him wonderfully, thinking that he would conclude by urging Epigenia to consent to marriage with Hirtacus. But his expectation deceived him.

After commending marriage, Matthew added: “Although marriage is so holy in itself when the covenant of fidelity is preserved, you who stand here know well that if anyone were to presume to violate the bride of one of the king’s servants, he would merit not only the king’s indignation but also a cruel death. He would be condemned not because he had taken a wife, but because he had presumed to violate his lord’s wife.

“So too, O king, since you know that Epigenia has been dedicated to Christ the eternal King and made his bride, how can you seize the bride of a king more powerful than yourself without incurring the great vengeance of God?”

When Hirtacus heard this, he departed in a rage. The Apostle remained constant and fearless, encouraged everyone to endure, blessed Epigenia--who had fallen down in fear--together with the other virgins, and celebrated the solemnities of Mass.

The unbelieving king sent a detestable servant to destroy the Apostle of God. When Matthew had celebrated Mass and was standing near the altar with his hands raised toward heaven, the servant plunged a sword into his back, killed him, and consecrated him as a martyr.

When the people learned of this, they hastened to the royal palace intending to burn it all. They were restrained by the admonitions of the priests and deacons and celebrated the martyrdom with joy.

Hirtacus did not desist from his designs. When neither matrons nor magicians could bend Epigenia to consent to marry him, he surrounded her entire house by night with a great fire so that she and the other virgins would be burned together.

The Apostle of God appeared, drove all that fire away from Epigenia’s house, and ordered it to proceed to the king’s palace. It consumed all his possessions, while only the king and his son barely escaped. The son was then seized by a demon. Confessing his father’s crimes, he hurried to the Apostle’s tomb. The father became leprous and killed himself.

Epigenia’s brother, who had been baptized, was made king by the people. He governed the kingdom admirably for seventy years, placed his most Christian son after himself upon the throne, and filled the whole region of Ethiopia with churches.

Afterward blessed Matthew’s body was translated from there and is said to rest in the city of Salerno in the kingdom.

Chapter Fourteen: Simon the Chanaanite [i.e., Canaanite] and Judas Thaddeus

Simon the Chanaanite [i.e., Canaanite] was so called from the village of Chana [i.e., Cana], from which he originated. He is also called the Zealot. He was the brother of the apostle Thaddeus, who is also called Judas. Chana [i.e., Cana] is interpreted “zeal.” Simon is interpreted “obedient” or “placing sadness”; Judas, “confessing” or “glorious”; and Thaddeus, “seizing the prince.”

After the coming of the Holy Spirit, Judas first preached in Mesopotamia and Pontus, while Simon preached in Egypt. The two then went together through Persia. There they found the two magicians Zaroes and Arphaxat, whom Matthew the Apostle had driven from Ethiopia.

[Running head: Chapters Thirteen and Fourteen, Folio 197.]

At that time Waradach [i.e., Varadach], commander of the Babylonian king’s army, was about to set out for war against the Indians, but he could obtain no answers from his gods. He therefore sent messengers to a shrine in a nearby city to inquire into the cause of this silence. They received the answer that their lord could not respond because of the arrival of the apostles of God.

After the apostles had been sought through the city and found, they were led to the commander of the army. He asked who they were, where they came from, and why they had arrived. The apostles answered each question. They said that by race they were Hebrews, that they were servants of Jesus Christ, and that they had come there from Judea for the people’s salvation.

Commander Waradach said to them [i.e., Varadach]: “When I return from battle, I shall hear you.”

The apostles answered: “It is more fitting that you now come to know him by whose help you can emerge victorious, or at least find your enemies entirely peaceable.”

Varadach said: “I see that you are more powerful than our gods. Foretell the outcome of the war for us.”

The apostles answered: “So that you may know your gods are deceitful, we command them to answer your questions. When they have spoken about what they do not know, we shall prove that they have lied about everything.”

The idol priests then said that a great war would occur and that many people would fall on both sides. The apostles began to laugh.

Waradach said: “Fear [i.e., Varadach] has overcome me, and you laugh.”

The apostles replied: “Do not fear, for peace has entered with us. Tomorrow, at the third hour, envoys of the Indians will send word that they submit peacefully to your authority.”

The priests of the idols also began to laugh and told the commander: “These men wish to make you feel secure so that, remaining incautious, you may be crushed by the enemy.”

The apostles said to him: “We have not told you to wait one month but one day. Tomorrow you will emerge victorious in peace.”

The commander ordered both groups kept under guard so that the truth of the outcome would bring honor to whichever had spoken truthfully. When, on the next day, what the apostles had predicted occurred, the commander ordered the priests burned as liars.

The apostles prevented him, saying: “We were sent not to kill human beings but to give them life.”

The commander marveled that they had prevented the priests from being killed and had refused to accept the priests’ goods when offered to them. He brought them to the king and said: “O king, these men are gods concealed in human form. They foretold to us everything that happened with the Indians.”

While the commander related these things, the magicians Zaroes and Arphaxat were present. Moved by jealous envy, they said that the apostles were wicked men who were subtly plotting against the kingdom.

The commander said to them: “If you dare, contend with them.”

The magicians replied: “If you wish to see that they do not dare speak in our presence, have the most eloquent men come here. If they dare to speak against us, you shall judge us ignorant.”

Many advocates were therefore brought before them. By the magicians’ art they were made so mute that they could neither speak nor even indicate with gestures what they wished.

The magicians said to the king: “So that you may know we are gods, we command them to speak but to be unable to move from this place.” This occurred. Then the magicians commanded them to walk but to see nothing, and that too occurred.

When these things had been done, Commander Waradach led the advocates [i.e., Varadach], whom the magicians had thus confounded, to the apostles. When the advocates saw the apostles clothed in rags and contemptible attire, they despised them in their hearts.

Simon said to them: “It often happens that a cheap object is enclosed within gilded chests adorned with gems, while necklaces of precious stones are stored inside the cheapest cases. When someone buys merchandise, he considers not the appearance of those who carry it but the quality of the thing itself.

“Promise, therefore, to depart from the worship of idols and to worship the one invisible God. We shall make the sign of the cross upon your foreheads, and it will enable you to confound the magicians.”

When they had made this promise and the apostles had armed them with the sign of the cross, they returned to the king in the magicians’ presence. The magicians could no longer overcome them, while the advocates mocked the magicians.

In anger, the magicians caused a multitude of serpents to appear. At the king’s command the apostles were immediately brought in. They spread out their cloaks, filled them with serpents, and cast them upon the magicians, saying: “You shall not die, but after the serpents have torn you, you shall utter groans of your pains.”

As the serpents tore their flesh, the magicians howled like wolves because of the intense pain. The king and those standing by asked the apostles to allow the serpents to kill them.

The apostles answered: “We were sent to recall the dead to life, not to cast the living headlong into death.”

After praying, the apostles commanded the serpents to suck back all the poison that they had poured into the magicians’ bodies by biting them and then to return to their own places. The magicians suffered greater torment when the poison was withdrawn than from the serpents’ bites.

The apostles told them: “You will feel pain for three days, but on the third day you will be delivered, so that even in this way you might withdraw from your wickedness.”

The magicians went to their lodging and remained for three days in pain, without food, drink, or sleep. The apostles visited them and restored them free and whole, saying: “God is not pleased by forced service. Arise and go wherever you wish.”

But they persisted in wickedness, fled from the apostles’ sight, and stirred almost all Babylonia against them.

Meanwhile, the daughter of a certain commander conceived through fornication. After she gave birth to a male child, her relatives asked by whom she had conceived. She accused a certain deacon who was a disciple of the apostles. Because the girl’s parents sought to kill the deacon, the apostles intervened and heard the case.

They asked when the boy had been born, and the parents answered, “Today.” The apostles had the infant and the innocent deacon brought before them. They said: “Little child, say in the name of the Lord Jesus whether this deacon committed this act.”

The infant answered in the name of the one God: “This deacon is chaste and holy and has never defiled his flesh.”

When the girl’s parents insisted that the infant name the perpetrator of the crime, the apostles answered: “It is fitting for us to absolve the innocent; it is not fitting for us to betray the guilty.”

At their preaching, which was confirmed by miracles, more than sixty thousand people were baptized together with the king. The apostles remained there for a year and several months to instruct them.

The magicians went to another city in which there were seventy priests of idols. They stirred these priests against the apostles so that, if the apostles came there, they would either compel them to sacrifice or kill them.

After traversing the province while preaching, the apostles at last came to that city. The priests and the whole populace seized them, led them to the temple of the sun, and sought to compel them to sacrifice to it.

Through those possessed by them, the demons began to cry: “What have we to do with you, apostles of the living God? Behold, at your entrance we are burned by flames.”

Then an angel of the Lord appeared to the apostles and said: “Choose either the sudden destruction of these people or your own martyrdom.”

After a silence, the apostles said: “So that you may know that your images are full of demons, we command the demons to come out of them and shatter the images themselves.”

Two demons therefore came out from them like naked Ethiopians and shattered all the idols.

[Running head: Sixth Title.]

Sixth Title: On the Church Militant

Chapter Fourteen (continued): Simon the Canaanite and Judas Thaddeus

When the priests saw this, they rushed upon the apostles and killed them. At that hour, although the sky was perfectly clear, lightning bolts descended and split the temple into three parts. The two magicians who were present were struck by lightning and turned into charcoal.

The king of Babylon became a Christian. He had the apostles’ bodies carried to his city and, after building a church of marvelous size there, buried them honorably. Their bodies are now said to be in the church of Saint Peter at Rome.

Abdias, bishop of Babylon, wrote their legend in Hebrew, and Affricanus [i.e., Africanus] translated it into Latin.

Some writers, including Isidore in *On the Death of the Apostles*, have written that the apostle Simon was crucified. Eusebius in the *Ecclesiastical History* and Bede assert that, after Simon’s preaching in Egypt and the death of the apostle James the Less, he was made bishop of Jerusalem. In Trajan’s time, when Simon was one hundred and twenty years old, the governor of that province fastened him to a cross. Everyone, including the judge himself, marveled that one so decrepit could endure the punishment of the cross.

The truth of the matter, however, is that this Simon, bishop of Jerusalem, was not Simon the Apostle, the brother of Thaddeus, but another Simon, the son of Cleophe [i.e., Clopas]. Hence the aforesaid doctors later retracted in their chronicles what they had said as reported above.

One epistle of the apostle Thaddeus, who is also called Judas, is included among the canonical books in the canon of Sacred Scripture.

As is said in the *Ecclesiastical History*, he was sent to heal Abagarus, king of the city of Edissene [i.e., Abgar; Edessa]. A letter sent by Abagari to Christ [i.e., Abgar] before the Passion and Jesus’s reply to him are extant. Because letters of this kind are numbered among the apocrypha in Distinction 15, *The Holy Roman Church*, we omit their contents.

Chapter Fifteen: Matthias

Matthias is interpreted “given to the Lord,” “humble,” or “small.” After Christ’s Ascension, the apostles chose him to take the place of Judas the traitor among the twelve apostles, as appears in Acts 1, where it is said: “The lot fell upon Matthias, and he was numbered with the eleven.”

There are two ways of speaking about this lot. Dionysius says in his book *On the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*: “Concerning the divine lot that fell upon Matthias, others have said various things, irreligiously, as I think. Nevertheless, I too shall state my understanding. It seems to me that Scripture calls the lot a certain thearchic gift, showing the divine election received by that thearchic choir.”

Jerome and Bede say that these lots were the kind frequently used in the Old Testament. Thus Jerome says in Cause 26, Question 1: “Lots must not immediately be used after Matthias’s example, for the privileges of a few cannot make a common law.”

Gratian gives the reason why lots were permitted in the Old Testament but are now prohibited in Cause 26, Question 2, § *Accordingly*. The three kinds of lot--the consultative, divisive, and divinatory--are treated at length in the Second Part, in the title on superstitions.

After the coming of the Holy Spirit, Matthias received Judea as his lot. He devoted himself to preaching there and worked miracles.

A certain legend preserved at Trier reads of him as follows: “Matthias was most learned in the Lord’s law, pure in body, prudent in mind, acute in resolving questions of Sacred Scripture, provident in counsel, and ready in speech.”

While he preached throughout Judea, he converted many through signs and wonders. The Jews therefore envied him and condemned him in their council. The two men who had accused him of blasphemy cast the first stones at him after his unjust condemnation. While he was being stoned, a man struck him on the head with an axe. Matthias stretched his hands toward heaven and rendered his spirit to God.

His body was translated from Judea to Rome and then, according to that legend, carried to Trier. According to others, it is commonly said to rest at Rome in the church of Saint Mary Major beneath a porphyry stone. His head is shown to the people.

Matthias was substituted for Judas Iscariot. We omit pursuing the story that relates Judas’s birth and upbringing, his killing of his father, and his marriage to his mother in ignorance that they were his parents, after which, upon learning the truth, he approached Jesus for pardon. Its truth is considered doubtful.

Chapter Sixteen: Mark the Evangelist

After these twelve apostles of Christ--the just judges of the age and the true lights of the world, who founded the Church by their blood upon the chosen living stone, Jesus Christ, and by whose teaching the Church shines like the sun and moon--we must finally speak very briefly about certain other disciples of the apostles who shone wonderfully in holiness and doctrine.

First comes Mark the Evangelist, who was Peter’s disciple and his son in Baptism. He was a priest descended from the tribe of Levi. His name is interpreted “lofty by command” or “certain, turned aside.”

He went to Rome with Peter. The faithful who were at Rome asked him to commit to writing, for their perpetual remembrance, the Gospel that Peter preached. Mark wrote with the pen of faith what he had received from his teacher’s mouth.

When Peter discovered this pious theft, he examined it diligently. Seeing that it was full of truth in every respect, he approved it to be received by all the faithful.

As Jerome says, Mark is reported to have cut off his own finger so that he would be considered unfit for the priesthood under the New Law. He did this from the greatest humility, by the familiar counsel of the Holy Spirit. According to the common law, however, this is altogether prohibited, as appears in Distinction 55, *If Anyone*, in the Gloss.

Peter’s authority nevertheless prevailed. It is believed that Mark’s finger was divinely restored to him. Knowing his constancy, Peter sent him to Aquileia, where by preaching God’s word he drew innumerable multitudes of nations to the faith. There he also wrote a Gospel, which is preserved to the present day in the church of Aquileia with the greatest veneration.

At last blessed Mark brought Hermogoras [i.e., Hermagoras], a citizen of Aquileia whom he had converted to the faith, to blessed Peter at Rome. Peter ordained Hermogoras [i.e., Hermagoras] bishop in Aquileia. After receiving this office, Hermogoras [i.e., Hermagoras] governed the church of Aquileia--which now holds patriarchal dignity--most excellently. He was finally captured by unbelievers and crowned with martyrdom.

Mark was afterward sent by blessed Peter to Alexandria, where he was the first to preach the Lord’s word. At his first entrance, as Philo, the most eloquent of the Jews, says, a very great multitude was united in faith, devotion, and the observance of continence.

Peter Damian also says in Mark's commendation in a sermon: "God bestowed such grace upon him at Alexandria that all who then gathered to the rudiments of faith immediately flew, through continence and zeal for an entirely heavenly manner of life, as though to the summit of monastic perfection. He urged them toward this not only by the wonders of miracles and not merely by the eloquence of preaching, but also by eminent examples."

[Running head: Chapter Sixteen, Folio 198.]

As Mark entered Alexandria, his shoe suddenly broke and came apart. Understanding this spiritually, he said: "The Lord has truly made my way unimpeded. Satan will not be able to hinder the man whom the Lord has released from dead works."

Mark saw a man sewing old shoes and gave him his own shoe to repair. While doing the work, the man seriously wounded his left hand and cried out: "One God!"

When Mark heard this, he said: "The Lord has truly made my journey prosper." Touching the wound with his spittle, he immediately healed him.

The man was named Ananias [i.e., Anianus]. He brought Mark into his house and asked who he was and what his condition was. When Mark said that he was a servant of Jesus Christ, Ananias [i.e., Anianus] replied: "I should like to see this Lord of yours."

Mark answered: "I shall show him to you." By evangelizing the mysteries of Christ to Ananias [i.e., Anianus], Mark converted him to the faith and baptized him.

The men of that city heard that a Galilean had arrived who despised sacrifices to their gods, and they set snares to destroy him. When the Evangelist learned of this, he ordained the Ananias [i.e., Anianus] whom he had healed as bishop, withdrew from Alexandria, and departed to preach in Pentapolis.

When he returned to Alexandria after two years, he found the faithful multiplied there. The priests of the temples intended to seize him.

While blessed Mark was celebrating Mass during the Paschal solemnity, the unbelievers came upon him, placed a rope around his neck, and dragged him through the city, saying: "Let us drag the buffalo to the places of Bucolus." His flesh fell upon the ground, and the stones were soaked with blood.

He was afterward cast into prison and comforted there by an angel. Jesus himself also visited and comforted him, saying: "Peace be with you, Mark, my evangelist. Do not fear, for I am with you. I shall rescue you."

When morning came, they again put a rope around his neck and dragged him here and there through the city, saying: "Drag the buffalo to the places of Bucolus." As he was dragged, Mark gave thanks to God and said: "Into your hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit." Thus he rendered his spirit about the year of the Lord 57, under Nero.

When the pagans wished to burn his lifeless body, a great storm suddenly arose with such thunder and lightning that everyone sought safety in flight. Meanwhile the faithful seized the body and reverently buried it in a church.

In the year of the Lord 467 [read: 828], the Venetians took the sacred body from Alexandria by armed force. Bringing it to Venice, they built a church of marvelous beauty and placed the body there with the greatest honor.

The Church holds blessed Mark in such veneration that the church of Alexandria, which Mark founded, is the first patriarchal see after Constantinople, which itself was the first after Rome, as appears in Distinction 22, *Renewing*.

Chapter Seventeen: Luke the Evangelist

Luke the Evangelist was not one of Christ's seventy-two disciples, as some think. According to Jerome, he was a disciple of the apostles, converted to the faith of Christ after Christ's Ascension.

He was Syrian by nation, a citizen of Antioch, a physician by profession, and the inseparable companion of the apostle Paul. Thus the Apostle says in Second Timothy 4, "Luke alone is with me," and says of him in Second Corinthians 5 [read: Second Corinthians 8:19]: "He was appointed by the churches as the companion of our pilgrimage."

Just as Mark wrote his Gospel not from sight but from what he heard from Peter, so Luke wrote not from sight, as Matthew and John did, but from what he heard from Paul, who had received the Gospel from Jesus Christ. It was also approved by the primitive fathers. Thus the Apostle says of Luke: "His praise is in the Gospel throughout all the churches."

Although many wrote Gospels or Acts of the Apostles, they were not accepted into the canon as indubitably true except for those of the four evangelists--Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John--and no Acts of the Apostles except that written by Luke. Other Gospels or Acts written by various authors and given the names of various apostles are numbered among the apocrypha because their truth is doubtful, as appears in Distinction 15, *The Holy Roman Church*.

Luke wrote in Greek. Hence, according to Jerome, his Gospel savors of Greek eloquence. Luke is interpreted “rising” or “raising,” or by derivation is said to come from “light.”

We do not read that he had either wife or children, but that he served the Lord in virginity. Full of the Holy Spirit, he died in Bithynia in the eighty-third year of his age, after continually bearing in his body the mortification of the cross for Christ’s name.

Just as Matthew is represented as a man, Mark as a lion, and John as an eagle, so Luke is figuratively represented as an ox by Ezekiel in chapter 1 and by John in Revelation 4.

They are represented by these animals because of the beginnings of their Gospel narratives. Matthew began with the genealogy of the fathers from whom Christ descended as man, and therefore is represented as a man. Mark began with the preaching of John the Baptist, crying in the desert like a roaring lion, and therefore is represented as a lion.

Luke began at the Temple, where, when Zechariah entered with a sacrifice of calves, John’s birth was announced to him. Luke is therefore shown as a calf, which was offered in the Temple. John thundered, “In the beginning was the Word,” soaring as far as the proclamation of the Word’s divinity, and therefore is indicated by the eagle, which flies higher than other birds.

Alternatively, because they all proclaim Christ as a man in the Incarnation, a calf in the sacrifice of the cross, a lion in the Resurrection, and an eagle in the Ascension, the evangelists are represented by these four animals.

Thus Ezekiel 1 says that each of those four living creatures had four faces: that of a man, a lion, an ox, and an eagle.

Or, according to Gregory on Ezekiel, all the elect of the Church, whose head is Christ, are comprehended in these animals. All are endowed with the four virtues signified by them: prudence by the man, who alone among the animals is rational, since prudence is right reason concerning things to be done; fortitude by the lion, according to the saying, “The lion is the strongest of beasts”; temperance by the calf, which is a sacrificial animal, because through temperance a person makes a sacrifice of the body by mortifying the passions of the concupiscible power; and justice by the eagle, which gazes upon the sun’s sphere with an unblinking eye, while justice is compared with the sun, according to the saying: “For you who fear the Lord’s name, the sun of justice shall arise.”

Concerning these elect, Gratian in Cause 23, Question 4, § *From All These*, expounds the words of the Psalm: “Your living creatures”--that is, those possessed by God through grace--“shall dwell in it,” namely the inheritance of which he had spoken, that is, the inheritance of heavenly glory; “in your sweetness,” namely the charity that “you have prepared for the poor,” that is, for the humble.

It follows: “God will give the word to those who evangelize.”

[Running head: Sixth Title.]

Sixth Title: On the Church Militant

Chapter Eighteen: Barnabas

Barnabas, a Levite and a Cypriot by nation, was one of the seventy-two disciples. His name is interpreted “son of one who comes,” “son of consolation,” or “son who concludes.”

He is greatly commended in the Acts of the Apostles. Of the seventy-two disciples of Christ, the Church throughout the world solemnly celebrates Barnabas alone.

The apostles gave him to Paul as a companion for preaching among the Gentiles and for procuring alms for the poor worshipers of Christ who lived together in common at Jerusalem, especially during the famine that occurred throughout the world under Emperor Claudius.

Paul himself bears witness to this in Galatians 2. He says that when he had conferred the Gospel with Peter, James the Less, and John at Jerusalem, they gave to him and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship so that they would remember the poor who were at Jerusalem.

Barnabas was also the man who presented Saul, converted into Paul, before the apostles when Paul went to Jerusalem three years after his conversion. He attested Paul’s true conversion, which many believed not to be genuine but feigned. Hence they did not dare associate with him.

Barnabas was very well ordered with respect to himself, to God, and to his neighbor.

With respect to himself, he was ordered according to all his powers: the rational, the concupiscible, and the irascible. The rational power is ordered through the light of true knowledge. Barnabas possessed this not only in the common manner, through true faith, but in a singular manner, because he is numbered among the teachers and prophets.

Acts 13 says that there were teachers and prophets in the church at Antioch: Barnabas, Simeon, and others. As blessed Dorotheus writes, Barnabas was the first to preach Christ at Rome.

The concupiscible power is well ordered when it is clean from the dust of worldly affection and greed. Acts 4 shows that Barnabas possessed this purity, saying that Joseph, who was called Barnabas, owned a field, sold it, and placed its price at the apostles' feet.

The irascible power is governed through the strength of fortitude by undertaking difficult things as one ought and patiently enduring adversities. The apostles bore witness to this concerning him when they sent Barnabas with Paul and letters to the faithful at Antioch. Acts 15 says: "To our most beloved Paul and Barnabas, who delivered their souls"--that is, their lives--"for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ." For Christ he finally endured the martyrdom of fire, as will be said below.

With respect to God, he was well ordered by showing deference to divine authority, majesty, and goodness.

He deferred to divine authority because he did not usurp for himself the office of preaching, which was instituted by God, but was sent by God. Thus in Acts 13 the Holy Spirit said: "Set apart for me Paul and Barnabas for the work to which I have assumed them," namely, preaching.

He deferred to God's majesty when some people wished to attribute divine majesty to him and Paul and to sacrifice to them as gods because they had healed a sick man. Calling Barnabas the god Jupiter and Paul Mercury, they wished to sacrifice. Paul and Barnabas tore their garments as a sign of detestation and restrained them, asserting that they were not gods but human servants of Jesus Christ, as appears in Acts 14.

He deferred to divine goodness when certain converts from the Jews disparaged the goodness of God's grace--which saves us freely, not because of our works--by asserting that no one could be saved without circumcision and observance of the legal prescriptions. Paul and Barnabas resisted them, affirming that the faithful obtain eternal salvation solely by the goodness of God's grace, without the legal observances. Against the error of the others, they procured letters from the apostles at Jerusalem and carried them to Antioch, as appears in Acts 15.

With respect to his neighbor, Barnabas was ordered most excellently by assisting him through word, example, and temporal aid.

He helped by word because he continually and diligently proposed God's word. Thus Acts 15 says: "Paul and Barnabas remained at Antioch, teaching and evangelizing the word of God."

He helped by example because his life was highly exemplary. He was conspicuous for the goodness of every virtue, full of the grace of the Holy Spirit, and distinguished in faith. Acts 11 says of him that "he exhorted everyone to remain in the Lord with purpose of heart, because he was a good man, full of the Holy Spirit and faith."

He helped by temporal aid because he procured alms with Paul and carried them to those who were at Jerusalem. He also practiced spiritual almsgiving by forgiving the offense committed against him by Mark, his cousin, when Mark left him and Paul to go visit his relatives, overcome by a certain natural affection. This is in Acts 20 [read: Acts 15:37-39].

After Paul and Barnabas had long traveled together through the world preaching, an angel finally revealed to Paul that he should go to Jerusalem, while it was revealed to Barnabas that he should go to Cyprus.

When they related these revelations to each other, Barnabas prostrated himself at Paul's feet with many tears poured forth from their intimate friendship, saying: "Now I go to Cyprus to end my life there. Alas, I shall see your face no more."

Paul compassionately answered: "Do not weep, for this is the Lord's will. The Lord also appeared to me this night and said: 'Do not prevent Barnabas from going to Cyprus, for he will enlighten many there and consummate his martyrdom.'"

They therefore departed from each other. Barnabas and his cousin Mark, discussed above, who also wrote Barnabas's passion in Greek, while Bede translated it into Latin, went to Cyprus.

Barnabas carried Saint Matthew's Gospel with him and healed many by placing it upon the sick.

One day Barnabas saw men and women running together naked and celebrating their festivals. Indignant at such dishonor, he cursed the temple. Part of it immediately collapsed and crushed many of them.

When Barnabas entered the city of Salamis, a Jewish magician stirred up a sedition against him. The Jews seized Barnabas, inflicted many injuries upon him, and hastened to drag him before the judge. Fearing that the governor might release him free, they placed a rope around his neck, dragged him outside the city, and burned him with fire.

Still unsatisfied, they intended to place his bones in a certain little vessel and cast them into the sea. John, who is also called Mark, seized them by night and buried them in a crypt. The body lay hidden there until the five-hundredth year of the Lord. Then, while Gelasius was pope and Zeno emperor, it was revealed and raised from that place.

Chapter Nineteen: Mary Magdalene

Among Christ's male and female disciples were the sisters Mary Magdalene and Martha and their brother Lazarus, whom Christ loved with familiar affection. Descended from royal stock among the Jewish people, they had a father named Siro and a mother named Eukaria [i.e., Syrus; Eucharia]. They divided the great wealth of their inheritance among themselves so that Mary received as her portion a certain fortress called Magdala, from which she was named Magdalene; Martha received the town of Bethany, which was about two miles from Jerusalem; and Lazarus, who practiced military service, received a considerable portion of Jerusalem.

[Running head: Chapter Nineteen, Folio 199.]

Mary is interpreted "bitter sea," "illuminatrix," or "illuminated." It is commonly held that this Mary was the sinner who washed Jesus's feet with her tears and wiped them with her hair in Simon's house, as recorded in Luke 7. Gregory and Augustine expressly assert this, although others, including Jerome and Origen, say that she was another woman.

Cause 1, Question 7, *If Anyone*, quoting Council 7, says: "We know that Mary was first a sinner, although after her conversion she was holy and chaste; nevertheless, she was numbered among the deaconesses."

Note that she is called a deaconess not because she had the order of the diaconate, but because she held the office of reading the Gospel with a homily at Matins.

Christ conferred great benefits upon her and displayed signs of love, so that where sin abounded, grace might abound still more. He cast seven demons out of her. He willed to have her as his hostess and provider on the journey, ministering to him from her resources, as Luke relates.

He gently excused her from the complaints of others: at Simon's house, when Simon called her unclean and a sinner; before her sister, when Martha called her idle; and before Judas and his companions, when they accused her of extravagance.

When he saw her weeping, he could not restrain tears of compassion. For love of her he raised her brother Lazarus from the dead after four days. According to Ambrose, he healed her sister Martha from a flow of blood that she had suffered for seven years.

In the time of grace, Mary was the first to undertake solemn penance. She anointed the Lord's feet and head with precious ointment. Sitting beside the Lord's feet to hear his word, she chose the best part. She stood beside the cross during Christ's Passion. She also prepared ointments to anoint him after his death.

Finally, because she burned more ardently than the others, she merited to see Jesus rising victorious from the lower regions and to receive the first joys. The Lord made her the apostle of the apostles when he first sent her to announce the glory of his Resurrection. Among women, we read that she preached to the people.

Some assert that Mary had been betrothed to John the Evangelist and that, because Christ led John away from the wedding by calling him to preserve virginity, Mary indignantly gave herself over to pleasures. This account is refuted as easily as it is asserted. It has no plausibility that she, wealthy, noble, and most beautiful, would marry a poor, ignoble, and uncultivated man.

§ I: Mary Magdalene's Journey to Gaul

Several years after the Lord's Passion, when the apostles had been driven from those regions, the Jews rose against Mary, Martha, their brother Lazarus, Marcella, Martha's maidservant--who, while Christ disputed against the Pharisees, had cried, "Blessed is the womb that bore you," and so forth--Celidomium [i.e., Celidonius], whom Christ had given sight although he was blind from birth, Maximinus, one of Christ's seventy-two disciples, and several other faithful people.

They placed them in a ship without a rudder and exposed them to the sea so that they might be submerged all the more quickly. By divine guidance, however, they reached Marseille unharmed.

When they disembarked and no one received them as guests, they took shelter in a portico of a temple of that region's gods. When the people came to sacrifice to the idols, Mary Magdalene began to preach to them and rebuke the worship of the gods. Everyone marveled at her wisdom and eloquence.

Meanwhile Mary Magdalene appeared three times in dreams to the prince of the province and his wife. She harshly rebuked their cruelty because, while abounding in delights and riches, they permitted God's saints to be tormented by hunger. In fear, they received the saints humanely.

The prince and his wife were sterile. After hearing Mary preach Christ to the people and proclaim his powers, they said to her: “If you can obtain from your Christ that we have a son, we are ready to obey your words and believe in Christ.”

Mary Magdalene obtained this through her prayers, and the woman conceived. Because Mary had commended the apostle Peter, who was then at Rome, as the principal teacher of this doctrine and as confirming it by very many miracles, the prince resolved to go there for fuller instruction. His wife, although pregnant, wished to follow him. Mary made the sign of the cross upon their shoulders so that the ancient enemy could not hinder their journey.

While they sailed, a great storm arose. The pains of childbirth seized the matron, and after delivering a male child she died in labor. The prince was greatly dismayed both by his wife’s death and by the death that threatened the wailing infant because it could not be nourished without milk.

When the sailors wished to cast the dead woman’s body into the sea, a certain hill like a little island in the sea appeared to them. They disembarked there and placed the mother with the crying infant upon it, commending them to Mary Magdalene.

They continued their journey and reached Rome. The prince visited the apostle Peter, who reverently instructed him in every matter and charitably received him. When the prince told him of the misfortune at sea and his wife’s death, Peter comforted him, saying that the Lord would console him.

When the prince afterward returned by sea to his own land and approached the hill where he had left his wife’s corpse with the infant, he disembarked from the ship and found his wife alive with the child.

Rejoicing exceedingly at so great a miracle, they rendered immense thanks to God and attributed everything to the merits of blessed Mary Magdalene. They afterward reached their city and recounted God’s wonders. Destroying all the city’s idols, they built many churches, and very many received faith and Baptism.

They appointed blessed Lazarus bishop of Marseille. Passing from there to the city of Aix, they led its people to the faith and ordained blessed Maximinus, mentioned above, bishop there.

§ II: Mary Magdalene in the Wilderness

At last blessed Mary Magdalene, eager for divine contemplation, sought a most rugged wilderness. She remained unknown to human beings for thirty years in a place divinely prepared for her.

In that place there were neither streams of water nor the comforts of trees, showing that our Redeemer had resolved to satisfy her not with earthly feasts but with heavenly refreshment.

At each of the seven canonical hours every day, angels lifted her into the sky. With her bodily ears she heard the glorious harmonies of the heavenly companies. Daily nourished by them as by the sweetest foods and then carried back by the angels to her own place, she needed no bodily food.

A certain solitary priest, desiring to lead the eremitical life, built himself a cell about a mile and a half from that place. One day the Lord opened the hermit’s eyes, and with his bodily eyes he saw angels in human form lift someone from that place and again set the person down after an hour.

When he proceeded toward the place, he began to lose his strength as he drew near; when he retreated, he recovered his former strength. Understanding from this that it was a mystery of God, he adjured the person in Jesus Christ’s name to tell him, if human, who and what she was.

Mary Magdalene said that she was the sinner about whom one reads in the Gospel.

[Running head: Sixth Title.]

Sixth Title: On the Church Militant

Chapter Nineteen (continued): Mary Magdalene

She told him how long she had remained there, how the angels lifted her seven times every day, and commanded him to reveal this to blessed Maximinus.

When she was about to depart from the body, the Lord revealed it to her. She told the hermit to have blessed Maximinus await her in the church at dawn on the following Sunday so that he might give her Viaticum.

The hermit did this and received great joy from it. Just as she had foretold, while blessed Maximinus awaited her in the church, blessed Mary appeared amid angels, raised two cubits above the earth and surrounded by great light. Before the clergy and people she received the Eucharist with many tears, rendered her spirit there to God, and was buried beside the altar. Egyssippus [i.e., Hegesippus] agrees sufficiently with the foregoing history.

Chapter Twenty: Martha

After the Lord's Ascension, Martha, the sister of Mary Magdalene, came to Marsilia [i.e., Marseille] with Mary and the others whom the Jews had put into the little boat to be drowned, as was said in the preceding chapter. That region was converted to the faith by their words and examples.

At that time, in a certain wood upon the Rhodanus [i.e., Rhône] between Arelate [i.e., Arles] and Avinio [i.e., Avignon], there was a dragon called the Terraschon [i.e., Tarascon]. Its forward half had the form of a fish, while the other half had the form of a land animal. It was thicker than an ox and longer than a horse, with teeth sharp like a sword. Hiding in the river, it killed everyone who crossed and sank passing ships.

It had come by sea from Galatia in Asia and had been begotten by Leviathan, an aquatic and exceedingly savage serpent.

At the request of that country's people, Martha went to it. She showed it the sign of the cross and sprinkled it with blessed water. Made gentle as a sheep, it was bound by Martha with her own girdle and led out. The people killed it with spears and stones.

Afterward, on the advice of her teacher Saint Maximinus, she ordered a great church built there and established her dwelling beside it. A great multitude of women gathered around her to serve God. She led an austere life, eating neither meat, eggs, nor cheese, drinking no wine, and eating once a day. A hundred times by day and as many times by night she bent her knees in prayer.

We nowhere read that she had a husband or the companionship of a man. She restored to life and health an unbelieving young man who had drowned in the river near Avinio [i.e., Avignon].

§ I: Martha's Passing

The Lord revealed her death to her a year beforehand, and throughout that year she suffered from fever. Eight days before her death, she heard choirs of angels carrying to heaven the soul of her sister, who had then died. She said to her: "O my beloved sister Mary, may you live with my Teacher and my Guest in the blessed dwelling."

She assembled her companions and announced this to them. When the day of her death finally arrived, she admonished her followers to light lamps and keep watch around her until she died.

At midnight, while those standing nearby were overcome by sleep, a violent wind suddenly extinguished all the lamps. Seeing a crowd of malignant spirits, Martha began to pray and say: "My father Eli, my dear guest, deceivers have gathered to devour me, holding written accusations of the things I have done. Eli, do not withdraw far from me, but attend to my aid."

Suddenly she saw her sister Mary coming to her with a multitude of angels. Mary carried a burning torch by which she rekindled the extinguished lamps.

While each called to the other, Christ came and said: "Come, my beloved hostess. Just as you received me in your earthly lodging, so today I receive you into the lodging of heavenly glory."

As the hour of her passing approached, she had herself carried outside so that she might see heaven, placed upon the ground over ashes, the sign of the cross held before her, and the Lord's Passion according to Luke read in her presence.

When the reader reached Christ's final words, "Father, into your hands," and so forth, Martha rendered her spirit, which flew to heaven with the angels.

On Sunday, while praises of God and funeral rites were celebrated around her body at the third hour, the Lord appeared to blessed Frontonius at Petragorica [i.e., Périgueux]. Frontonius was celebrating the solemnities of Mass for the people and had fallen asleep in his chair after the Epistle.

The Lord said: "Arise and follow me." Going with him, Frontonius came to Terraschon [i.e., Tarascon]. They entered the church where blessed Martha's body lay and celebrated the office while others made the responses, until the Lord and Frontonius committed her to burial.

Meanwhile the people at Petragorica [i.e., Périgueux] awaited the continuation of Mass. A deacon awakened the sleeping Frontonius. Waking, he said: "Why have you awakened me, brothers? Our Lord Jesus Christ summoned me to the office for the body of Martha, his hostess, and we have just committed her to burial.

“Send messengers there to bring back my ring and gloves. When I prepared myself to bury the body, I entrusted them to the sacristan and left them there through forgetfulness, because you awakened me so quickly.”

A messenger was sent and brought back the ring and one glove, for the sacristan kept the other as testimony to the event.

It should not be believed that Frontonius was personally in both places--sleeping in his chair at Petragorica [i.e., Périgueux] and performing the burial office at Terraschon [i.e., Tarascon]. Rather, while he slept there in person, he saw in a dream that he was present for the burial office. It was not Frontonius himself in a bodily sense, but an angel of the Lord in his likeness who performed the office and carried the gloves and ring there.

This agrees very well with what is found in Cause 26, Question 5, *Bishops*. It says there that the prophet Ezekiel saw the Lord’s visions in spirit, not in the body, and that Paul does not dare say that he was rapt in the body.

Marcella, Martha’s maidservant, is said to have written her life. Marcella afterward went into Sclavonia [i.e., Slavonia], preached there, and converted very many to the faith. Ten years after Martha’s falling asleep, she rested in peace.

Chapter Twenty-One

After the foundation of the prophets and apostles, with Christ Jesus himself as the supreme cornerstone, concerning whom the foregoing was said, the whole structure of the Church grows into a holy temple in the Lord. Where Christ is not the foundation, no structure of good work remains standing, as Gregory says in Cause 1, Question 1, *When Paul*.

We must now consider those who build upon it gold, silver, and precious stones: namely, of holiness and perfect charity; of doctrine or wisdom; of sonorous truth; of exquisite and innumerable sufferings; of the patience of the holy martyrs; and of firmness.

We shall not speak of all of them, but of those who became better known to human beings and are held in their veneration. Their architects were the supreme pontiffs and their fellow workers the most Christian emperors.

Thus Isidore says: “The heavenly kingdom often advances through the earthly kingdom, so that those who act within the Church against faith and discipline may be crushed by the severity of princes. Therefore let the princes of the age know that they will have to render an account to God because of the Church that they received from Christ to defend.” This is in Cause 23, Question 5, *Princes*.

[Running head: Chapter Twenty-One, Folio 200.]

The princes who attacked the Church and attempted to empty it down to its foundation were unable to do so. They themselves were exterminated and descended to the lower regions with the weapons of their malice.

Those who successively occupied the pontificate in the Apostolic and Roman See and those who were elevated to imperial power will therefore be described in order. So too will the marvelous and notable events of their times, the deeds not only of the faithful but also of unbelievers, and the sayings of the wise.

§ I: Under Octavian and Tiberius

Christ was born under Octavian in the forty-first year of his rule. He suffered under Octavian’s successor Tiberius in the eighteenth year of his rule. Rising on the third day and appearing to his disciples, Christ granted the supreme pontificate to Peter.

Peter held it through the remaining lifetime of Tiberius and under the emperors Gaius Caligula, Claudius, and Nero, who succeeded one another. Under Nero, Peter himself was martyred with Paul.

Although all these emperors were pagans, they did not inflict persecution upon Christians except Nero, who after some years of his reign stirred up the first persecution against Christians. By God’s providence, the apostles and their other disciples were therefore given the opportunity during that interval to spread the Church throughout the world, although certain local persecutions by Jews and Gentiles against individual saints did not cease.

We must therefore consider the life and character of those emperors.

After Octavian Augustus’s death, as Eusebius says, Tiberius was the third ruler of the Romans. He reigned for twenty-three years. He began to rule in the sixteenth year from the Lord’s Nativity and in the year 3979 from the beginning of the world according to the Hebrews, but according to the Septuagint, the Church’s more common opinion, and Eusebius in the *Chronicle*, in the year 5199.

As Suetonius says, at the beginning of his principate Tiberius conducted himself in a thoroughly civil manner and almost as a private person. Of the many very great honors offered to him, he accepted only a few modest ones. He refused the forename “Emperor,” the surname “Father of the Fatherland,” and a crown offered in his entrance hall.

He opposed flatteries. When a man of consular rank made satisfaction to him and tried to entreat him at his knees, Tiberius so avoided him that he fell backward. If anything too flattering about himself was said in conversation or in a sustained speech, Tiberius did not hesitate immediately to interrupt, reprove, and correct it.

He was firm and patient in the face of abuse, wicked rumors, and defamatory poems about himself and his family. He repeatedly declared that in a free city both tongues and minds ought to be free.

In addressing and honoring both individuals and groups, he nearly exceeded the measure of ordinary humanity. He never entered the senate chamber except alone. When something was decreed contrary to his opinion, he did not even complain. It was evident that he too rose before the consuls and yielded place to them.

When governors advised burdening the provinces with tribute, he wrote in reply that it belonged to a good shepherd to shear the flock, not to swallow it. He reduced expenditures upon games and public entertainments. He judged that limits should be placed upon household furnishings and that public frugality should also live through his example.

He removed a man from the senatorial quaestorship because he had repudiated on the third day a wife whom he had married the day before. He expelled astrologers from the city but pardoned those who begged forgiveness and promised to abandon their art.

While still a recruit in the camp, however, because of his excessive eagerness for wine, he was called Tiberius [read: Biberius] instead of Tiberius, Claudius [read: Caldius] instead of Claudius, and Nero [read: Mero] instead of Nero.

Later, while emperor and engaged in that very correction of public morals, he spent an uninterrupted night and two days feasting and drinking with Pompeius Flaccus [i.e., Pomponius] and Lucius Piso. He immediately conferred the province of Syria upon one and the prefecture of the city upon the other.

For the quaestorship he preferred an entirely unknown candidate to the most noble men because, while Tiberius drank to him at a banquet, the man had drained an amphora of wine. He gave Asellius Sabinus *sextricia decem* [read: *sestertia decem*, ten thousand sesterces] for a dialogue in which a mushroom, a fig-pecker, an oyster, and a thrush entered into a contest.

He was sparing and tenacious with money. He never supported the companions of his journeys and expeditions with a salary, but only with food. He very rarely granted discharges to veterans, calculating that old age would bring death and death would bring financial advantage.

As time advanced, he soon turned his mind to plunder. It is sufficiently established that Lentulus, whose estate was immense, was driven by fear and anguish into weariness of life and was condemned to die with no heir other than Tiberius himself.

Tiberius customarily proposed questions at dinner from his daily reading. When he learned that Selenichus [i.e., Seleucus] the grammarian was asking his servants which authors he was treating at any given time and thus came prepared, he first removed Selenichus [i.e., Seleucus] from his companionship and afterward drove him even to death.

He punished a Praetorian soldier with death for stealing a peacock from a garden.

Not a day passed without the punishment of human beings, not even a religious and sacred day. Many were accused and condemned together with their children. It was even forbidden for relatives to mourn the condemned. No informer's credibility was rejected.

Every crime was received as capital, even the accusation of a few simple words. A poet was charged with having assailed Agamemnon with insults in a tragedy, and a historian with having called Brutus and Cassius the last of the Romans. The authors were immediately punished and their writings abolished, although those writings were proved to have been recited some years before in Augustus's hearing.

Those delivered into custody were deprived not only of the comfort of study but also of the use of conversation. Some who were summoned to plead their case wounded themselves at home, certain of condemnation and wishing to avoid disgrace and torment. Others drank poison in the middle of the senate chamber. Nevertheless, bound up over their wounds, half alive and still trembling, they were dragged to prison.

Force was used to make those who wished to die continue living. Tiberius regarded death as such a light punishment that, when he heard that one defendant named Carnulus had anticipated it, he cried: "Carnulus has escaped me."

When another begged for the prompt arrival of his punishment, Tiberius answered: "I have not yet been reconciled with you."

He walked with his neck rigid and bent backward, his expression almost entirely withdrawn. He was generally silent, speaking never or very rarely even with those closest to him, and then very slowly and not without a certain soft gesticulation of the fingers. All these things were disagreeable and full of arrogance.

He was rather negligent concerning the gods and religions. Filled with belief in astrology, he thought that all things were governed by fate. Yet he feared thunder beyond measure and, whenever the sky was unusually troubled, always wore a laurel wreath on his head, because this kind of leaf is said not to be struck by lightning.

He cultivated the liberal arts most zealously. Through excessive affectation and moroseness he obscured his style in formal speech, and sometimes wished an extemporaneous speech to be considered superior to a prepared one.

As Josephus relates, he was slow in all his business. Thus, when he appointed procurators in the provinces, he hardly ever or never changed them. When he was repeatedly asked why he did not change procurators, he answered that in this way he spared the poor common people.

[Running head: Sixth Title.]

Sixth Title: On the Church Militant

Chapter Twenty-One (continued)

For procurators, knowing that they possess their procuratorship for only a short time, milk the people even to blood and rule all the more harshly because their rule will be shorter. Those who newly arrive dissipate whatever they find.

Tiberius demonstrated this by the example of a wounded man who lay in the road and did not drive a multitude of flies away from his wound. Another man came upon him, thought he refrained through weakness, and drove off the flies that covered the wound.

The wounded man said to him: “You have treated me badly, because the flies you removed were already full of blood and troubled me less. But the fresh flies that come will sting me more sharply.” In the same way, newly appointed procurators and officials rage more sharply against their subjects.

According to Eusebius in the *Chronicle*, in the twenty-first year of Tiberius’s rule, when Pylatus [i.e., Pilate] reported the teaching about Christ to Tiberius, Tiberius proposed to the senate that Christ be received among the other sacred beings.

Richard of Saint Victor says: “It was the Roman custom for judges of the provinces to report in writing to the senate if anything new occurred in the provinces that they governed. Pylatus [i.e., Pilate] therefore wrote a letter to Tiberius about the things that had been perpetrated against the Lord Jesus, also indicating to him that Jesus was truly the Savior of the world.”

Vincent sets down the words of this letter in Book 9 of the *Historical Mirror*. There Pylatus [i.e., Pilate] relates substantially how the Jews handed over to him a man of their race who had been promised by God through their prophets and who worked many miracles by enlightening the blind, healing the sick, and raising the dead. The people said that he was God’s Son, but the chief priests, moved by envy, handed him over to Pylatus [i.e., Pilate] and, inventing one falsehood after another, said that he was a magician and acted against their law.

Pylatus [i.e., Pilate] says: “At their judgment I condemned him to death upon the cross. After dying, he rose alive on the third day.”

As Richard says in the place cited above, Tiberius reported this to the senate with the support of great favor, asking that Christ be declared God. The senate refused, indignant that according to custom the letter had not first been delivered to it. From that day his previously most praiseworthy moderation began to change as a punishment of the senators who opposed him.

Nevertheless, when by the counsel of the Fathers it had been resolved, as Eusebius says in the *Chronicle*, that Christians should be expelled from the city, Tiberius threatened the accusers of Christians with death by an edict, as Tertullian writes.

§ II: The Notorious Mockery of Paulina in the Temple of Isis at Rome

Egisippus [i.e., Hegesippus] relates that a certain woman named Paulina lived at Rome. She possessed most outstanding beauty and eminent dignity and was married to a most noble citizen. A certain military commander named Mundus sought her through entreaties. She was not swayed, but she lay open to the error of a superstitious vice.

Mundus bribed the priests of Isis to carry what purported to be the commands of the god Anubis to her: Anubis invited her to the temple; delighted by her devotion and chastity, he wished her to commit herself to him in secret at night.

Receiving this joyfully, she told her husband that a god had answered her prayers and requested her presence, which she could not refuse without sin. Thus, by both her own and her husband’s judgment, she went to the temple of Isis and spent the night there.

When the witnesses had been removed far away, as though she were about to receive knowledge of a sacred mystery, she settled herself upon her bed, thinking that her god would come to her in a dream.

When part of the night had passed, so that she could more easily be deceived while full of sleep, Mundus came wearing the appearance and clothing of Anubis and rushed upon her with kisses.

When the woman awoke, he said that he was Anubis. Believing him to be a god and declaring herself blessed that he had deigned to visit her, she did not deny him when he sought an embrace. First, however, she asked whether a god could unite himself with a human being.

He promised that this was possible, giving the example that the supreme god Jupiter had received Alemena [i.e., Alcmena] and that several other women had received gods. He also declared that he was a god and persuaded her that she would beget a god.

After they coupled, the woman returned to her husband more joyful, saying that she had been joined to a god and that, according to his promise, she would beget a god. The husband felt immense joy over his wife's defilement.

Mundus afterward met the woman and said: "Blessed Paulina, because of intercourse with a god! Anubis is a great god. But learn not to deny to gods and human beings those to whom the gods grant what you had refused, for the gods disdain neither to give us their forms nor their names. Behold, the god Anubis summoned Mundus to his rites so that he might join him to you.

"What, therefore, did your hardness profit you except to deprive you of the advantage of the twenty thousand that I had offered you?"

Realizing that she had been mocked and grieving over the injury to her chastity, the woman confessed the fraud to her husband. He brought his complaint to the ruler. Moved by the insult to this powerful man and by the invention of the atrocious crime, the ruler dragged the priests from the temple, subjected them to questioning, and killed them after they confessed. He sank the image of Isis in the Tiber.

Mundus was permitted to flee because, being overcome by love and beauty, he was judged worthy of lighter punishment.

I did not think this mockery, which occurred during Tiberius's rule, should be passed over, so that the emperor's deformity might be gathered from it. For just as the life of a good prince is a kind of precept for goodness and a form for living, so his filth is a law for crimes.

Here one should also attend to the deceit and stupidity of idolatry and the vanity of the woman.

In Tiberius's second year, thirteen cities, including Ephesus and others, fell in an earthquake.

Tiberius himself sent Pontius Pylatus [i.e., Pilate] as procurator of Judea for the empire. Several years after Christ's Passion--against whom Pylatus [i.e., Pilate] had pronounced an unjust sentence--Vitellius, governor of Syria, and the Jews accused him before Tiberius of violently killing innocent people, of placing an image of the Gentiles in the Temple while the Jews protested, and of converting to his own uses money deposited in the *corbona* by making an aqueduct to his house.

Pylatus [i.e., Pilate] received a sentence of relegation or exile to Lugdunum [i.e., Lyon], from which he originated, so that he might die there to the disgrace of his race. Finally, as Eusebius says, after falling into many calamities, he killed himself by his own hand.

§ III: Herod Agrippa During Tiberius's Time

During this Tiberius's reign, Philip, tetrarch of the region of Yturea [i.e., Iturea] and Trachonitis and brother of Herod, tetrarch of Galilee, died. Lisanias [i.e., Lysanias], tetrarch of Abilene, also died.

With the two tetrarchies thus vacant, another Herod Agrippa aspired to one of them. He was the nephew of Herod the tetrarch and brother of that tetrarch's wife, Herodias, who caused John the Baptist to be beheaded. Herod Agrippa and Herodias were children of Aristobulus, son of Herod the Great, who had caused the innocent little children to be killed.

This Agrippa was a magnanimous and warlike man. He therefore resolved to go to Rome in the hope that he might obtain one of the tetrarchies from Emperor Tiberius.

When Tiberius saw him arrive at Rome and recognized him as a most energetic soldier, he retained him with himself and caused him to adhere to his son Drusus, to whom he had already granted the empire during his lifetime.

Agrippa was a man of great liberality. To win the good will of the Romans, he spent much and obligated himself by many debts. As Josephus says, there was no man in whom the mutability of fortune could be perceived so greatly.

[Running head: Chapter Twenty-One, Folio 201.]

His first misfortune in this matter was that Drusus, Tiberius's son, died. Tiberius grieved so inconsolably over his death that he removed from his presence all who had been familiarly attached to Drusus, lest they recall his death to his memory.

Herod was therefore compelled to return to Judea. Despairing because of his excessive poverty, he entered a tower to be afflicted there by hunger and so to die.

His wife reported this to her sister Herodias, wife of Herod the tetrarch. Herodias begged her husband to recall him from the tower and give him the necessities of life. He agreed, established a livelihood for him at Tiberias, assigned him a house, and gave him what was necessary for life.

One day, while Herod the tetrarch was in Tiberias and was feasting more cheerfully than usual, he reproached Agrippa with the benefits he had conferred upon him, namely that he had delivered him from death by hunger.

Agrippa grieved beyond measure and resolved to return to Tiberius at Rome again, in the hope that he might find the emperor's disposition changed. Tiberius received him honorably.

Tiberius had two grandsons, one through his son Drusus, who was named Tiberius, and the other through his brother Germanicus, who was named Gayus [i.e., Gaius]. Tiberius wished to substitute as his successor in the empire the son of his son, namely Tiberius, because he loved him more. Herod, however, loved Gayus [i.e., Gaius] more and adhered more closely to him. Hence he stirred up Tiberius's hidden anger against himself.

One day, while Agrippa sat with Gayus [i.e., Gaius] in a chariot, he raised his hands to heaven and said: "Would that I might see the death of this troublesome old man and Gayus [i.e., Gaius] as lord of the whole world."

A certain person, namely Agrippa's charioteer, heard this. Agrippa later imprisoned him for theft, and he accused Agrippa of the crime of injured majesty because he had prayed for the emperor's death.

Tiberius ignored the accusation for some time. One day, while Tiberius rode in a horse-drawn chariot and held Agrippa by the hand, he called the jailer and said: "Bind this man and put him in prison."

Agrippa and everyone else marveled that Tiberius ordered him bound while he walked in purple because he was of royal seed.

As Agrippa was led to prison, he suffered intolerable thirst because he had eaten lavishly. By chance a water carrier met him and gave him a drink. Refreshed, Agrippa promised that he would soon reward him under Gayus [i.e., Gaius]'s reign, trusting that Gayus [i.e., Gaius] would shortly rule.

One day Agrippa stood leaning against a tree in whose branches an owl was sitting. One of his fellow prisoners approached him and said: "Do not think that I speak to flatter you, since you are a fellow prisoner with me. I wish to tell you what the gods have indicated to me." This man was very skilled in augury.

He said: "You will soon be freed and elevated so high that all your friends will envy you. You will die in this prosperity, leaving your possessions to your children. But whenever you see a bird of this kind above you again, know that you will die on the fifth day."

While Agrippa was in prison, the prison's master showed deference to him because he knew him to be noble and Gayus [i.e., Gaius]'s friend. As though unaware, he allowed Agrippa's friends to provide him many comforts in prison. Agrippa remained there for six months.

§ IV: The Death of Tiberius, the Succession of Gayus [i.e., Gaius], and Agrippa's Elevation

While Tiberius was at Capri, he began to grow ill. Seeing that he was about to die, he summoned the nobles of his empire and his two grandsons, Tiberius and Gayus [i.e., Gaius]. He resolved to substitute a successor for himself on the following day.

He prayed to his gods to make their intention known to him, namely which of his grandsons they wished to be substituted in the empire. He determined within himself that he would appoint emperor the one who came to him first on the following day, so that he might choose as though by lot. Nevertheless, he gave Tiberius notice to come first.

Tiberius refused to come in the morning until after he had eaten breakfast. Gayus [i.e., Gaius] therefore came first. When the elder Tiberius saw him, he wept bitterly, grieving that the other man whom he wished to appoint had not come.

Tiberius said to Gayus [i.e., Gaius]: "Son, you will succeed me in the empire, which was more rightly owed to Tiberius by hereditary right as my son's son. But I see that you are useful to the empire and know the intentions of the gods."

Having summoned the nobles, he announced Gayus [i.e., Gaius] as emperor and died.

A rumor immediately sounded for a short time at Rome. A certain Hebrew, a friend of Herod Agrippa, came to the prison and said to him in Hebrew: "The lion is dead." Agrippa began to rejoice wonderfully, so that the prison's master asked the cause of such rejoicing. Agrippa confessed that the man had signified Tiberius's death to him.

The prison's master immediately freed Agrippa and seated him beside himself at the table. On the following day other rumors arose, namely that Tiberius had recovered and would come to Rome on the third day.

The prison's master then reproved Agrippa, saying that he had deceived him. Lest the blame for having freed him from prison rebound upon his own head, he beat Agrippa severely and put him back in prison.

Reliable reports of Tiberius's death and Gayus [i.e., Gaius]'s elevation afterward burst forth. Gayus [i.e., Gaius] came to Rome and buried Tiberius honorably. He wished to release Agrippa from prison that very day, but he was dissuaded lest he appear so quickly to revoke Tiberius's acts as invalid.

After several days he released and elevated Agrippa. He gave him the two tetrarchies that had belonged to Philip and Lisanias [i.e., Lysanias], placed a diadem upon him, elevated him as king, and sent him back to Judea.

When Herod Agrippa had thus been elevated as king, all his relatives envied him, including his sister Herodias. She had pitied him when he was unhappy but envied him when he was fortunate, especially because he possessed the name of king, while her husband, who was older and a son of Herod the Great, had never merited to be called king but only tetrarch.

Day after day she therefore persuaded her husband to go to Rome and strive by every means to obtain the name of king for himself. He preferred to remain at leisure because he was wealthy. Hence his exasperated wife often said to him: "May your wealth perish, because you love wealth more than honors."

At last overcome by his wife's persistence, he went to Rome with her to Gayus [i.e., Gaius] in great state. They found Gayus [i.e., Gaius] at Bayis [i.e., Baiae].

Herod Agrippa perceived that they had not come to Rome for his good. He resolved to go after them but first sent his own confidential messenger, who was very close to Gayus [i.e., Gaius]. Through him he directed a letter containing the charge that even while Tiberius lived, Herod the tetrarch had contracted a friendship with the king of the Parthians so that he might rebel against the Roman Empire.

As evidence of this, he informed Gayus [i.e., Gaius] that Herod possessed in his cities arms sufficient for seventy thousand men.

Herod the tetrarch, surnamed Antipas, and his wife Herodias had been received honorably by Gayus [i.e., Gaius] when Agrippa's messenger arrived, carrying his letters to Gayus [i.e., Gaius].

[Running head: Sixth Title.]

Sixth Title: On the Church Militant

Chapter Twenty-One (continued)

After reading the letter, Gayus [i.e., Gaius] began to inquire elsewhere about the circumstances of Herod the tetrarch and whether there was as great a supply of arms in his cities as he had heard. Herod did not deny it. Gayus [i.e., Gaius] then believed that what Agrippa had reported to him was true and banished Herod into exile.

To Herod's wife, however, because she was the sister of Agrippa, whom Gayus [i.e., Gaius] loved greatly, he granted the freedom to return and retain her land. She instead accompanied her husband into exile, saying that she would not abandon in adversity the man whose prosperity she had shared. They were deported into exile at Lugdunum [i.e., Lyon], where they afterward died miserably.

This was the Herod who ordered John the Baptist to be beheaded and mocked Christ during his Passion when Christ was clothed in a white garment. Gayus [i.e., Gaius] gave to Agrippa the Galilee that Herod the tetrarch had possessed, and thus Agrippa held three tetrarchies. So says Comestor.

§ V: On the Very Wicked Character of This Gayus [i.e., Gaius]

Upon Tiberius's death, Gayus [i.e., Gaius] became emperor. According to Hugh of Fleury, he was called Gallicula [read: Caligula] because he had been born in the army and therefore received a nickname from the military boot called a *calicula* [read: *caliga*]. He was the son of Germanicus, brother of Emperor Tiberius, as was said above, and he ruled for four years.

As Comestor says, during the first two years at the beginning of his reign he was sufficiently gentle. Afterward his heart became vain, and he erupted into such pride and madness that he wished everyone in his empire to worship him as a god, saying that he was Jupiter's brother. Hence he also placed his only daughter between Jupiter's knees.

Suetonius also says this about him. Gayus [i.e., Gaius] often stood in the temple of Castor and Pollux between the two brothers and presented himself in the middle to be worshiped by those entering. He also established a temple of his own divinity, a priest [read: priests], and most extraordinary victims. In the temple stood a golden image that was clothed each day in the garment he himself

was wearing. Each of the richest men, competing and struggling with the greatest ambition, took his turn discharging the offices of that priesthood.

At night he continually invited the full and shining moon into his embraces and bed. At other times he spoke privately with Capitoline Jupiter, now whispering and in turn putting his ear near the god, now speaking more loudly and not without quarrels. His threatening voice was heard until, as Gayus [i.e., Gaius] reported, Jupiter had been won over and had freely invited him to live with him.

§ VI: On His Cruelty

Suetonius says that through indignities and harassment Gayus [i.e., Gaius] caused the death of his grandmother Antonia, though some say that he also gave her poison. He showed no honor to her after death but watched her burning funeral pyre from the dining room.

He unexpectedly killed his brother Tiberius by suddenly sending a military tribune against him. He compelled his father-in-law Silanus to kill himself by cutting his throat with a razor.

He believed that his infant daughter Julia was his offspring by no surer proof than her savagery. Even at that age it was so great that with hostile fingers she attacked the faces and eyes of infants playing with her.

By closing the granaries he sometimes inflicted famine upon the people. He forced parents to be present at the executions of their sons. To one father who pleaded ill health he sent his own litter.

He once asked a man recalled from exile what he had been accustomed to do there. The man answered flatteringly: “I always prayed to the gods that what has now happened would occur--that Tiberius would die and you would become emperor.” Gayus [i.e., Gaius] therefore imagined that his own exiles were likewise praying for his death. He sent men around the islands where the exiles were held and had them all slaughtered.

He said that in his own nature he praised and approved nothing more than shamelessness. He permitted no one to be punished except by frequent, small blows.

He was also accustomed to complain openly about the condition of his times because they were distinguished by no public calamities. While devoting his mind to games and banquets, he wished for massacres of armies, famine, plague, fires, and an opening of the earth. In his deeds and sayings the same cruelty remained present.

Whenever he kissed the neck of his wife or mistress, he added: “So fine a neck will be cut off as soon as I command it.” Whenever handsome men met him, he disfigured them by shaving the backs of their heads.

He spared neither his own chastity nor anyone else’s. He habitually committed incest with all his sisters and frequently prostituted them to his favorites. Finally, he punished them as adulteresses and as accomplices in plots against him.

He surpassed the genius of every prodigal. He devised a new use for baths and the most monstrous kinds of food and banquets: he bathed in hot and cold perfumes, swallowed the most precious pearls dissolved in vinegar, and set bread and dishes of gold before his guests.

He possessed soundness neither of mind nor of body. He was especially agitated in sleep, for he rested no more than three hours of the night, and even during these he did not rest but was terrified by strange visions. Therefore he spent a large part of the night awake and weary of lying down, now sitting upon his bed and now wandering through very long porticoes, repeatedly invoking and awaiting the light.

In clothing, footwear, and the rest of his attire he followed neither his country’s fashion nor civil, masculine, or even human custom.

Drained and needy because of his excessive prodigality, he turned his mind to plunder. Through varied and most elaborate kinds of false charges, exactions, and taxes, he imposed new and unheard-of levies, leaving no class of property or people on which he did not place some tax.

Finally inflamed by desire for money, he often walked barefoot over immense heaps of gold coins spread out in a very large place and rolled his whole body upon them for a long time.

He undertook military service and warfare only once. The most contrary faults existed in him: the highest self-confidence and excessive fear. Although he so greatly despised the gods, at the slightest thunder and lightning he used to collapse and cover his head; at heavier storms he sprang from his bed and hid beneath it.

Among the liberal disciplines he devoted himself chiefly to eloquence. He was indeed fluent and ready, especially if he had to plead against someone. Words and thoughts came readily to him, while his delivery and voice were such that in his ardor he could not remain in one place and could be heard by people standing far away.

He also practiced other and very diverse kinds of arts with the greatest zeal. He was carried away by his delight in singing and dancing to such a degree that even at public spectacles he could not refrain from joining in with an actor's recitation and openly imitating a stage performer's gestures as though praising and correcting him.

As Comestor says, Gayus [i.e., Gaius] sent his image throughout his whole empire so that everyone would worship it. All did so except the Jews.

When a disturbance arose at Alexandria between Jews and Gentiles, both sides came before Gayus [i.e., Gaius] so that he might decide the controversy between them. Among the Gentiles' other allegations against the Jews was that the Jews dishonored the god whom all the Gentiles commonly acknowledged because they refused to worship Gayus [i.e., Gaius]'s image.

Philo, a most eloquent and wise man sent by the Jews, wished to plead in their defense, but Gayus [i.e., Gaius] refused to hear him. Yet he had willingly heard Appio [i.e., Apion] plead very fiercely for the Gentiles against the Jews, whom he hated. Greatly angered against the Jews by Appio [i.e., Apion]'s words, Gayus [i.e., Gaius] dismissed Philo with disgrace when he attempted to speak.

On leaving, Philo said to the Jews: "You ought to be of good courage, for Gayus [i.e., Gaius] is angry with you. Divine aid must be present where human aid ceases."

Gayus [i.e., Gaius] commanded Petronius, governor of Syria, by letter to place his statue in the Temple at Jerusalem, where it could more easily be acknowledged by the surrounding peoples, and, if the Jews perhaps would not consent, to gather an army and slaughter them all.

When Petronius attempted to do this, he saw that Jewish sedition and rebellion would follow, because the Jews were prepared to die rather than consent. Persuaded also by Agrippa's friends, he postponed the matter until he could write to Gayus [i.e., Gaius] about it through honorable men. These men did not dare present themselves before Gayus [i.e., Gaius], however, but appointed as mediator in the affair Agrippa, who was Gayus [i.e., Gaius]'s intimate friend.

Herod Agrippa invited Gayus [i.e., Gaius] to a banquet, which he prepared magnificently and with the greatest luxury. During the feast Gayus [i.e., Gaius] recalled how much Herod had endured for him, and on that account said that if Herod asked anything, he was prepared to grant it.

Herod then asked him to revoke that command so that Gayus [i.e., Gaius]'s statue would not be placed in the Temple. Although Gayus [i.e., Gaius] was angry, he nevertheless granted the request and informed Petronius that if his statue had not yet been placed in the Temple, he was not to place it there thereafter.

Later, however, Gayus [i.e., Gaius] changed his mind and wrote to Petronius: "Because you have despised the emperor's command and loved the Jews' gifts more, choose whatever kind of death you wish for yourself, so that others may learn to obey the emperor's commands." But before this letter reached Petronius, Gayus [i.e., Gaius]'s death was made known. Thus the statue was not placed in the Temple.

Suetonius also says that Gayus [i.e., Gaius] sought to commit enormous crimes and was sometimes preparing even greater ones. He had determined to move to Alexandria after first killing all the most distinguished men of both orders. Lest this seem doubtful to anyone, two little books bearing different titles were found among his secret papers. One was labeled "Sword," the other "Dagger," and both contained the marks and names of men destined for death.

A huge chest filled with various poisons was also found. When these were submerged and cast into the sea, they are said to have poisoned it and killed fish, which the current carried onto the nearest shores.

Some also believe that he gave Tiberius poison during his illness and, because Tiberius did not die quickly, suffocated him out of fear that he might leave the empire to another.

Many men did not lack the courage to kill Gayus [i.e., Gaius]. Yet when one conspiracy after another had been uncovered, the rest feared to attack him. At last they formed and accomplished a plan to kill him, not without the counsel of very powerful leaders, namely Cassius Chereas [read: Chaerea] and Cornelius Sabinus.

Thus, on the ninth day before the Kalends of February, while Gayus [i.e., Gaius] was returning from the circus games and was already near the imperial palace, the tribune Cassius met him. Drawing his sword, he dealt him a powerful though not entirely mortal blow, saying, "Take what is ratified." Gayus [i.e., Gaius] neither cried out nor lamented from that wound, but, bearing its pain, fled.

Sabinus intercepted him and struck him a great blow between the neck and shoulder. Then, as Gayus [i.e., Gaius] fell to his knees, many conspirators surrounding him finished him with thirty wounds. Their signal to everyone was the repeated command, "Strike again." Some even drove their weapons through his private parts after he was dead.

At the first commotion after Gayus [i.e., Gaius]'s killing, his German bodyguards immediately ran up to avenge his death. Gayus [i.e., Gaius] was very dear to them because he had placated them with gifts of money. With swords drawn they killed some of his assassins and also certain innocent senators, hoping that Gayus [i.e., Gaius] still lived.

When they learned that he was dead, however, they feared the people's fury and ceased pursuing the conspirators, lest they provoke a conflict with the senators' most exalted order and the nobles, whom they knew to be exceedingly joyful over Gayus [i.e., Gaius]'s death.

Cassius and Sabinus, the leaders of the conspiracy, believed that danger would remain if Gayus [i.e., Gaius]'s wife and daughter survived and his entire progeny was not removed with him. They therefore sent a tribune named Lupus and commanded him to kill Gayus [i.e., Gaius]'s wife Cesena [read: Caesonia] and his daughter.

Some maintained that Cesena [read: Caesonia] had caused every evil done by Gayus [i.e., Gaius]. They said that she had given him a potion so that she could subject his mind to her service, and that by a lover's enchantments she had driven him into madness. She had so bound him to herself that the wealth of the Romans and of the whole world over which Gayus [i.e., Gaius] presided seemed subject to her.

When Lupus came to the palace, he found Cesena [read: Caesonia], Gayus [i.e., Gaius]'s wife, beside her husband's body with many others who were preparing everything necessary for his burial with great care. Her daughter was with her.

When she saw Lupus with other armed men and understood why he had come, without delay she offered her throat and invited him not to postpone accomplishing the purpose for which he had come. Thus with great courage she accepted the death Lupus inflicted, and her daughter was killed with her.

Afterward Gayus [i.e., Gaius]'s corpse was carried to the Lamian Gardens and half burned. Later his sisters, returned from exile, dug it up, cremated it, and buried it.

It is sufficiently established, however, that before this was done the guards of the gardens were disturbed by dreadful shades. In addition, no night passed without some terror in the house where he had lain until the house itself was consumed by fire.

On the day before Gayus [i.e., Gaius] died, as Suetonius reports, he dreamed that he stood in heaven beside Jupiter's throne and that Jupiter pushed him with the big toe of his right foot, hurling him down to earth.

§ VII: Philo in the Time of Gayus [i.e., Gaius]

In these times Philo, mentioned above, flourished as a most distinguished writer. As Jerome says, he was reckoned among the foremost not only in our own philosophy but also in that of the Greeks.

By ancestry he was a Hebrew descended from forefathers, and at Alexandria, though illustrious among all men, he was more illustrious and noble than the noblemen themselves. How great and what sort of man he was in the divine laws and the institutions of his fathers is clear from the monuments of his books that he handed down.

Who could worthily explain how great his education in liberal letters was and how great his learning in philosophy, especially in the Platonic and Pythagorean schools? He surpassed all who flourished with him and all who preceded him.

He was most abundant in eloquence, most profound in thought, and most subtle in interpreting and understanding the divine Scriptures, discovering copiously and speaking still more copiously. Philo wrote many books about sacred Scripture and many other subjects.

When he came to Rome a second time, to Emperor Claudius, it is established that he then spoke with the Apostle Peter and enjoyed his friendship. For this reason he extolled with praises at Alexandria the followers of Mark the Evangelist, Peter's disciple.

[Running head: Sixth Title.]

Sixth Title: On the Church Militant

Concerning Philo it was commonly said among the Greeks: "Either Plato follows Philo, or Philo follows Plato," so great is the likeness of their expression and thought.

Chapter Twenty-Two: Claudius

After Gaius was killed, Claudius, the fourth emperor from Augustus, assumed the empire. This was in the year 4600 from the beginning of the world, or 5240 according to another computation, and in the 785th year from the founding of the city. He ruled for fourteen years.

He is said to have had a tall and stout body, beautiful gray hair, and a full neck. As he walked, his rather weak knees failed him. Many other defects also disfigured him: immoderate laughter, still uglier anger, a foaming voice, moist nostrils, and a trembling head.

Among other things, people especially marveled at his forgetfulness and lack of judgment. Not long after his wife Messalina had been killed, he asked his eunuchs why his wife was not coming to dinner. He also ordered many leading men whom he had condemned to death on the preceding day to be summoned immediately to his council and to a game of dice.

When Claudius heard of Gaius's death, he feared that the conspirators would rage against all Gaius's relatives. Terrified by the report of the murder, he fled to a nearby balcony and hid himself among the curtains of a chamber.

A common soldier running about happened to notice his feet. Wishing to learn who he was, the soldier recognized him and dragged him out. Claudius fell at the man's knees in fear, but the soldier greeted him as emperor. He then led Claudius to the other soldiers who were discussing the choice of an emperor. They placed him in a litter and carried him, sad and trembling, to the Praetorian camp, while the crowd that met them pitied him as though an innocent man were being dragged to punishment.

The consuls and senate assembled at the Temple of Jupiter the Triumpher. Deliberating together there, they wished to restore the republic to the state of liberty that it had possessed before Julius Caesar.

While they discussed the present condition in common, a sudden and immense clamor was heard from the assembled army. It demanded that a military emperor be chosen and that the Roman Empire by no means be broken apart through the rule of many men.

The soldiers had decided that the empire should be given to one man. Nevertheless, they yielded to the senate so that it might choose whomever it considered worthy. Opinions therefore conflicted: one senator judged this man worthy of the empire, another that man. Some said that no one from the family of the former rulers ought to be chosen, but someone from a noble family who could govern the Roman Empire with courage and prudence.

A certain Mucianus, very powerful in the senate, proposed for the empire Marcus, who had as his wife Julia, Gaius's sister. Others named Valerius Asiaticus, a man strong in action and counsel. Thus the senate could not agree among itself about the choice of a ruler.

At last Claudius himself, with the senate's consent, was summoned by the tribunes of the plebs to the senate house to set forth what seemed proper. He answered that he was being detained by the soldiers through force and necessity.

He sent Agrippa, king of Judea, who happened then to be at Rome, and informed the senate that at first he had been seized by the army against his will. It would now be unjust, he said, to abandon the soldiers' devoted attachment to him, and indeed his position was no longer safe otherwise. He further promised that he would administer the republic so as to be called a worthy ruler and not a tyrant.

After Agrippa reported these things in the senate, one of the centurions of the urban army, who was then supporting the senate's side, drew his sword and said: "Fellow soldiers, what desperate circumstances make us desire to rush against our fellow citizens, especially when we have an emperor whom we ought to approach with just arguments rather than arms?"

After saying this, he departed through the middle of the senate house. Almost the whole armed force abandoned the senators and followed him out. Deserted by this example, the leading men were shaken by great fear. Recognizing that it was no longer safe to resist Claudius, almost the whole senate, together with the consuls, went over to him.

§ I: The Beginning of Claudius's Reign

When his imperial power had thus been established, Claudius considered nothing more important than removing from Roman memory the two days of hesitation about changing the form of the republic. He therefore decreed perpetual pardon and oblivion for all words and deeds.

Nevertheless, he executed the few centurions who had conspired in Gaius's death and whom he had learned had also demanded his own murder. Among them Cassius Chaerea and Lupus were killed.

Josephus relates that Chaerea accepted this death, which he appeared to undergo for the liberty of his fatherland, with the great spirit appropriate to a military man. He not only cast sorrow from his face but even rebuked Lupus when Lupus dissolved into tears.

When Chaerea came to the place where he was to be punished, he asked the soldier to pierce him with the sword by which he had given liberty to his fatherland and killed Gaius. Chaerea therefore died happily, dispatched by the blow of a single stroke.

Thereafter Claudius turned to works of mercy and restored to their homeland all prisoners and exiles, including those banished by Gaius. He was very frugal and civil. Except for the title of emperor, he abstained from all other titles and refused excessive honors.

He frequently attended the election of magistrates as one of the counselors. Indeed, when tribunes of the plebs approached him as he sat before the tribunal, he apologized that because of the confined space he could not hear them unless they remained standing.

For this reason he gained so much love and favor in a short time that, when it was reported that he had been killed in an ambush while traveling to Ostia, the people and soldiers, greatly dismayed, pursued those they regarded as traitors, and the senate, as though it were a parricide, with dreadful curses. They continued until they learned that he was approaching safe and unharmed.

At the beginning of his principate, Gallus Asimus [read: Asinius Gallus] and Statilius Corvinus, grandsons of the orators Pollio and Messalla, conspired against him, taking with them many of Claudius's own slaves and freedmen. They were suppressed within a few days.

He managed the care of the city and its grain supply with the greatest diligence. When the food supply was restricted by persistent crop failures, a crowd once attacked him in the middle of the forum with insults and pieces of bread so severely that he could enter the palace only by a rear door.

He therefore worked to bring in provisions even during winter. He promised merchants certain profits and even assumed the loss himself if any adversity occurred because of storms.

He completed many great and very necessary works, especially the aqueduct begun by Gaius, the outlet of Lake Fucinus, and the harbor at Ostia. He presented games of various kinds to the people and attended them himself with great courtesy.

Because some masters of no mean standing had exposed their sick and afflicted slaves upon an island out of weariness with treating them, Claudius declared all who had been exposed, and all who would be exposed thereafter, free. He decreed that if they recovered, they should never return under their masters' power.

He perpetually remitted the tribute of the Ilians--that is, the Trojans--as the founders of the Roman race. He expelled the Jews from Rome.

[Running head: Chapter Twenty-Two, Folio 203.]

§ II: On His Evil Character

Claudius was exceedingly greedy for food and wine at every time and place. He attended frequent, lavish, and continual banquets. He slept very little, for he often remained awake until after midnight. He was utterly abandoned to lust for women and played dice with the greatest enthusiasm. That he was cruel and bloodthirsty appeared especially in the smallest matters.

When very young, he was betrothed to two women, Aemilia and Lepida. He was also betrothed to Luna Medullina [read: Livia Medullina], whose surname was Camilla and who descended from the ancient dictator Camillus. After rejecting these women within a short time for various reasons, he married Plaucia [i.e., Plautia] and then Petina [i.e., Paetina], but divorced both.

After them he married Valeria Messalina, of his cousin Messalla [read: daughter of his cousin Messalla Barbatus], but he also put her to death. Captivated by the charms of Agrippina, daughter of his brother Germanicus, and drawn into love through the right of kissing and the opportunity of caresses, he caused the senate to compel him to marry her, as though this were most advantageous to the republic. It also granted others permission for such marriages, which until that time had been regarded as incestuous.

He had children by three wives: by Plaucia [i.e., Plautia], Drusus and Claudia; by Petina [i.e., Paetina], Antonia; and by Messalina, Octavia and Germanicus, whom he soon named Britannicus. He lost Drusus before the boy reached puberty. Octavia married Nero, whom Claudius later also adopted as a son.

Joined to these wives, he presented himself not as a ruler but as their servant. At their zeal or caprice he bestowed honors, armies, immunities, and punishments. Not to enumerate everything individually, through them grants of freedom were revoked, judgments rescinded, and documents conferring offices altered.

At his wives' instigation he ordered the killing of his co-father-in-law Appius Silanus and of two Julias--one the daughter of Germanicus and the other the daughter of Drusus--on an uncertain charge and without allowing any defense. He killed Pompey, husband of his elder daughter, and Lucius Silanus, betrothed to his younger daughter.

He punished thirty-five senators and more than three hundred Roman knights with such ease that, when the death of a man of consular rank was reported to him as having been carried out at his command, he denied that he had commanded anything. He required that judicial tortures and the penalties of parricides be carried out in his presence.

Yet nothing equaled his timidity and distrust. In the first days of his reign he did not dare enter banquets unless guards bearing spears stood beside him, nor visit any sick man unless the chamber had first been searched.

He was so terrified by a certain plot rashly reported to him that he considered relinquishing the empire. Weeping and loudly lamenting that nothing was ever concealed from his condition, he abstained from appearing in public for a long time.

No suspicion was so slight, and no informant so insignificant, that Claudius was not driven by considerable anxiety to take precautions and seek vengeance. One litigant asserted that in his sleep he had seen Claudius stabbed with a sword by a certain man. A little later he pointed out his opponent as the man attempted to hand the emperor a petition. Claudius immediately treated him as convicted by confession and ordered him dragged away to punishment.

In the fourth year of his reign, the year in which Peter reached Rome, Claudius wished to display himself as a ruler useful to the republic. He sought war everywhere and victory from every quarter.

He therefore first launched an expedition into Britain and was the first after Julius Caesar to dare attack that island. As he sailed from Ostia, a violent northwest wind nearly sank him twice near the Scladae [i.e., Scilly Islands].

Crossing from there to the island, he received almost all of it into surrender within very few days, without danger or bloodshed. He also added to the Roman Empire the Orchades [i.e., Orkney Islands], situated in the ocean beyond Britain.

In the sixth month after his departure he returned to Rome and celebrated a triumph with the greatest display. He permitted not only provincial governors to come to the city for the spectacle but also granted the same indulgence to exiles. His wife Messalina followed his chariot.

§ III: On His Death and on Herod

When Claudius saw that he was now worn out by old age, he wrote a will and had it sealed with the seals of all the magistrates. After doing so, before he could proceed further, he was poisoned by his wife Agrippina.

She feared that as Britannicus, Claudius's son by Messalina, grew older, he would himself receive from his father the empire that she was striving to prepare for her son Nero. She therefore began to discuss Claudius's death with the eunuchs of the court.

Not long afterward, at a domestic banquet, she gave poison to Claudius through the eunuch Halotus, his food taster. It is said that immediately after swallowing it he became mute and that, tortured by pain throughout the night, he died near dawn.

His death was concealed until those who sided with Agrippina arranged everything concerning his successor. When he expired, Agrippina sent the commander of the soldiers and powerful tribunes with him to lead her son Nero to the Praetorian camp, so that the army might worship him according to the custom observed for other rulers and swear allegiance to him.

Claudius died in the sixty-fourth year of his age. The chief portents of his death were the appearance of a long-haired star, which the Greeks call a comet, and the striking by lightning of the monument of his father Drusus.

Suetonius says that Claudius himself neither failed to know nor concealed his coming death. At the last meeting of the senate that he attended, he exhorted his children to concord, humbly commended them to the senate, and added that he was approaching death.

Under this Claudius, ruler of the Romans, a census was held at Rome. Throughout the whole world, seven million and forty-four thousand Roman citizens were found.

Because Herod Agrippa had labored no less to secure Claudius's possession of the empire than he had for Gaius's, Claudius elevated him still further. He added to Agrippa all the territories that Octavian Augustus had given to the first Herod, namely the Aschalonita [i.e., Ascalonite], Agrippa's grandfather, who had ordered the innocent children killed. He added Judea and sent Agrippa back to his own land laden with the greatest gifts.

Claudius sent Marsus as successor to Petronius, who had governed Syria and Judea.

When Herod Agrippa came to Jerusalem, he hung in the Temple the golden chain Gaius had given him. It was made in the likeness of the iron chain with which he had been bound in prison by Tiberius's command, so that it might recall the memory of his sadder fortune and offer testimony concerning his better circumstances. He suspended it there to display the magnitude of his reversal and at the same time to show that one who had fallen could be raised up again.

After this Agrippa Herod began at public expense to build the walls of Jerusalem equally great in height and breadth. Marsus, governor of Syria, reported the matter to Claudius. The emperor, suspecting a cause for rebellion, commanded Agrippa to cease building the walls, and he did so.

According to Josephus, Agrippa's conduct was gentle toward everyone, but toward his own nation he was magnificent and beneficent beyond all measure. He was nevertheless merciful toward foreigners and was therefore loved by all.

[Running head: Sixth Title.]

Sixth Title: On the Church Militant

Chapter Twenty-Two (continued)

To gain the Jews' favor, Herod Agrippa persecuted the Church newly rising in Judea. This was the Herod Agrippa who killed James, John's brother, with the sword. When he saw that this pleased the Jews, he proceeded to seize Peter also and imprisoned him so that he might kill him, as was said above from Acts 12.

From these facts it is clear that this James was not beheaded by Herod within one year of Christ's Passion, as some say, but several years later. For Christ suffered in or about the nineteenth year of Tiberius's reign, and two or three years of Tiberius's rule remained. After him Gayus [i.e., Gaius] ruled for three and a half years, and after Gayus [i.e., Gaius] came Claudius, who gave Judea to Agrippa.

As Eusebius says, divine vengeance did not permit the king's crime to be delayed. Agrippa went down to Caesarea and, clothed in a splendid garment, sat on a lofty tribunal and addressed the people. When the people acclaimed him with the words, "The voice of a god and not of a man," he delighted in those divine praises. An angel struck him, and after swarming with worms he died several days later, in the fiftieth year of his age, the seventh year of his reign, and the third year of Claudius.

When Claudius heard of Agrippa's death, he wished to appoint Agrippa's son, also named Agrippa, as successor to his kingdom. The senate did not advise it, maintaining that it was unsafe to entrust the scepter of a most powerful kingdom to a boy, for he was seventeen years old.

Yielding to the senate, Claudius reduced the kingdom granted to Agrippa to the form of a province. To his son, also called Agrippa, he entrusted under the name of a kingdom the region across the Jordan. After Marsus, who governed Syria, Claudius sent Caspius [read: Cassius] to govern both Syria and the kingdom of Judea following the death of Herod Agrippa.

Chapter Twenty-Three: Nero

Nero, husband of Ottania [i.e., Octavia], Emperor Claudius's daughter, was designated emperor by Claudius himself at the persuasion of Claudius's wife Agrippina. Thus a son-in-law, namely Nero, who was Claudius's son-in-law, was preferred to Britannicus, Claudius's son.

Nero was the fifth emperor from Augustus and ruled for thirteen years and eight months. According to Suetonius, he was very moderate for five years. As a boy he touched upon almost all the liberal disciplines. Averse to philosophy, he was inclined toward poetry and composed verses gladly and without difficulty. He also possessed more than moderate zeal for painting and modeling.

He began his rule with a display of piety, professing that he would govern according to Augustus's precept. He let pass no opportunity to show generosity, clemency, or courtesy. He abolished or reduced the heavier taxes. For each of the noblest senators who lacked family property he established an annual salary.

When he was reminded to sign, according to custom, the punishment of a man condemned to death, he said, "How I wish I did not know how to write." To the senate when it offered thanks, he answered, "When I have deserved them." It was forbidden that anything except beans or vegetables be sold in taverns.

Among the other disciplines in which Nero was instructed during childhood was music. He omitted none of the practices that artists of that kind employed to preserve or strengthen the voice. Lying on his back, he supported a sheet of lead upon his chest, purged himself by vomiting and enemas, and abstained from fruits and foods harmful to the voice.

Even when the theater was suddenly shaken by an earthquake, he did not cease singing until he had finished what he began. He did not hesitate to perform among stage players even at private spectacles.

The cities in which musical contests were customarily held had arranged to send him all the crowns of the lyre players. He received them so gratefully that he not only admitted first the envoys who had brought them but also included them at his private meals. While he sang, no one was permitted to leave the theater even for a necessary reason.

Nero had already ruled for two years when Paul, because he had appealed to Caesar, was brought to Rome. When Nero heard that the controversy concerned the law of the Jews and Christians, he treated it with contempt. Paul was permitted to move freely through the city, though with one soldier guarding him.

Paul feared that perhaps the Jews who had sought his death in Judea had sent letters to the Jews at Rome so that they might kill him treacherously. For the next two years he therefore remained under open custody in lodging that he himself had rented, preaching without hindrance to those who came to him there. Afterward he enjoyed still greater freedom and was given permission to travel and preach in the western regions. Nero had not yet descended into the madness and cruelty that he later displayed.

§ I: On Nero's Very Wicked Character

Suetonius says that at first Nero practiced wantonness, lust, luxury, and avarice gradually, secretly, and as though through youthful error. Yet even then no one could doubt that these were not faults of age [read: faults of nature, not of age].

Immediately after twilight he put on a cap or hood and entered taverns. He wandered praisingly [read: playfully] throughout the neighborhoods, though not without the ruin of many people, for he was accustomed to beat men returning from dinner, wound those who resisted, and throw them into sewers. He also broke into and plundered shops and often risked his eyes and his life in brawls of this sort.

He was beaten to death [read: nearly to death] by a man whose wife he had handled. For that reason he never afterward exposed himself in public at that hour without tribunes following far behind and in concealment.

As his vices gradually strengthened, he abandoned concealment and, without concern for disguising them, openly erupted into greater offenses. He prolonged banquets from noon until midnight, often refreshing himself in warm pools and, during summer, in pools cooled with snow.

He sometimes sang in public amid the services of the whole city's prostitutes and Syrian flute girls. No one doubted that he desired intercourse with his mother but was deterred lest that fierce and ungovernable woman gain excessive influence through this kind of favor. He therefore received among his concubines a prostitute who was said to look very much like his mother.

He was thoroughly persuaded that no one was chaste or pure in any part of the body, but that most people concealed their vice and covered it cunningly. Therefore he pardoned other offenses as well for those who confessed obscenity before him.

He thought there was no fruit of wealth and money other than extravagance. He never wore the same garment twice. He gambled with four hundred thousand sesterces. He fished with gilded nets whose cords were woven from purple and scarlet thread. He is said never to have traveled with fewer than a thousand carriages, while his mules wore silver shoes.

In nothing, however, was he more ruinously extravagant than in building. Suetonius himself describes marvels concerning the palace that he built.

Drained and in need of money, he turned his mind to false accusations and plunder. He removed gifts from numerous temples and melted down images made of gold and silver.

He began his parricides and killings with Claudius, of whose murder, even if he was not the author, he was at least certainly aware. He often planned in vain to strangle his wife Ottania [i.e., Octavia]. First he divorced her as barren, but when the people condemned the divorce and did not spare their insults, he also banished her. Finally he killed her on a false charge of adultery.

[Running head: Chapter Twenty-Three, Folio 204.]

After divorcing Ottania [i.e., Octavia], Nero took Pompeia [read: Poppaea] in marriage and loved her uniquely. Nevertheless, while she was pregnant and ill, he killed her with a kick.

After Pompeia [read: Poppaea]'s death, he killed Antonia, Claudius's daughter, because she refused marriage with him, accusing her of attempting a revolution.

He entrusted his still-underage stepson to his servants to be drowned at sea while they were fishing, because it was reported that the boy played at being a commander and emperor. He banished the son of his nurse because he had bathed in baths constructed for Nero's arrival.

He compelled his teacher Seneca to kill himself. Promising a prefect a remedy for his throat, he sent him poison.

He disposed of wealthy and elderly freedmen with poison, placed partly in food and partly in drink. Once they had been the authors and directors of his adoption, and afterward of his claim to dominion.

His mother sternly investigated and corrected his words and deeds. First he deprived her of every honor and power and expelled her from his company and the palace. Soon, terrified by her threats and violence, he resolved to destroy her.

When he had attempted to poison her three times and perceived that she was protected by antidotes, he finally ordered her killed. It is also said that he hurried to her corpse, handled her limbs, praised some, and criticized others.

To the parricide of his mother he added the murder of his aunt. Before she was even dead, he invaded her property, suppressing her will so that nothing might escape him.

With no less savagery he raged against outsiders and destined every very noble person for death. The children of those condemned were driven from the city and carried off by poison and hunger.

It is also believed that he wished to throw living men to a certain Egyptian who was accustomed to eat raw flesh and whatever was given him, so that the man might tear them apart and consume them.

He spared neither the people nor the city walls. As though offended by the ugliness of the old buildings and the narrowness and crookedness of the streets, he openly burned the city for six days and seven nights. Watching the fire from a tower and delighted, as he said, by the beauty of the flame, he sang in his theatrical costume.

§ II: On Nero's Death

Suetonius says that when the Gauls began such a rebellion, Britain was soon lost and Armenia as well, and both were recovered again. Nero thereby conceived a belief in his perpetual and singular good fortune. Indeed, after his most precious possessions were lost in a shipwreck, he did not hesitate to tell his companions that the fish would bring them back to him.

When he learned of the uprising in Gaul, he received the news so cheerfully and calmly that he even gave rise to suspicion that he rejoiced because he had obtained an opportunity to plunder the wealthiest provinces by right of war. He went into the arena and resolved to watch competing athletes with the most lavish enthusiasm.

After he learned that the Spanish provinces had also rebelled, he collapsed in spirit and lay for a long time without speech, as though dead. When he came to himself, he tore his clothing, beat his head, and declared that all was over for him.

It is believed that he determined to send assassins against all the commanders of armies and governors of provinces, as though they had conspired together and shared the same knowledge. He also planned to slaughter all exiles everywhere and all men of Gallic origin in the city--the former lest they join the rebels, the latter as accomplices and supporters of their countrymen.

He planned to kill the entire senate with poison at banquets, to burn the city, and to release wild beasts against the people. Yet he was deterred by despair of accomplishing these things.

He possessed an ill-considered desire for eternity and perpetual fame. Therefore, after removing their ancient names from many things and places, he imposed new names of his own. He wished the month of April to be called "Neroneus" and Rome "Neropolis." He was a despiser of every religion.

When the defection of the other armies was announced, he tore up the letters handed to him at dinner, overturned the table, and smashed on the ground two cups that he greatly enjoyed using.

Taking poison stored in a golden box, he sent his most faithful freedmen ahead to Hostia [i.e., Ostia] to prepare a fleet and attempted to gain the tribunes and centurions as companions in flight.

Hugh of Fleury says in Book 3 that, after Nero had inflicted many evils upon the republic--which it would be too long to recount one by one--the senate finally judged him an enemy because he had violated faith by sacrilege, piety by parricide, and chastity by incest, and because he had entrusted even the power of the Roman Empire, or its offices and business, to his most wicked freedmen.

Because Nero himself kept faith with no one, he regarded everyone with suspicion. Nevertheless, he thought that he should trust two utterly wicked men, Nymphidius and Gemellius, whose low condition had made them beholden to him.

But they themselves recoiled from the example of his cruelty. Because he had killed his dearest and truest friends, they wished to protect themselves and forestall what they feared. Both therefore joined a conspiracy with the others and abandoned the parricide.

Deserted by all his men, Nero fled from the city at night with only four companions. He was barefoot, his head was covered, and a cloth was stretched before his face.

After he hid himself, a messenger brought by a courier reported that the senate had judged him an enemy and that he was being sought for death. When he heard that companions [read: horsemen] were approaching to capture him alive, he killed himself.

There was so much rejoicing at his death that the common people ran through the whole city wearing caps of liberty.

According to Eusebius, in the year of the Lord 70 and the thirty-second year of Nero's age, when the senate sought him for punishment, he fled from the palace to the fourth milestone from the city. There, on the suburban estate of his freedman between the Salarian and Mumentana [read: Nomentana] roads, he killed himself. In him the whole family of Augustus came to an end.

Chapter Twenty-Four: Moral Sayings of Seneca and Other Gentile Authors

In these times the following Gentiles flourished: Seneca, Persius, Juvenal, and Quintilian. Some of their moral sayings are set down here.

Seneca says in the book *On Morals*:

Uncertain death overtakes many who postpone life. Therefore every day should be ordered as though it were the last.

Words must be judged by things, not by persons. Consider yourself an orator if you have first persuaded yourself, before everyone else, of what is proper.

Senile avarice is like a monster. What is more foolish than increasing one's provisions when the road is ending?

Keep peace with people and wage war against vices.

Every passion has this quality: whatever madness it suffers itself, it thinks everyone suffers the same.

The same author says in the book *On the Four Virtues*:

He who desires to follow prudence lives rightly when he first weighs everything and establishes the worth of things not from the opinion of the multitude but from their nature.

It belongs to the prudent man to examine plans and not to fall suddenly into falsehood through easy credulity.

Do not admit wandering thoughts resembling dreams. If you delight your mind with them, after arranging everything in imagination you will remain sad.

Praise sparingly and blame sparingly. The former is suspect as flattery, the latter as malice.

The prudent man never withers in idleness. He sometimes keeps his mind relaxed, but never unrestrained.

He hastens what is slow, disentangles what is perplexed, softens what is hard, smooths what is rough, levels what is steep, and judges great things from small, obscure things from evident, and remote things from nearby.

[Running head: Sixth Title.]

Sixth Title: On the Church Militant

Chapter Twenty-Four (continued)

Do not be moved by the authority of the speaker; attend not to who speaks but to what is said. Think not how many people you please, but whom you please.

Know that forgiveness is a great and honorable kind of vengeance.

You will be magnanimous if you neither seek dangers like a rash man nor fear them like a coward.

Let your sustenance be easily obtained. Approach food not for pleasure but for nourishment; let hunger, not flavors, excite your palate.

Redeem your desires at small cost. You need take care of this alone: that they come to an end.

Let neither poverty be unclean in you, nor thrift sordid, nor simplicity neglected, nor gentleness languid.

Neither lament your own possessions nor marvel at another's.

Love useful speech more than witty speech.

Laughter is blameworthy if it is excessive, poured forth childishly, or broken with womanish affectation. Laughter makes a person hateful if it is proud, loud, malicious and secretive, or provoked by the misfortunes of others.

Do not be buffoonish, but practice pleasing courtesy. Let your wit be without a tooth, your jokes without baseness, your laughter without guffawing, your voice without shouting, your walk without commotion, and your repose without idleness.

While others play, occupy yourself with some useful and honorable deed. Let it be as grievous to you to be praised by shameful people as to be praised for shameful acts.

The most difficult kind of self-restraint is to repel the affirmations of flatterers, whose words relax the mind with a certain pleasure.

Do not be an inquisitive investigator of others' vices, a bitter reprover, or one who corrects with reproach. Instead, anticipate admonition with generosity.

Be a silent listener to one who speaks, answer readily one who asks, and yield readily to one who contends.

You will make everyone equal to you if you neither proudly despise your inferiors nor fear your superiors while living uprightly.

Be kind to all, flattering to no one, familiar with a few, and fair to everyone.

Be more severe in judgment than in speech and in life than in countenance. Neither sow reports of your own good reputation nor envy another's.

Share without arrogance what you know with one who asks. What you do not know, ask to be taught without concealing your ignorance.

The same author says in the book *On Clemency*:

The ruler's very clemency produces shame at sinning, and the penalty imposed by a gentle man seems much heavier. Many punishments are no less shameful for a ruler than many wounds for a physician. Obedience is better under a milder command.

Clemency is moderation of the mind when one has the power to take vengeance, or the superior's mildness toward an inferior in establishing penalties.

The same author says in the book *On Benefits*:

No one can be grateful to a person who adds a benefit arrogantly, casts it forth in anger, or yields it from weariness merely to be rid of annoyance.

Those who gladly receive must be taught to repay gladly and to surpass--not merely equal in deed and spirit--those to whom they are obligated.

A benefit is a benevolent action that bestows joy and takes joy in bestowing. It is inclined and spontaneously ready to do what it does. Thus what is given does not matter so much as the spirit in which it is given.

Sometimes the man who magnificently gave a little binds us more because he equaled the riches of kings in spirit: he gave little, but gladly.

The most pleasing benefits are those that are ready and meet us on the way, where no delay intervenes except the recipient's modesty.

For the most serious men, nothing costs more dearly than what is bought with entreaties. "I ask" is an irksome and burdensome phrase that must be spoken with downcast face.

All kindness hastens, and it belongs to one who gives gladly to give quickly.

Sometimes even the person who is helped should be deceived, so that he may possess the benefit without knowing from whom he received it.

This is the law of a benefit between two people: the one ought immediately to forget what he gave, the other to remember what he received. Let the giver of the benefit be silent; let the recipient tell of it.

He is ungrateful who gives thanks only when witnesses have been removed.

He who gives a benefit imitates God; he who demands its return is a moneylender.

A multitude of sinners removes shame.

It is kingship to refuse to reign when you could.

It is easier to rule barbarous nations that cannot endure another's judgment than to restrain your own mind and hand it over to yourself--that is, to possess mastery of yourself.

The ages have set no one so high that he does not lack a friend all the more as he lacks nothing else.

Pleasure is fragile and brief, wearied by the very enjoyment of itself the more greedily it is drained. One must immediately either repent of it or be ashamed.

The same author says in the book *On Remedies for Chance Events*:

It is foolish to fear what you cannot avoid. It is best to die when it pleases you to live.

Many accompany someone; and flies accompany me; wolves, corpses; ants, grain. That crowd follows prey, not the man.

One must understand that blindness is part of innocence. The eyes are incitements to vice and leaders of crimes.

You have suffered shipwreck: think not of what you lost, but of the fact that you escaped.

Seek a friend among upright and honorable duties.

The same author says in the book *Natural Questions*:

Among no people should freedom be equal more than among philosophers.

Who does not understand that all things lose their force through familiarity?

Strength comes to the human soul from good arts and from the contemplation of nature.

Why should I tremble at a man, an arrow, a beast, or a spear? Greater dangers await me from thunderbolts and the great parts of nature.

Human life is a small thing, but contempt for life is a great thing.

We are so constituted by nature that everyday things pass us by even when they are worthy of admiration, while even the smallest things become a delightful spectacle if they appear unusually.

Despise death, and all things that lead to death are despised. Whether wars, shipwrecks, or weights of threats/mines [read: weights of collapsing ruins], can they do anything more than violently separate the body from the soul? No diligence avoids this, no happiness grants exemption from it, and no power overcomes it.

O demented man, forgetful of your frailty! If you fear death only when it thunders, will you live if you escape the thunderbolt? The sword will seek you, the stone will seek you, and bile will seek you.

Whatever happens to you, bear it as though you had wished it to happen. You ought to have wished it if you had known that all things happen by God's decrees. To weep, complain, and groan is to cease [read: is to revolt].

The same author says:

Nothing is as deadly to talent as luxury. The talents of idle youth grow torpid, while people remain awake with no less labor over an honorable pursuit [read: nor is there wakefulness in the labor of even one honorable undertaking].

Passions for singing, dancing, and obscenity hold the effeminate. Curling the hair, thinning the voice for womanly blandishments, vying with women in softness of body, and adorning oneself with the foulest refinements are the model of our young men.

Soft and enervated, they remain amid vice, investigators of another's chastity while neglecting their own.

The same author says in the tragedies:

The more you are able to do, the more you should bear patiently.

Violent commands do not endure long; moderate ones last.

He who does not forbid sin when he can commands it.

Morals, law, piety, and faith perish; and shame, once it has perished, does not know how to return.

Alas, what a sweet evil the dreadful love of life adds to mortals.

He who repents of sinning is almost innocent.

O how wretched it is not to know how to die.

Let him readily pardon who himself needs pardon.

Virtue is the one thing that can grant immortality and make men equal to gods.

The same author says in the letters to Lucilius.

In the first letter:

Claim yourself for yourself; gather and preserve the time that until now was carried away, fell from you, or was stolen. The most shameful loss is that which occurs through negligence.

Whom will you give me who places any value upon time, who esteems a day, and who understands that he is dying daily? In this we are all deceived: we look ahead to death, although a great part of it has already passed. Whatever portion of our life lies behind us, death possesses.

While life is postponed, it passes by. All other things belong to others; time alone is ours. Nature has sent us into possession of this one fleeting and slippery thing.

[Running head: Chapter Twenty-Four, Folio 205.]

I judge the first proof of a composed mind to be its ability to stand still and remain with itself.

See to it that reading many authors and volumes of every kind does not possess something wandering and unstable. You ought to linger upon and depend upon definite minds.

Food that is discharged as soon as it is eaten neither benefits nor nourishes the body. Nothing is so useful that it can profit in passing. Nothing impedes health as much as frequent changes of remedies. Thus a multitude of books distracts. Since you cannot read as much as you possess, it is enough to possess as much as you can read. Tasting many things belongs to a disdainful stomach.

In the third letter:

If you consider anyone a friend but do not trust him as much as yourself, you err greatly. The man who seeks a friend in the entrance hall and tests him at the banquet also errs.

A busy man besieged by his possessions has no greater evil than that he regards as friends men whose friend he himself is not.

Deliberate about everything with your friend, but first deliberate about the friend himself. After friendship one must trust; before friendship one must judge.

Speak as boldly with your friend as with yourself. Live in such a way that you entrust nothing to yourself that you could not also entrust to an enemy.

Both trusting everyone and trusting no one are faults. I would call the former the more honorable fault, the latter the safer.

Thus rebuke both those who are always restless and those who always rest. Delight in commotion is not industry but the thrashing of an agitated mind. To regard every movement as troublesome is not repose but dissolution and languor. Therefore these things must be mingled: the man at rest must act, and the man acting must rest.

In the fourth letter:

Not childhood but, what is more serious, childishness still remains in us. This is all the worse because we possess the authority of old men but the faults of boys--and not only of boys, but of infants. Boys fear trifles; infants fear false things; we fear both.

Most men wretchedly fluctuate between the fear of death and the torments of life: they do not wish to live and do not know how to die.

Make life pleasant for yourself by laying aside every anxiety about it. No good helps its possessor unless his mind is prepared for its loss. Therefore exhort and harden yourself against everything that can happen.

In the fifth letter:

Just as desiring luxurious things is a mark of extravagance, so it is madness to flee ordinary things that can be obtained at no great price. Philosophy demands frugality, not punishment. Let life be moderated between good morals and public customs.

Let whoever enters our house admire us rather than our furnishings. He is great who uses earthenware as though it were silver, and he is no less great who uses silver as though it were earthenware.

Catho [read: Hecato] says: “You will cease to fear if you cease to hope.” Wild animals flee the dangers they see, and when they escape them they are secure. We, however, are tormented by what is coming and by what is past. Memory recalls the torment of fear, and foresight anticipates it. Yet no one is wretched only because of present things.

In the sixth letter:

This itself is proof that a mind has been changed for the better: it sees its faults, which it previously did not know.

No good possession is pleasant without a companion. The living voice and shared life will profit you more than a speech. First you must come into the presence of the thing itself, because people trust their eyes more than their ears. The journey by precepts is long; by examples it is short and effective.

In the seventh letter:

Association with many people is hostile, and the larger the crowd with which we mingle, the greater this danger becomes. I return more avaricious, ambitious, luxurious, even crueler and less humane, because I have been among people.

Both things must be avoided: do not become like the evil because they are many, and do not become hostile to the many because they are unlike you.

Withdraw into yourself as much as you can. Associate with those who will make you better; admit those whom you can make better. These things happen mutually: people learn while they teach.

In the eighth letter:

Avoid whatever pleases the crowd. Stand suspicious and fearful before every accidental good, for a beast and a fish are deceived by some hope of pleasure. You think these things the gifts of fortune; they are traps. Whoever wishes to live a safe life should avoid these baited benefits.

Know that a man is covered as well with thatch as with gold. Think that nothing besides the soul is marvelous; to the great soul nothing is small.

Believe me: those who seem to do nothing perform greater deeds; they deal with human and divine things together.

In the ninth letter:

He who was adopted for the sake of usefulness will be pleasing only as long as he is useful. For this reason crowds of friends surround the prosperous, while solitude surrounds the fallen. Friends flee precisely where they are tested.

The beginnings and ends of things must agree with one another. What looks toward advantage is a business transaction, not friendship.

Chrysippus says that the wise man lacks nothing, though he needs many things. In contrast, the fool needs nothing, for he knows how to use nothing.

What does it matter what your condition is if it seems bad to you? When [read: Except to] the wise man his own things are not pleasing; all folly labors in disgust with itself.

In the tenth letter:

I find no one with whom I would prefer you to be than with yourself. Flee the multitude, flee the few, flee even one person.

Live with people as though God were watching. Speak with God as though people were listening.

In the eleventh letter:

Modesty in a young man is a good sign. A great part of sin is removed if a witness stands beside sinners.

O happy is he who can so revere someone that he composes and orders himself even at the memory of him. He who so reveres someone will soon be modest [read: will soon be worthy of reverence].

Choose, therefore, a person whose life and speech please you. Always show him to yourself either as guardian or example, for we need someone according to whom our character may raise itself. Unless measured against a rule, you will not correct what is crooked.

In the twelfth letter:

Fruits are most pleasing as they pass away. He is most blessed and secure in the possession of himself who awaits tomorrow without anxiety.

In the thirteenth letter:

An athlete who has never been bruised cannot bring great spirit to a contest. The man who has seen his own blood, whose teeth have cracked beneath a fist, who, when thrown down, did not throw away his courage but rose more defiantly whenever he fell--such a man descends to the fight with great hope. Virtue gains greatly when provoked.

More things frighten us than oppress us, and we suffer more often from opinion than from reality. I command you not to be wretched before the time, since the things you have feared as imminent perhaps will never come; certainly they have not yet come.

Some things torment us more than they should, some before they should, and some when they should not at all. Thus we either enlarge pain, flee it, or anticipate it because many expected things never appear.

Even if what you fear will happen, what good does it do to run out to meet your grief? You will suffer soon enough when it arrives. Nothing is so certain among the things feared that it is not still more certain both that feared things will subside and hoped-for things will deceive.

[Running head: Sixth Title.]

Sixth Title: On the Church Militant

Chapter Twenty-Four (continued)

In the fourteenth letter:

What is more shameful than an old man beginning to live? He who serves the body serves many masters: he who fears too much for it and refers everything to it.

We ought to act not as though we should live for the body, but as though we cannot live without it. Excessive love of it disturbs us with fears, burdens us with anxieties, and exposes us to insults. What is honorable is cheap to the man to whom the body is too dear.

Let care of the body be exercised most diligently, yet in such a way that when reason, dignity, or fidelity demands it, the body must be sent even into the fire.

Even on a road beset by danger, the poor man has peace.

Wickedness never grows so strong and never so conspires against the virtues that the name of philosophy does not remain venerable and sacred.

No one enjoys a good thing anxiously.

The rich man strives to add something to his riches. While thinking of an increase, he forgets their use. He receives accounts, wears out the forum, and from a master becomes a steward.

In the fifteenth letter:

Whatever you do, return quickly from the body to the soul. Exercise it by day and night. Care for that good which grows better with age.

How pleasant it is to ask for nothing; how magnificent to be full and not depend upon fortune.

Those treacherous goods sometimes depart, better to those who hope for them than to those who have obtained them. If there were anything solid in them, they would sometimes satisfy; instead, they arouse the thirst of those who drink.

In the sixteenth letter:

There is more work in keeping honorable resolutions than in making them. One must persevere and add strength by continual study until what is a good will becomes a good mind.

Natural desires are limited. Those born from false opinion have no place where they end.

Withdraw yourself from vanities. When you wish to know whether what you seek has a natural desire or blind cupidity, consider whether it can stop anywhere. If after a long advance something always remains, know that it is not natural.

In the seventeenth letter:

Cast all those things away if you are wise--or rather, that you may become wise, strive toward a good mind at full speed and with all your strength. If there is anything by which you are held, either free yourself or cut it off.

Riches hinder many from philosophizing; poverty is unencumbered and secure. No crowd of servants surrounds it, whose feeding requires one to pray for the fertility of overseas regions.

It is easy to feed a few well-trained stomachs that desire nothing except to be filled. Hunger costs little; disgust costs much. Poverty is content to satisfy present desires.

In the eighteenth letter:

Water, porridge, or a crust of barley bread is not a pleasant thing. Yet the highest pleasure is to be able to take pleasure even in these and to have reduced oneself to that which no injustice of fortune can snatch away.

I do not forbid you the possession of riches, but I wish to bring it about that you possess them without fear. You will attain this in only one way: if you persuade yourself that you will live happily without them and regard them as always about to depart.

In the twentieth letter:

Philosophy teaches acting, not speaking, and demands that each person live according to its law, so that life does not disagree with speech and a single life has one color without any discord among its actions.

The greatest duty and proof of wisdom is that deeds agree with words and that a person be everywhere equal to and the same as himself.

What is wisdom? Always to will the same and refuse the same. You need not add the little qualification that what you will must be right, for the same thing cannot always please anyone unless it is right.

The judgment of people changes daily, turns into its opposite, and for most life is conducted as a game.

What you cannot know through your own prosperity, you will know through poverty, for it will retain true and certain friends. Whoever departs was following not you but something else.

Should poverty not be loved for this reason alone, because it shows by whom you are loved?

O when will that day come on which no one lies in your honor? Therefore let your thoughts tend here; care for this, wish for this: reduce yourself to little things from which you cannot fall.

It is impossible to despise riches placed in one's lap. That man possesses a mighty spirit who, when riches have surrounded him, marvels long and much that they came to him, laughs, and hears that they are his more than he feels it. It is a great thing not to be corrupted by association with riches.

In the twenty-second letter:

Untie what you have badly entangled rather than tear it apart. Provided there is no other way of untying it, even tear it apart.

No one is so timid that he would rather hang forever than fall once.

It is shameful to yield to a burden; struggle with the duty you once accepted. He who flees labor is not a brave and energetic man, for his spirit also grows through it.

By the very difficulty of things we die worse than we were born. This is our fault, not nature's.

No one cares how well he lives, but how long. Yet it can happen to all people that they live well, to no one that he live long.

In the twenty-third letter:

The foundation of a good mind is not to rejoice in vanities. Believe me, true joy is a serious matter.

Do you think anyone can with a relaxed countenance and cheerful eye despise death, open his home to poverty, hold pleasures under restraint, and meditate upon the endurance of sufferings? He who turns these things over within himself possesses great but not very alluring joy.

The things in which the crowd delights possess a thin and superficial pleasure, and whatever joy has been contrived lacks a foundation.

Regard the little body, even though nothing can be done without it, as a necessary thing rather than a great one. It supplies vain pleasures soon to be regretted, and unless they are restrained with great moderation, they will turn into their opposites.

Pleasure stands on a precipice and inclines toward pain unless it maintains a limit. Yet it is difficult to preserve a limit in what you have believed to be good.

The good man's eagerness is safe when it arises from a good conscience, honorable counsels, and contempt for chance events.

Few people govern themselves and their affairs by counsel. The rest, like those who swim in rivers, do not go but are carried. Some begin to live only when life must end.

From the twenty-fourth letter:

Why is it necessary to summon evils? They will have to be feared soon enough when they come. It is foolish to anticipate and lose the present time through fear of the future, because although you are going to be wretched later, you are wretched already.

But I shall lead you to security by another road. If you wish to cast off every anxiety, assume that whatever you fear will happen is certainly going to happen. Whatever that evil is, measure it with yourself and assess your fear.

Courage is more eager to take possession of dangers than cruelty to inflict them. Pain is light if I can endure it; brief if I cannot.

This is the most shameful charge commonly made against us: that we handle the words, not the works, of philosophy.

Pleasures themselves turn into torments. Feasts produce indigestion, drunkenness produces sluggishness and trembling of the nerves, and lust produces deformity of the hands, feet, and joints.

I shall become poor; I shall be among many; I shall become an exile; there I shall think myself born. Where shall I be sent? I shall be bound. For am I now free? Nature has fastened me to this heavy weight of my body.

I shall die: I shall cease to be able to fall ill, to be bound, and to die.

[Running head: Chapter Twenty-Four, Folio 206.]

It is shameful to speak one thing and feel another.

We die daily. Every day some part of life is taken away, and even while we are growing, life decreases.

In the twenty-fifth letter:

As concerns our two friends, different roads must be taken. The faults of one must be corrected, those of the other broken. I shall use complete freedom. I do not love him unless I offend him.

I do not know whether I shall make progress, but I would rather lack success than fidelity.

Shame must be nourished. So long as it endures in the soul, there will be some place for good hope.

Nature desires bread and water. No one is poor with respect to these. Whoever confines his desire within them will contend with Jupiter himself in happiness.

Do everything as though someone were watching. Without doubt it helps to have appointed a guardian over oneself and to have someone whom you may look toward and whom you may judge to be present among your thoughts. Every evil deed is urged by solitude.

When you have advanced so far that you possess reverence even for yourself, you will be permitted to dismiss your tutor.

In the twenty-sixth letter:

What complaint is there, what inconvenience, if whatever ought to end fails? And what departure is better than to dissolve into one's end as nature releases one?

It is uncertain in what place death awaits you; therefore await it in every place.

He who says he has learned to die is above every power--certainly beyond every power. What are prison, custody, and bolts to him? He has a free door. There is one chain that holds us bound: love of life.

In the twenty-seventh letter:

Count your years, and you will be ashamed to desire the same things that you desired as a boy.

Provide this for yourself near the day of death: let your vices die before you.

A good mind is neither lent nor bought. I think that if it were for sale, it would not find a buyer. Yet an evil mind is bought daily.

In the twenty-eighth letter:

You must change your mind, not the sky. Although you cross the vast sea, your vices follow you wherever you arrive.

You ask why this flight does not help you. You flee with yourself. The soul's burden must be laid down. No place will please you; indeed, whatever you do, you do against yourself and harm yourself by the very movement, for you *contutis* [read: shake] a sick man.

But when you have removed that evil, every change of place will be pleasant. What matters more is what sort of person you come as than where you come.

Therefore we should attach the soul to no place but live with this conviction: "My homeland is the whole world."

What can be more turbulent than the forum? Even there one may live quietly if necessary.

But if one is permitted to arrange oneself, the beginning of health is knowledge of one's sin. He who does not know that he sins does not wish to be corrected. Therefore accuse yourself as much as you can. Inquire into yourself: perform first the role of accuser, then of judge, and finally of intercessor.

In the thirtieth letter:

Someone comes to death angry at death. No one receives it cheerfully when it comes unless he has long prepared himself for it.

In the thirty-first letter:

Labor nourishes noble souls. It is not manly to fear sweat.

In the thirty-fourth letter:

A great part of goodness is to wish to become good.

In the thirty-sixth letter:

An elderly beginner is a shameful and ridiculous thing. Youth must prepare; old age must employ.

That most tranquil soul has reached perfection which remains in the same condition however events turn out.

The death we fear interrupts life; it does not take it away. A day will come again that restores us to the light. Therefore depart with an even spirit, since you will return.

Observe the circle of things returning into themselves. You will see that nothing in this world is extinguished, but descends and rises again by turns.

In the thirty-seventh letter:

If you wish to subject all things to yourself, subject yourself to reason. You will rule many if reason rules you, and from it you will learn how and what you ought to undertake.

It is shameful not to go but to be carried along, and suddenly, stupefied in the midst of the whirlwind of events, to ask, "How did I come here?"

In the thirty-ninth letter:

A noble soul possesses this excellent quality: it is stirred toward honorable things. The hope of great things calls it to itself and raises it up, for our soul is like a flame in motion, more mobile and active the more vehement it becomes.

But happy is he who directs this impulse toward better things. He will place himself outside fortune's jurisdiction and power, moderate secure things [read: favorable circumstances/prosperity], lessen adversities, and despise things others admire.

It belongs to a great spirit to despise great things and prefer moderate things to excessive ones. Desire that oversteps its natural measure must advance without limit.

There ceases to be a place for remedy when what were faults have become habits.

In the fortieth letter:

Poverty and meagerness of words make the listener less attentive through weariness with broken slowness. Yet what is awaited enters more easily than what flies past.

A speech that devotes itself to truth ought to be unadorned and simple. Popular speech has no truth; it wishes to move the crowd and seize unreflective ears with force.

Remedies do no good unless they remain in place. What physician treats the sick in passing?

Just as a more measured gait suits a wise man, so does controlled, not audacious, speech. Therefore I command you to speak slowly.

In the forty-first letter:

A sacred spirit sits within us, observer and guardian of our evils and goods. As it has been treated by us, so it treats us.

In the forty-second letter:

Look around at those things that drive us mad and that we lose with many tears. You will know that in them the loss is not troublesome, but the belief that there is a loss. No one feels that they have perished; he only thinks it.

He who possesses himself has lost nothing.

In the forty-third letter:

You will scarcely find anyone who can live with an open door. A good conscience summons a crowd; a bad conscience is anxious and troubled even in solitude.

If what you do is honorable, let everyone know. If shameful, what does it matter that no one knows when you know?

In the forty-fifth letter:

It does not matter how many books you possess, but how good they are. Definite reading profits; varied reading delights.

Vices creep upon us beneath the appearance of virtues. Rashness hides under the title of courage. Moderation is called cowardice, and the cautious man is taken for a coward. In these matters we err at great peril.

In the forty-sixth letter:

When even the cause has been removed, we lie from habit.

In the forty-seventh letter:

I laugh at those who consider it shameful to dine with their own slave. Why, unless because a most arrogant custom has surrounded the dining master with a crowd of standing slaves?

The master loads a stomach distended with enormous greed, while the slaves, fasting and silent throughout the whole night, stand nearby. Thus those who are not permitted to speak in their master's presence speak about him.

Live with your inferior as you would wish your superior to live with you. As often as it comes to mind how much authority you have over your slave, let it come to mind just as often that your master has as much over you.

How foolish is the man who, when about to buy a horse, examines not the horse but its saddle and bridle; equally foolish is he who judges a person by clothing or condition.

In the forty-eighth letter:

Open and simple things befit goodness. Even if much life remained, it ought to be spent sparingly so that it would suffice for necessities. But now, in such want of time, what madness it is to learn superfluous things.

In the forty-ninth letter:

What you have not lost, you possess. You have not lost horns; therefore you have horns. I have no time for such foolishness.

A great business is in my hands. What shall I do? Death follows me; life flees. Teach me something against these things.

Nature produced us teachable and gave us reason, imperfect indeed, but capable of being perfected.

[Running head: Sixth Title.]

Sixth Title: On the Church Militant

Chapter Twenty-Four (continued)

In the fiftieth letter:

When I wish to take delight in a fool, I need not seek far: I laugh at myself.

Blind men seek a guide, but we wander without one. Therefore we reach health with difficulty, because we do not know that we are sick.

The beginning of the journey toward the virtues is arduous, because the first act of a weak and sick mind is to fear what it has not experienced. The mind must therefore be compelled to begin. Then the medicine is not bitter, for it delights immediately while it heals.

In the fifty-first letter:

We ought to act so as to flee as far as possible from the enticements of vice. The soul must be hardened and pleasures conquered, for they have carried off even savage dispositions to themselves.

Pursue vices without measure and without end, for they too possess neither end nor measure.

Cast away whatever things tear apart your heart. If they cannot otherwise be drawn out, the heart itself must be torn out with them.

Above all uproot pleasures, which embrace us after the manner of robbers in order to strangle us.

In the fifty-second letter:

Choose as your helper the person whom you admire more when you see him than when you hear him.

Why do you rejoice that you have been praised by those whom you yourself cannot praise?

Praise brings some exhortation to the hearers themselves and stimulates the spirits of the young.

In those diseases by which souls are afflicted, the worse a person is, the less he feels it. To tell a dream belongs to one who is awake, and to confess one's faults is a sign of health.

Dismiss every impediment and devote yourself to a good mind. No one reaches it while occupied.

It belongs to a great artist to enclose the whole within a small space.

In the fifty-fourth letter:

Unless I am mistaken, we err in this: we judge that death follows, although it both preceded and will follow. Whatever was before us is death.

Praise and imitate the man who does not regret dying when it is pleasant to live. For what courage is there in leaving when you are being cast out?

The wise man does nothing unwillingly. He escapes necessity because he wills what he is compelled to do.

In the fifty-sixth letter:

No repose is pleasing except that which reason has composed.

All vices, like diseases, are lighter in the open. Know that they are most destructive when they lurk beneath a counterfeit appearance of health.

Nothing anticipates the mind of the wise man. No harmony of people or birds interrupts thoughts that are good, solid, and now certain.

In the fifty-eighth letter:

None of us is the same in the morning as he was the day before. Whatever you see runs with time. Nothing arisen is stable or firm and stable [read: None of these things is stable or solid], yet we desire those things as though they will last forever or we will always possess them.

In the fifty-ninth letter:

This especially impedes philosophy in us: we become pleased with ourselves too quickly and treat as our due whatever flattery heaps upon us. We assent to those who affirm that we are the best and wisest. It follows that we do not wish to be changed because we believe ourselves the best.

Everyone strives toward joy, but they do not know whence they may obtain stable and great joy.

The wise man is never without joy. *Gardium* [read: *Gaudium*, joy] is born only from consciousness of the virtues; it is neither interrupted nor ends. Fortune does not snatch away what does not end.

In the sixtieth letter:

A bull is filled by the pasture of very few acres. A single forest suffices for many elephants. Man, however, is fed by both land and sea. Yet the hunger of the belly does not cost much; ambition does.

In the sixty-first letter:

Before old age I took care to live well; in old age, to die well.

Take care that you never do anything unwillingly. He who gladly accepts commands escapes the bitterest part of slavery: doing what he does not wish. It is not the man who does something under command who is wretched, but the man who does it unwillingly.

Therefore let us compose our mind so that we will whatever circumstances require.

In the sixty-second letter:

Someone can despise all things; no one can possess all things. Thus the shortest road to riches is through contempt for riches.

In the sixty-third letter:

When a friend is lost, let the eyes neither be dry nor stream. One should weep, not wail.

Let us act so that remembrance of lost friends becomes pleasant to us. No one gladly returns to something that he will think about only with torment.

For me, remembrance of deceased friends is sweet and pleasing. I possessed them as one who was going to lose them; I have lost them as one who still possesses them.

In the sixty-fifth letter:

What cause did God have for making the world? He is good. No good thing envies any other good. Therefore he made it as good as he could.

You forbid me to take part in heaven--that is, you order me to live with lowered head. I am greater and born for greater things than to be the slave of my body.

I regard the body in no other way than as a chain placed around my freedom, contempt for which is certain liberty.

Let inferior things serve superior things. Let us be courageous against chance events.

In the sixty-sixth letter:

A great man can emerge from a hut, and a beautiful and great soul from a deformed and lowly little body. The soul is not disfigured by the body's deformity; rather, the body is adorned by the soul's beauty.

A soul that beholds truth, skilled in what should be fled and sought, imposing value upon things not according to opinion but nature, submitting itself to neither fortune and standing above everything that happens--this is the appearance of virtue.

Every virtue consists in measure. Everything honorable is voluntary, for what is not free cannot be honorable.

In the sixty-seventh letter:

I am not so mad that I should desire to be sick. But if I must be sick, I shall wish to do nothing effeminately. It is not praiseworthy to endure torments, but to endure them bravely.

In the sixty-eighth letter:

Many pass by open things; they investigate things stored away and *obstrusa* [read: *abstrusa*, hidden]. Sealed things tempt a thief; whatever lies open seems cheap, and a burglar passes by what is open.

Every very ignorant person possesses these habits: he desires to burst into secrets.

To hide too much and withdraw from people's sight is a kind of boastfulness. One should not act so that people speak about you, but so that you speak with yourself.

Do to yourself what people most gladly do concerning others: assess your evils before yourself, and treat especially what you perceive to be strongest in you.

In the sixty-ninth letter:

He who wishes to lay aside desire for all the things with whose cupidity he burned should turn his eyes and ears away from what he has left behind, for passion quickly rebels wherever it turns.

No evil is without an inducement. Avarice promises money, luxury pleasure, and ambition power. Vices entice you with a reward.

It can scarcely be achieved in a whole lifetime that vices swollen by long license are subdued and accept the yoke.

In the seventieth letter:

Do you wish to be free against this body? Dwell in it as one who will migrate.

When will their end come to mind for those who desire everything without end?

No one is wretched except by his own vice.

In the seventy-first letter:

We sin because we all deliberate about parts of life; no one deliberates about the whole.

It is no wonder not to be shaken in tranquillity. The wonder is for someone to be lifted up where everyone is pressed down, and for someone to stand where everyone lies.

The imperfect man must slip, now advance, now fall. Yet a great part of progress is to wish to make progress.

[Running head: Chapter Twenty-Four, Folio 207.]

Let us act so that all our time is ours, which will not happen unless we first begin to be our own.

In the seventy-second letter:

Whatever fortune throws to those who are waiting, we let go without any pleasure, immediately torn away [read: intent/upright] and stupefied for the seizure of something else. This does not happen to the wise man: he is full. If anything comes to him, he receives it securely and stores it away.

In the seventy-third letter:

Whoever thinks about receiving has forgotten what he received. Cupidity has no greater evil than that it is ungrateful.

Philosophy teaches especially how benefits ought to be repaid. Sometimes the acknowledgment itself is repayment.

You marvel that people go to the gods. God comes to people--indeed, into people. No mind is good without God.

In the seventy-fourth letter:

Either the things called goods are not good, or man is happier than God, since God does not use the things prepared for us. Neither riches, delight in banquets, nor anything among those things that entice people pertains to him.

Let whatever things please God please man precisely because they please God.

In the seventy-fifth letter:

Let speech agree with life. He fulfills his promise who is the same when you see him and when you hear him. Let our words not delight but profit.

In the seventy-sixth letter:

What is more foolish than refusing to learn because one did not learn for a long time? As long as you live, you must learn.

He who advances toward more honorable things must despise contempt itself.

A good man will bear with an even spirit whatever happens to him, for he knows that it happened by the divine law according to which all things proceed.

Whenever you wish to enter upon a true estimation of a man, inspect him naked. Let him lay aside honors, patrimony, and the other falsehoods of fortune; let him strip off even the body itself. Look upon the soul--what sort and how great it is, whether great by something else or by itself.

A great part of evil among the ignorant is its novelty. Therefore the wise man accustoms himself to future evils and makes light by long reflection what others make light by long endurance.

In the seventy-seventh letter:

Life is not incomplete if it is honorable. Wherever you finish, if you finish well, it is whole.

Does he not seem to you the most foolish of all who weeps because he did not live a thousand years ago? Equally foolish is he who weeps because he will not live a thousand years hence. These are equal: you will not be; you were not. Both are foreign to you.

Why do you weep? You were born under this law. What is new? This happens to everyone.

As with a play, so with life: what matters is not how long but how well it was acted.

In the seventy-eighth letter:

Honorable consolations become a remedy, and whatever raises the soul also profits the body.

Three things are grave in every illness: fear of death, pain of the body, and interruption of pleasures. Enough has been said about death.

No one can suffer pain both intensely and for a long time. Nature, most loving toward us, has so arranged us that she makes pain either bearable or brief.

It is not bitter to lack what you have ceased to desire. Whatever has long been expected approaches more lightly.

In the seventy-ninth letter:

It is no goodness to be better than the worst. Virtue is now hidden, but to have lain hidden is no loss.

Truth is the same in every part of itself. Things that deceive have nothing solid.

In the eightieth letter:

Why do I speak about others? If you wish to weigh yourself, set aside money, house, and dignity; consider yourself within.

In the eighty-first letter:

You complain that you have encountered an ungrateful man. If you wish to avoid this danger, you will give no benefits. Lest they perish with another, they will perish with you.

Life will quickly grow torpid in idle inactivity if everything that offends must be abandoned. Even after a bad harvest one must sow.

The wise man knows at what value each thing should be assessed. He examines everything with himself: how much he received, from whom, when, where, and in what manner. Hence Methodorus [read: Metrodorus] says, “Only wise men know how to give thanks.”

Benefits grow through delay, and the later one pays, the more one must pay. He is ungrateful who returns a benefit without interest.

Whenever something is doubtful, humanity always inclines toward the better.

We esteem nothing more dearly than a benefit for which we have long petitioned, and nothing more cheaply once we have received it.

Riches, honors, power, and the other things that are dear in our opinion but cheap at their own price draw us away from what is right.

We do not know how to value things concerning which we must deliberate not with reputation but with the nature of things. They have nothing magnificent by which to draw our minds to themselves except that we have grown accustomed to admire them.

In the eighty-second letter:

Leisure without letters is death and the burial of a living person.

Death is not glorious; to die bravely is glorious.

In the eighty-third letter:

We must see ourselves as though we live in someone’s sight and think as though someone could look into our innermost being.

What profit is there in keeping anything secret from a person? Nothing is closed to God.

Drunkenness is nothing other than voluntary madness. It inflames and uncovers every vice and removes the modesty that obstructs evils, for more people abstain from sin because shame restrains them than because of a good will.

Reading nourishes talent and refreshes it when wearied by study, yet not without study. We ought neither only to write nor only to read. The former--I mean writing--will depress and exhaust our strength; the latter will loosen and dilute it. We must pass back and forth between the two so that the pen may reduce into one body whatever reading has gathered.

We ought to imitate bees, which wander and pluck flowers fit for making honey, then arrange whatever they have brought and distribute it through the combs.

So too we ought to separate whatever we have gathered from diverse reading, then employ the faculty of our talent to blend those various tastings into one flavor.

I wish our soul to be such that many arts, many precepts, and examples from many ages have conspired within it into one.

Relique divitias ante periculum aut onus praesidentium [read: *relinque divitias, aut periculum possidentium aut onus*]. Abandon pleasures that soften and enervate. Abandon ambition. It is a swollen, empty, and windy thing; it has no limit and labors under a double envy--that of the one who is envied and that of the one who envies.

In the eighty-fourth letter:

[read: In the eighty-fifth letter]

Moderation of illness is not good health.

It is easier to prevent the beginnings of vices than to govern their attack. You will more easily remove than regulate them.

A storm does not hinder the pilot's work, but it has succeeded [read: does hinder his success/result].

The wise man is a craftsman who tames evils. Pain, want, disgrace, prison, and exile--things dreadful everywhere--reach him already made gentle.

In the eighty-fifth letter [read: the eighty-seventh letter]:

The soul is never greater than when it sets aside what is foreign to it, makes peace for itself by fearing nothing, and makes riches for itself by desiring nothing.

In the eighty-sixth letter [read: the eighty-eighth letter]:

Fidelity is the most sacred good of the human breast. No necessity compels it to deceive, and no reward corrupts it.

Temperance commands pleasures. Some it hates and drives away; others it distributes and reduces to a sacred [read: sound/healthy] measure. It never approaches them for their own sake. It knows that the best limit of desires is to take not as much as you wish but as much as you ought.

One can come to wisdom without liberal studies. If wisdom embraces any part of human and divine things, you will be wearied by the enormous abundance of questions. For these many and great matters to have free lodging, superfluous things must be removed from the mind. To wish to know more than is sufficient is a kind of intemperance.

[Running head: Sixth Title.]

Sixth Title: On the Church Militant

Chapter Twenty-Four (continued)

I have excerpted all the things said above from the sayings of Seneca.

Concerning what was said above in § I about Nero compelling his teacher Seneca to die, Vincent says in Book 10, Chapter 9 of the *Historical Mirror* that one reads in the *Chronicle* that Seneca died after his veins were cut and poison had been taken.

It is said that Nero once looked upon Seneca and recalled the beatings Seneca had inflicted upon him from childhood. He groaned and wished, as it were, to seek vengeance from him for these injuries. Yet, showing him some deference as his teacher, he granted Seneca the choice of whatever kind of death he wished.

Seneca, judging it a gentle kind of death, chose to die in a bath by the cutting of a vein.

While Paul was held in public custody at Rome, he acquired Seneca's friendship for himself.

It is related in the *Acts of Saint Paul* that Seneca, Caesar's teacher, became so joined to him in friendship when he perceived divine knowledge in Paul that he could scarcely keep himself from Paul's conversation. If he could not speak with him face to face, he nevertheless enjoyed his friendly conversation and counsel through letters frequently given and received.

Jerome says this about Seneca in the book *On Illustrious Men*: "Lucius Annaeus Seneca of Corduba, a disciple of the Stoic school and uncle of the poet Lucan, lived a most continent life. I would not place him in the catalogue of holy men unless those letters, read by very many, from Paul to Seneca and from Seneca to Paul prompted me. In them, although he was Nero's teacher and most powerful at that time, he says that he wished to have among his own people the place that Paul held among Christians."

Seneca was killed by Nero two years before Peter and Paul were crowned with martyrdom.

Augustine, however, in Book 6 of *The City of God*, reproves him for outwardly worshiping idols, although he was not unaware that they were not gods, but did so to conform himself to the people.

Augustine says: "The freedom that Varro lacked, so that he did not dare openly to reprove the urban theology, most similar to the theatrical, was not wholly absent from Annaeus Seneca, but neither was it wholly present. It was present in him when he wrote; it was absent when he lived.

"For in the book he published against superstitions, he reproved this civil and urban theology much more abundantly and vehemently than Varro reproved the theatrical and fabulous theology. Concerning the cruel and shameful rites themselves that were practiced in the temples, he wrote thus: 'One cuts off his male parts; another cuts his arms. Where they fear angry gods in this way, how do they merit gods made favorable?'

“Varro did not possess this freedom; he dared to reprove only poetic theology, not civil theology. But this man whom philosophy had, as it were, made free nevertheless worshiped what he reproved, because he was an illustrious senator of the Roman people. He performed what he censured, because philosophy had taught him something great: not to be superstitious in the world, but, because of the laws of citizens and the customs of people, to imitate in a temple what an actor represented in a theater.

“He was the more damnable because he so feigned the acts he performed that the people thought he performed them truthfully.”

§ II: Flowers from Persius, the Satirical Poet, in Verse

Do not seek yourself outside yourself.

Your knowledge is nothing unless another knows that you know it.

What profit is there in bringing our own customs into the temples?

Tell me, pontiffs, what does gold do in a holy place?

There are a thousand kinds of people and a many-colored use of things. Each person has his own will, and we do not live by one wish.

Augustine sets down these verses of Persius in Book 2, Chapter 6 of *The City of God*:

“Learn, O wretched people, and know the causes of things: what we are and for what life we are born; what order is given, or how gentle a turn about the goal and from where; what limit there is to money; what it is right to desire; what useful purpose hard or freshly minted money has; how much it is fitting to bestow upon one’s country and dear relatives; whom God commanded you to be; and in what part of human life you have been placed.”

Excerpts from the Poet Juvenal

No one suddenly becomes supreme.

This vice is common: all of us now live in ambitious poverty.

The highest and the lowest alike possess desire.

“Thus I will it, thus I command it; let my will stand in place of reason.”

A woman knows what is happening throughout the whole city. She is first to see the report and receives fresh rumors at the gate.

Nothing is more intolerable than a wealthy woman.

Virtue is the soul’s sole and only nobility.

A man will come from the toga-wearing common people who resolves the knots of jurisprudence and the riddles of the laws.

Believe it the greatest sacrilege to prefer life to honor and, for the sake of life, to lose the reasons for living.

Every vice of the soul possesses a more conspicuous criminality in proportion to how great the sinner is regarded.

A torrent-like abundance of speech and their own deadly eloquence have proved fatal to many.

But money amassed with excessive care strangles more people.

The empty-handed traveler sang before a robber. Though you carry only a few vessels of pure silver, if you begin a journey at night you will fear sword and pike and at night [read: at the shadow of a moving reed] tremble at a reed’s shadow in the moonlight.

No one embraces virtue itself if you remove its rewards.

Death alone discloses how small human bodies are.

Agreement between beauty and chastity is rare.

Vice deceives through the hope [read: appearance] and shadow of virtue.

Love of money grows as money itself grows.

§ III: Flowers from Quintilian

In his *Education of the Orator*, Quintilian says:

Would that we ourselves did not destroy the character of our children. We nurture infancy immediately with luxuries. A soft upbringing, which we call indulgence, breaks every sinew of mind and body.

Every excellent teacher delights in a large attendance and considers himself worthy of a larger theater.

The chief sign of talent in children is memory, whose virtue is twofold: easily to grasp and faithfully to retain.

The man who compares himself to no one must necessarily attribute very much to himself.

A person's age is most to be feared when it does not know how to dissemble and yields very easily to those who instruct it. You will more easily break than correct things hardened into perversity.

Those who mock grammar as a thin and meager art are not to be endured. Unless grammar faithfully lays the foundations, whatever you build above them collapses.

This art is necessary for children and pleasant for the old, a sweet companion of secrets. It alone, among every kind of study, has more work and less display.

Very many people, however, begin from what comes later through ambitious haste, while they wish to display their pupils amid attractive subjects.

Custom is the surest teacher of speech. We use customary words more safely; we devise new words not without danger.

[Running head: Chapter Twenty-Four, Folio 208.]

The same author says in Book 2:

One should judge not how old each person is but how much each has accomplished in his studies.

One must be free not only from the beginning of shameful conduct but also from suspicion of it.

The talents of children fail through excessive severity of correction. They despair, grieve, and finally hate. What does the greatest harm is that while they fear everything, they attempt nothing.

Each person prefers to reprove another's vices rather than his own.

Do not attempt what cannot be accomplished, nor transfer someone from what he does best to something for which he is less suited.

Just as seeds are scattered in vain unless a prepared furrow has nurtured them, so knowledge cannot gain strength unless concord joins the teacher and recipient.

There is a certain proximity of virtues and vices by which the rash man is taken for brave and the extravagant speaker for abundant.

The highest prudence with the readiest counsel consists in much labor, continual study, varied practice, and very many experiments.

Money, favor, the authority and dignity of the speaker, and finally even appearance without a voice persuade as effectively as the art of speaking.

The reward of the litigant is victory, not a good conscience.

It is not just that something by which one may make good use should be regarded as evil.

It is certain that all things which art has perfected took their beginnings from nature. Even before we are taught, certain beginnings and seeds of virtues have been granted to us by nature, as with justice, some image of which appears even among peasants and barbarians.

The same author says in Book 3:

Authority has the greatest influence in deliberations. The man who wishes everyone to believe his opinion concerning useful and honorable matters ought to be regarded as most prudent and excellent.

The same author says in Book 4:

We must persevere at least because we began. If strength fails, let us nevertheless persevere in spirit.

It is natural that judges more readily believe those whom they hear more gladly.

One must speak more modestly when praising oneself than when praising another.

Nothing is easily persuaded to those who are unwilling.

Things that cannot be accomplished at all must not be attempted.

The same author says in Book 5:

In obvious matters it is as foolish to wish to argue as to bring a mortal light into the brightest sun.

A ruler who wishes to know everything must pardon many things.

The same author says in Book 8:

Boasting is vicious and brings not only weariness but often even hatred to its hearers. Our mind possesses something lofty, erect, and intolerant of a superior.

Therefore we gladly raise up those who are cast down and humble themselves, because in doing so we appear greater. But whoever raises himself beyond measure is believed to press down and despise us. He does not make himself greater so much as he makes others smaller.

Nothing is more pleasing for reconciling souls than modesty.

Each person knows himself and should take counsel for action not only from common precepts but also from his own nature.

Only a mind free from every vice can devote itself to the study of the most beautiful work. First, there is no fellowship of shameful and honorable things in the same breast. For one soul to think simultaneously about the best and most dreadful things is no more possible than for one thing to be simultaneously good and evil.

Nothing is so occupied, so manifold, so cut and torn by varied passions as an evil mind. When it plots, it is distracted by hope, cares, and labor. Even when it has accomplished the crime, anxiety, repentance, and expectation of every punishment torment it.

He will certainly persuade others better who has first persuaded himself. No faculty of speaking is so great that it does not falter and stick whenever the words disagree with the soul.

Imitation of the best things, although deprived of the enticements of words, is nevertheless sufficiently adorned by its own nature.

This often happens to us: although we are satisfied with the best things, variety from cheaper things is nevertheless pleasing to us.

The same author says in the first declamation of the book of declamations:

The whole freedom of man is to have lost his eyes. The eyes are the means through which we cannot endure poverty. The eyes are all our luxury. They daily cast us headlong into every vice: they marvel, adore, and covet.

It is easier to fill the soul’s satisfaction; nothing is more difficult than to postpone joy.

In the second declamation:

The rashness of every soul is broken by bodily calamity, and the impulses of minds grow cold when the service of the limbs does not execute them.

In the third declamation:

Idleness grows wanton toward every wish when fortune favors it.

This is the condition of superiors: whatever they do, they seem to command.

Whoever is the greatest author of an evil affair is most destructive.

In the fourth declamation:

If anyone knows what is the end of goods and what true happiness is, he will never think that he will perish by premature death.

Idle ardor must erupt into crime.

To fear by day and night exceeds every calamity.

In the fifth declamation:

This belongs to the nature of human weakness: from all the things that happen, each person thinks what he suffers is the gravest. Among the impatient, even the smallest things must prevail as their greatest.

In the sixth declamation:

One ought to persist in labor where an outcome is promised, for care that possesses no hope is foolish.

In the seventh declamation:

The nature of things wished nothing among human affairs to be so similar that it did not distinguish it by some property.

In the eighth declamation:

I find nothing in human affairs that nature devised more excellent than friendship, or any greater assistance against fortune than concord.

What could be happier for the human race than if everyone could be friends? Neither wars, seditions, robberies, lawsuits, nor the other evils born among people from themselves would have been added to fortune.

Heavenly providence has distinguished our hearts with much variety and has given no fewer forms of souls than of bodies.

In the tenth declamation:

There is no punishment except for one who is unwilling. We possess no pain except from impatience, and fear makes something cruel.

In the eleventh declamation:

Nothing ever torments more gravely than abandoned hope.

In the twelfth declamation:

He who defends what is confessed seeks not acquittal from the crime but license for it.

In the thirteenth declamation:

There is no more just sorrow than to have lost the reckoning of a benefit.

One does not recoil without some pang from things that have held the soul through pleasure.

You do not know whether a person loves whose proofs you possess only in prosperity.

In the fifteenth declamation:

Nothing in human affairs possesses more impatience than the effect of one who is dying [read: the emotion/impulse of one who is dying].

In the sixteenth declamation:

You must speak more contentiously whatever you cannot prove, and whatever does not possess affirmation from truth takes it from the speaker.

I believe that no virtue is more difficult than silence. We sin so easily through the readiest speech that we cannot endure steadfast silence even in others.

In the seventeenth declamation:

It is a kind of reverence to have no wish to know things that must be kept silent.

He whom one cannot trust has no cause to speak. All faith in his words and all authority of his speech have been taken away from him.

All these sayings are Quintilian's. He was also the teacher of Pliny.

Chapter Twenty-Five: Martyrs under Nero

Under Nero suffered the soldier Vitalis with his wife Valeria, whose sons were Gervasius and Protasius.

[Running head: Sixth Title.]

Sixth Title: On the Church Militant

Chapter Twenty-Five (continued)

When Vitalis entered Ravenna with the judge Paulinus, he was a Christian but remained hidden. He saw a certain physician named Ursicinus, who had manfully endured many torments for the faith of Christ, become frightened when he received sentence of beheading.

Vitalis encouraged him, saying in a loud voice: “Ursicinus, you who have been accustomed to cure others, do not destroy yourself and, after so many wounds, be deprived of the eternal crown.”

Recovering strength of spirit and repenting of that fear, Ursicinus knelt down and joyfully accepted martyrdom. Vitalis had him buried honorably and refused to return again to Paulinus.

Because of this, Paulinus had him arrested. When he refused to sacrifice to the gods, Paulinus ordered a deep pit to be dug, Vitalis to be buried in it on his back, and earth and stones to be piled upon him.

The priest of Apollo who had advised this was seized by the devil and for seven days cried, “You burn me, Saint Vitalis.” Finally he was drowned in a river.

When Vitalis’s wife Valeria was returning to Milan, certain Gentiles invited her to eat with them from foods sacrificed to idols. When she said that she could not do this because she was a Christian, they beat her so severely that within three days she passed to the Lord.

§ I: Their Sons Gervasius and Protasius

After the death of their parents, Gervasius and Protasius distributed all their possessions to the poor, made their little household freeborn, and devoted themselves for many years to prayers and sacred readings.

When Count Astasius, who was about to depart for war, arrived, the priests of the idols met him. They said that unless he made Gervasius and Protasius sacrifice to their gods, he could not bring back victory.

When they were presented before Astasius and did not consent to sacrifice to the idols, Gervasius was beaten with leaded scourges until he breathed out his spirit. Protasius was beaten with clubs and finally beheaded.

Their bodies were revealed to Blessed Ambrose, bishop of Milan, as he slept lightly in prayer. They were raised from the tomb that had been made known to him.

§ II: Martial, Kinsman of Stephen the Protomartyr

When Martial, a kinsman of Stephen the protomartyr, was fifteen years old, he was baptized with his parents by Blessed Peter at Christ’s command. He was one of Christ’s seventy-two disciples and adhered continually to him.

He is said to have been the boy who possessed the five barley loaves and two fish that Christ multiplied, as is found in John 6.

He came to Rome with Blessed Peter the Apostle and was sent by him into Gaul. In his company were Amator and Amator’s wife Veronica, who was a familiar and heartfelt friend of the Virgin Mary.

Saint Amator lived a solitary life upon the rock that is now called Amator’s and died there. Veronica followed Saint Martial as he preached in the territory of Bordeaux and grew old there. Blessed Martial, primate of all Aquitaine, built an altar to the Blessed Virgin Mary there for her.

When Martial was setting out for Gaul, one of the priests whom Peter had assigned as his companions died on the road. Martial returned to Rome and related the event. Peter gave him his staff so that he might place it upon the dead man’s tomb. When this was done, the dead man immediately rose.

For this reason the pope is said not to use a pastoral staff, because Peter first granted it to Martial. It is preserved in a certain church there, and when the pope resides in that place he uses it as his pastoral staff. Nevertheless, another spiritual reason is assigned for this custom.

Martial then departed for Limoges, preaching and shining with miracles. With his companions he was received by Susanna, a noble matron, and there he healed a madman.

As Martial proceeded to the theater, the priests of the idols seized him and cast him into prison after beating him severely. On the following day, while he prayed, an immense light illuminated the prison. The chains broke and the doors opened, and everyone present sought baptism.

At the people’s prayers, Martial raised the priests who had beaten him after they were killed by a lightning stroke, and twelve thousand people were baptized.

When Susanna died, she left a daughter named Valeria, who immediately vowed her virginity to the Lord. She heard that Stephen, lord of the province from the Rhône River to the sea, would come there. Knowing that he would take her vow badly, she distributed her wealth to the poor.

When he came and she refused to consent to him, he had her beheaded. The executioner saw angels bearing her soul to heaven with praises. When he reported this to Stephen, he immediately fell dead before him.

Then the commander of the army and his whole retinue began to fear. Clothed in sackcloth, he asked Martial to come to him. After Martial raised his arms bearer, the commander was baptized with certain others.

Later he went to Italy at Caesar's command with a very great army. Having completed Caesar's commands, he came to Blessed Peter barefoot and clothed in sackcloth, seeking pardon for his sins and telling him of his conversion to Christ.

In the twenty-eighth year of his episcopate, the fifty-ninth year of his life, and the fortieth year after the Lord's Ascension, Blessed Martial received a prior revelation from the Lord concerning his death. After exhorting the people, he was seized by fever and passed from this light, his soul carried to heaven by angels.

He was illustrious through many miracles. He raised six dead people, healed many sick people, and compelled demons expelled from bodies to appear in a horrible human form.

He always walked barefoot, even when afflicted by quartan fevers. He fasted continually on bread and water, taking food only in the evening, as he had learned from Blessed Peter.

§ III: Certain Other Disciples of Christ from the Seventy-Two

Among them were Savinianus, Potentianus, and Altinus, as Vincent relates in Book 10, Chapter 41 of the *Historical Mirror*. Because they restored many sick people to health and recalled from errors not so much by word as by miracles and signs as many as they could, Blessed Peter sent them into Gaul so that they might take it, devoted as it was to idolatry, away from the devil and offer Christ an acceptable gift.

Peter established Savinianus as primate of Gaul. When they came to the city of Sens, then most famous and populous, they did not cease recalling the people from the worship of demons to the true God.

Savinianus constantly and energetically exercised against unbelievers the pontifical authority he had received from Peter. So great a grace of the Holy Spirit had been poured into his heart that whomever he touched by speech he vehemently inflamed with the ardor of heavenly desire.

While he persisted in heavenly teachings, the devil stirred up against him certain men of his sect. When they saw that the worship of their images was ceasing and that the rites of paganism and sacrifices of the gods were despised, they decreed that the contempt of their gods should be avenged upon the holy man by mockeries and death.

They placed Savinianus in the midst of their pestilential assembly. On one of the days, after discussing disputes of faith for a little while, while stopping the ears of their hearts against the assertion of truth, they soon judged that he should be struck with a capital sentence.

Potentianus immediately succeeded him in the episcopate. While he ardently persisted in preaching, the devil stirred up the minds of unbelievers against him also and killed God's servant as quickly as he could.

His lifeless body was exposed by the unbelievers to be devoured by birds and beasts, but by God's providence it remained unharmed. Afterward it was secretly gathered by the faithful and buried in a suburb of Sens. Dissolved from the flesh, he shone no less through miracles than while living in it, for he drove demons from possessed bodies, enlightened the blind, restored hearing to the deaf, and health to the sick.

Finally the gracious company of friends followed the good shepherd Savinianus as he went before them on the roads of martyrdom: Saints Potentianus, Altinus, Eodaldus, and Serotinus. Walking in their master's steps and propagating bands of believers in Christ's faith, they alike attained the glory of martyrdom and were buried beside his monument.

In the year of the Lord 847, while the emperors Lothair, Louis, and Charles reigned, their bodies were translated by that city's bishop to the nearby basilica of Blessed Peter. There angelic voices, like choirs singing psalms and the harmony of music, were heard not only by monks but by many from the common people.

[Running head: Chapter Twenty-Five, Folio 209.]

§ IV: Saint Julian

Four saints bearing this name are found to have lived at different times.

The first was bishop of Le Mans. He is said to have been Simon the leper, whom Christ cleansed from leprosy and who invited Christ to a banquet. After the Lord's Ascension, the apostles ordained this disciple of Christ as bishop of Le Mans. Illustrious through many miracles, he raised three dead people and finally rested in peace.

He is said to be the Julian whom travelers invoke for good lodging because he received Christ as his guest. Yet it seems more true that it was not he but another Julian who unknowingly killed both parents, as will be said below.

There was another Julian of Auvergne, noble in family but nobler in faith, who in his desire for martyrdom freely offered himself to the persecutors.

When the governor Crispinus sent a servant to kill him, Julian perceived it, voluntarily sprang outside, and fearlessly offered himself to the man seeking him, receiving the blow he struck.

They lifted his head and carried it to Saint Ferreolus, his companion, threatening Ferreolus with a similar death unless he sacrificed to the idols. When he refused to consent, they killed him immediately.

They placed Saint Julian's head with Saint Ferreolus's body in one tomb. Many years later, Saint Mamertinus, bishop of Vienne, opened the tomb and found Saint Julian's head between Saint Ferreolus's hands, as uninjured and whole as if it had been buried that same hour.

There was also a third Julian, brother of Saint Julius. These two brothers approached Emperor Theodosius in zeal for the faith and obtained from him by their entreaties permission to destroy any temples of idols and erect churches of Christ there.

This most Christian emperor not only granted this but also gave letters of command that everyone should obey them in this and help them under penalty of death.

When Julian and his brother were building a church in a place called Gaudianum and all passersby helped them because of the emperor's command, it happened that certain men wished to pass by with a wagon.

They said to one another: "What excuse can we make so that we may pass freely and not be occupied in this work? Come, let us lay one of us upon his back in the wagon, cover him with cloths, and say that we have a dead man in this vehicle. Thus we will be able to pass freely."

They took one of their number, placed him in the wagon, and said: "Close your eyes and lie as though dead until we have passed."

After they covered the man as though dead and came to God's servants Julian and Julius, the saints said to them: "Little sons, stop briefly and help us a little in this work."

They answered: "We cannot stop here, because we have a dead man in the wagon."

Julian said to them: "Why do you lie in this way, sons?"

They answered: "We do not lie, but it is as we say."

Julian said: "According to the truth of your words, so may it happen to you."

Goading their oxen, they passed freely from there. When they had gone some distance, they began to awaken the man, calling him by name and saying: "Rise now and goad the oxen so that we may pass more quickly."

When he did not move or answer in any way, they uncovered and touched him and found him dead. So great a fear seized them and the others that no one thereafter dared mock the saints.

There was also a fourth Julian, who unknowingly killed both his parents.

One day, while this Julian, as a young nobleman, was hunting and was pursuing a deer he had found, the deer suddenly turned toward him and said: "You pursue me, but you will be the killer of your father and mother."

Hearing this, he was stunned. Lest what the deer said should happen to him, he secretly abandoned everything and departed for a very distant region. There he attached himself to a certain prince and conducted himself so energetically both in war and in the palace that the prince made him a knight and gave him as wife a noble widow who held a castle, which Julian received as her dowry.

Meanwhile Julian's parents, grieving exceedingly from love for their son, wandered everywhere and diligently sought him. At last they reached the castle over which Julian presided, but by chance he was then absent.

His wife saw them and asked who they were. When they related everything that had happened to their son and how they wandered in search of him, she understood that they were Julian's parents, because she had frequently heard this from her husband. She received them honorably, gave them her own chamber for rest, and prepared another little bed for herself.

When morning came, the lady of the castle went to church, leaving Julian's parents to rest from their weariness in her bed. Meanwhile Julian returned home. Entering the bedroom to awaken his wife, he found his parents sleeping there. Not knowing they were his parents, he suspected that his wife was lying there with an adulterer. Silently drawing his sword, he killed them both.

When he left the house, he met his wife returning from church. He asked her who the people were whom he had found in his bed. She told him they were his parents, whom she had honorably received and placed in her chamber when they came seeking him with the tenderest love.

Hearing this, Julian became as though lifeless and began to weep most bitterly, saying: "Woe to me, for I have killed my sweetest parents. What shall I do? Behold, the word of the deer has been fulfilled. By leaving my home and homeland to avoid it, I have fallen into it. Farewell now, my sweetest sister, for from this time I shall not rest until I know that God has accepted my penance."

[Running head: Sixth Title.]

Sixth Title: On the Church Militant

Chapter Twenty-Five (continued)

Julian's wife answered him: "Far be it from me, sweetest brother, that I should abandon you. Just as I shared your joy, so shall I share your grief and your penance."

Departing from there, they built a great hospice beside a certain large river where many people were placed in danger. There they might perform their penance, ferry those who wished to cross the river, and receive the poor as guests.

After a long time, on a certain night when Julian had retired weary and the frost was intense, he heard a voice lamenting tearfully and calling Julian to ferry him across. Hearing it, Julian rose quickly. Finding the man already failing from the cold, he carried him into his house, lit a fire, and sought to warm him. Afterward he led him to his own bed and covered him with blankets.

A little later the one who had appeared sick and seemingly leprous became radiant and ascended into the heavens. He said to his host: "Julian, the Lord sent me to you to make known that he has accepted your penance." For he was an angel of the Lord, and he added that both Julian and his wife would soon rest in the Lord. Thus he disappeared.

Filled with alms and good works, they surrendered their souls to the Lord not long afterward.

In Julian's honor, therefore, some travelers say the Lord's Prayer or another prayer, so that good lodging may be granted them and they may be defended from dangers. But the practice of some who say the Lord's Prayer for the souls of Saint Julian's parents is foolish superstition.

The fifth Saint Julian is treated under the brother of Diocletian.

§ V: Saturninus and Certain Other Disciples

When Saturninus heard the fame of John the Baptist, he left his parents in the city of Patras and came to see John. Having witnessed the austerity of his life and heard his preaching about the kingdom of heaven and the coming of the Messiah and Savior, he remained with him for a time so that he might see Christ.

He was the man who, together with the Apostle Andrew, heard their master John say, "Behold the Lamb," as he pointed out Jesus passing by. Saturninus then followed Jesus with Andrew.

It is read of another Saint Saturninus that, after Christ's disciples made him a bishop, he was sent to the city of Tholosana [i.e., Toulouse]. When he entered it, the demons ceased giving responses.

One of the Gentiles said: "Unless you kill Saturninus, you will be able to obtain nothing from the gods." The people therefore seized him. When he refused to sacrifice to the gods, they bound him to the feet of a bull, goaded it, and hurled him down the steps of the Capitol from the summit of the citadel. His head was broken and his brains dashed out, and thus the martyr passed to heaven. Whether this was the Saturninus who was Andrew's companion is unknown.

There was also another Saturninus at Rome. Long wasted away in the squalor of prison, he was afterward raised upon the rack, beaten with clubs and scorpions, burned in the sides, and finally beheaded for Christ's name.

There was another Saturninus in Africa, who was crowned with martyrdom together with his brother Satyrus and Perpetua.

Vicisinus, who is also said to have been Nathanael, the brother of the Apostle Philip, is said to have been sent by Peter to Bituricas [i.e., Bourges], and there he rested.

Cleophas was traveling with a companion to the village of Emmaus on the day of the Resurrection. The Lord showed himself to them as a pilgrim. According to some, as Ysuardus [i.e., Usuard] relates, Cleophas was killed by the Jews in the house in which the risen Christ had appeared to him and his companion and had been recognized in the breaking of bread.

§ VI: The Seven Deacons and Other Disciples

Of the seven deacons appointed by the apostles, Stephen was stoned, as was said above.

Timon, who elsewhere is called Timothy--but not the Timothy said by Ysuardus [i.e., Usuard] to have been Paul's disciple--was the first teacher of the faith at Beroea. He went to Corinth to preach. There the Jews and Greeks cast him into the flames; when he remained unharmed, he was afterward crucified.

The third, Prochorus, received the palm of martyrdom at Antioch. Parmenas, the fourth, accepted martyrdom for Christ's name at Philippi and passed to heaven. Nichanor [i.e., Nicanor], the fifth, rests in Cyprus. Nicholas, a proselyte of Antioch, was a heresiarch. Although some excuse him, the Apocalypse shows that he erred.

Alexander and Rufus were brothers and sons of Simon of Cyrene, who was compelled to carry the cross behind Christ. They are treated in the *Ecclesiastical History*.

Amaon was the companion of Cleophas on the road where Christ joined them in the appearance of a pilgrim. Luke is silent about this companion's name, as Ambrose and Augustine testify.

Lazarus was bishop of Marsilia [i.e., Marseille]: the man whom Christ raised after he had lain dead for four days, and the brother of Mary Magdalene and Martha, of whom mention was made above.

Some write that Demas, together with Cerinthus, Ebion, Apollos, and certain others, belonged to the seventy-two disciples chosen by Christ. But after transgressing the way of truth they became evil men and heretics who turned back. John the Evangelist speaks of them in his first epistle: "They went out from us, but they were not of us." Paul calls them false apostles and workers of iniquity.

They also say that, just as the apostles chose Matthias for the apostolate in Judas's place, so in place of the men just named they chose others to restore the number of seventy-two: namely Eutropius, Zacchaeus, Clement--not the man who became pope, but another--the eunuch baptized by Philip, and others.

As Jacobus de Voragine relates in the *Legend*, Longinus was a centurion who, at Pilate's command, stood at Christ's cross with other soldiers and pierced the Lord's side with a lance.

He afterward converted to the faith. The chief cause, according to some, was that his eyes had become clouded through sickness or old age, but when Christ's side was pierced, a drop of Christ's blood ran down the lance and happened to touch his eyes. Immediately he saw clearly.

Renouncing military service and instructed by the apostles, he led the monastic life for twenty-eight years in Caesarea of Cappadocia and converted very many to Christ by word and example.

When the governor of the region arrested him and invited him to sacrifice to idols, he refused. The governor ordered all his teeth knocked out and his tongue cut off. He did not, however, lose the power of speech because of this. Inflamed with zeal for the faith, he took an axe, broke and shattered all the idols, and said, "Let us see whether they are gods."

Demons came out of the idols and rushed upon the governor and his companions. Raving and tearing themselves, they prostrated themselves at Longinus's feet.

Longinus said to the demons, "Why do you dwell in idols?"

They answered: "Where Christ is not named and his sign has not been placed, there is our dwelling."

When the governor went mad and lost his eyes, Longinus said to him: "Know that you cannot be healed until after I have been killed. Then I shall pray for you, and you will receive the health of both soul and body."

The governor therefore had him beheaded. When this had been done, the same governor cast himself tearfully before Longinus's body and received his health. Converted to Christ, he ended his life in good works.

[Running head: Chapter Twenty-Six, Folio 210.]

Chapter Twenty-Six: Certain Disciples of the Apostle Peter

Clement the pope will be discussed below. But there was another disciple of Peter who was likewise called Clement. He was surnamed Flavius, a consul of the Romans and the uncle of Saint Clement the pope.

Baptized by Blessed Peter, he was sent with certain companions to preach in Belgic Gaul. He reached the city of Mentelem [i.e., Metz] and was most dutifully received there by a certain host together with his companions.

The host asked who they were, whence they came, and why they had come. Clement answered: “We are servants of Jesus Christ, born of God the Father before all ages and of the Virgin Mary in time for the salvation of the human race.”

Hearing this and the pilgrims’ other words, their host sighed. “What you declare is very good,” he said, “if you show by deeds that what you say is true. I confess that your God has sent you here for our salvation and has also provided you with a most suitable place and time. This region, and especially this city, is exceedingly strong in power, always accustomed to wars and arms, rich in goods, and exceedingly wealthy.

“But alas, it has been worn down by a most terrible plague. Almost half its people and of all the animals serving human use now seem to have died from this pestilence’s savagery. Here there is an arena nobly built by Emperor Octavian and suitably formed into an amphitheater. In it dwells a poisonous dragon of indescribable size with its brood. Their breath corrupts the very air round about and even kills birds that happen to fly over it.

“Therefore, if your God has power and there is any truth in your preaching, behold a great and evident door for preaching and a ready approach for belief in your God: let so great a power of deadly evil be extinguished and former health restored to the sick.”

At this, Christ’s holy confessors rejoiced and dissolved into tears. Their host ran to the chief men of the city and invited them to hear things they had never heard before. At his words, all, noble and humble alike, hastened to see the holy men. In many of them the force of disease had grown so strong that they could scarcely stand upon their feet.

Compassionating their pains, Saint Clement first baptized his host and then the entire people after instructing them in the faith. Raised unharmed from the sacred font, they returned to their homes.

On the following day, after the solemnities of Mass had been celebrated and all those present had been refreshed by Holy Communion, Clement went with psalms and prayers to the cavern, with all the people following him. In Jesus Christ’s name he commanded and adjured the dragon to become gentle together with all its brood. He bound it with his stole and ordered it to follow him. When it had been led as far as the river, it disappeared entirely, as the saint commanded.

Thus that place was cleansed from all serpents’ malice, so that scarcely a tiny worm was found there. The blessed bishop then began to institute clerics, promote those he had trained through the several orders, and build churches.

§ I: Fronto

There was another disciple of Blessed Peter called Fronto. Devoted to God from his earliest age and ordained at Rome by the Apostle Peter, he was sent as the first bishop to Petragorica [i.e., Périgueux], the city in which he was born. There he gathered seventy monks to serve God.

While he dwelt with them and advanced in God’s work, he suffered persecution from Quirinus, governor of that city. Those whom the bishop baptized in Christ’s name, Quirinus condemned to the sword.

At length Fronto left the city with many companions and resolved to seek the wilderness naked. Gathering them all, he said: “What have we to do with the world, which we have crucified to ourselves? By dwelling among men we suffer great loss to our souls.”

When this pleased the brothers, they took three hundred mattocks and seeds of vegetables, left the city, and, with Christ as guide, traveled through the wilderness. They came to a place above the Dordonia [i.e., Dordogne] River where a great dragon lived with a multitude of serpents. When the bishop’s followers saw them, they were struck with fear and began to retreat. But Fronto, trusting in the Lord, prostrated himself in prayer. When he had done so, the serpents appeared nowhere.

While the brothers lived in that place, they began to murmur: “Is chastity found only in the wilderness and not in cities? Does he who delights in the company of beasts hear only those who pray in the wilderness? Why do we not return to our own place and bless God?”

Hearing their murmurings, Saint Fronto burned with concern and prayed for them. Nevertheless, the office of divine song never ceased among them, nor did they fail in vigils when want assailed them.

One day after the vigils he called them to himself and said: “My little sons, if we seek God’s kingdom, why are we anxious about bodily food? Why does care for the flesh torment us, who will die after a little while? Let us therefore entrust care of ourselves to God and hold fast his promise: ‘I will not abandon you.’”

As Fronto prayed for them without ceasing, the Lord heard him. Through his angel he visited Governor Quirinus, appearing to him in dreams and saying: “You feast splendidly amid riches while my servants perish from hunger in the wilderness. Hasten at dawn and send my servants food from the goods the Lord has given you. If you delay, you will provoke God’s wrath against yourself.”

Hearing this, Quirinus was terrified in spirit. Rising in the morning, he explained the vision to his friends and asked what he should do, where those servants of God dwelt, and who knew the road to them. When all replied that they did not know, he did nothing.

The following night the angel not only reproached him for this but scourged him harshly because he had not obeyed. In the morning he again called his men, showed them the marks of the blows, and sought counsel.

One man, wiser than the rest, answered: “You have many camels. Load them with the foods used by hermits and release them under their burdens. If this visitation truly comes to you from the God of heaven, he himself will lead them to the assembly of his servants and, once they have laid down their loads, will return your animals unharmed.”

Quirinus did this, sending seventy camels laden with provisions. Accordingly, while all the brothers were celebrating hymns together at the ninth hour, behold, the first camel arrived at the doors of their habitation with the others following it.

Seeing it, the bishop joyfully praised God and said to the brothers: “Wash the feet of the camels bringing us sustenance and give them food.” They did so.

“Behold,” he said, “almighty God has remembered us and sent us food. Let us not take everything, but return half to their lord.” This pleased them all. They stored thirty-five packloads in their barns for themselves. The camels returned to their master without a guide by the road on which they had come.

Then Quirinus, filled with great exultation because he had received the camels, exclaimed: “Great is the God of the Christians!”

[Running head: Sixth Title.]

Sixth Title: On the Church Militant

Chapter Twenty-Six (continued)

Quirinus prayed: “I beg you to show me the road by which I may go to the place where your servants dwell, so that they may grant me the grace of baptism.”

When he reached the holy men, he asked for and received baptism, and the name Gregory was bestowed upon him. Thereafter, every year on the day on which those hermits had received provisions, he sent the same amount by camel, with the Lord guiding the animals.

§ II: Apollinaris

Blessed Apollinaris, a disciple of the Apostle Peter, was sent by him from Rome to preach in Ravenna, a city of Italy. There he healed a tribune’s wife, and she received Christ’s baptism together with her husband and household.

When this was reported to the judge, Apollinaris was immediately summoned and led to Jupiter’s temple to sacrifice. On arriving, he said that the gold and silver hanging there would be better distributed to the poor than hung before demons. He was seized and beaten with clubs. Left half dead, he was gathered up by his disciples and nursed for six months in the house of a certain widow.

He then came to the city of Classis to heal a certain mute nobleman. As he entered the house, a girl who had an unclean spirit cried: “Depart, servant of God, for I shall have you dragged from the city with your feet bound.” Apollinaris rebuked the spirit and immediately compelled it to depart.

When he invoked the Lord’s name over the mute man and healed him, more than five hundred people believed in Christ. But the pagans beat Apollinaris with clubs and forbade him to name Jesus. Lying on the ground, he cried that Jesus himself is the true God.

Then they made him stand barefoot upon burning coals. But because he preached Christ most steadfastly, they cast him outside the city.

At that time the patrician Rufus, duke of Ravenna, had a sick daughter and caused Apollinaris to be summoned to heal her. As soon as the saint entered his house, his daughter died.

Rufus said to him: “Would that you had not entered my house! The great gods were angered and therefore refused to heal her. What can you do for her?”

Apollinaris answered: “Do not fear. Swear to me that, if the girl rises, you will not prevent her from following her Savior.”

When Rufus had sworn, Apollinaris first prayed and the girl arose. Confessing Christ's name with a loud voice, she received baptism together with her mother and a very great multitude, and she remained a virgin.

When Caesar heard this, he wrote to the prefect of the praetorium that he should either make Apollinaris sacrifice to the gods or send him into exile. The prefect therefore ordered him beaten with clubs and raised upon the rack because he refused to sacrifice.

When Apollinaris continued to preach God most steadfastly, the prefect had boiling water thrown into his fresh wounds. Finally he wished to send him into exile, bound beneath a heavy weight of iron.

Seeing so great an impiety, the Christians were inflamed in spirit, rushed upon the pagans, and killed more than two hundred of them. When the governor saw this, he hid himself and ordered Apollinaris thrust into a very dark prison.

He afterward placed him in chains upon a ship and sent him into exile with three clerics who followed him. A storm placed them in danger, and Apollinaris alone survived with two clerics and two soldiers. He converted those soldiers to the faith and baptized them.

He then came to Ravenna, where the pagans seized him and led him to Apollo's temple. Seeing the idol, he cursed it, and it immediately fell. The priests presented him to the judge Thaurus [i.e., Taurus].

After Apollinaris gave sight to Thaurus [i.e., Taurus]'s blind son, the judge believed in Christ and made Apollinaris remain on his estate for four years.

After this, when the priests accused him before Vespasian, the emperor decreed that anyone who wronged the gods must either make satisfaction or be deprived of the city. "For it is not just," he said, "that we should avenge the gods. If they are angry, they themselves will be able to avenge themselves upon their enemies."

The patrician Demosthenes then delivered Apollinaris, who refused to sacrifice, to a certain centurion who was already a Christian. At the centurion's request, he went to a village of lepers to hide from the people's fury. The pagans pursued him there and beat him for a very long time, nearly to death.

He survived for seven days. After admonishing his disciples, he surrendered his spirit to God under Emperor Vespasian. He was buried honorably and is praised in many ways by Ambrose in the preface.

§ III: Lucian

Saint Lucian, likewise a disciple of the Apostle Peter, was given by Blessed Clement to Saint Dyonisius [i.e., Dionysius] as a companion, together with others. When he went to Gaul, he came to Beauvais, where a Roman garrison and military force resided.

Because the people of Beauvais were always warlike, the Roman army was then stationed in those regions either because of their insolence or to guard the other cities.

Lucian was made a priest by Blessed Dyonisius [i.e., Dionysius] and sent there to evangelize Christ. By his teaching he converted many to the faith. He was a man of marvelous patience and supreme abstinence, adorned with the grace of every abundance and endowment. His only food was green herbs, and he gave his weary body cold water to drink. During Lent he ate twice a week, for the power of heavenly nourishment sustained him.

When the prefect Julian was persecuting Christians under Emperor Domitian's decree, he heard that Lucian had left the city to destroy idols and sent servants to find him. Hearing that he was staying at Beauvais, they went there and found him preaching to the people.

The man of God saw that they had come to kill him. Undaunted, he did not cease preaching, but exhorted the faithful with all his strength to remain in the faith. He began to give God thanks because God deemed him worthy to become the companion of his holy father Dyonisius [i.e., Dionysius], who had already suffered for Christ.

Lucian left the city with two young men, Maximinus [i.e., Maximian] and Julian. The agents of wickedness pursued them to a mountain three miles from Beauvais. The agents of wickedness killed the youths and, after subjecting Lucian to insults, beheaded the holy man. An immense light then shone over his lifeless body. A voice was heard from heaven: "Come, well done, good servant Lucian, who have shed your blood for me, to the dwelling prepared for you in heaven."

When the executioners had left the place, the body raised itself, took up its severed head in its own hands, and began to travel like a living man with firm steps. Bearing it from the mountain and crossing the ford, it rested one mile from the city at the place Lucian had chosen for his burial.

A marvelous fragrance spread there, and about five hundred men were converted to the faith. During his life, thirty thousand people and more received baptism through his teaching, apart from women and children.

[Running head: Chapter Twenty-Seven, Folio 211.]

§ IV: Romulus

Saint Romulus was born of a noble Roman family. Orphaned of his parents, he was converted to Blessed Peter the Apostle's teaching and baptized while Peter preached at Rome. He was then instructed by a certain holy man named Justin and began to shine through miracles.

A Roman named Carissimus had two sons, one possessed by a demon and the other gravely ill. He asked Blessed Peter to heal them, promising to believe if they were healed. Peter therefore sent Romulus to the man's house. Romulus prayed and freed them, whereupon they believed and were baptized.

Afterward Blessed Peter sent Romulus and Justin to the city of Sutri. There they drew to the faith a certain Ygamus who denied that there was any life other than this one. They proved by miracles that another and most blessed life is reserved for the truly faithful.

Justin changed his humble tunic into a royal garment and his staff into golden splendor. Romulus changed a vessel of water set before him into the gleam of gems. At Sutri Romulus also healed the mute daughter of the widow Carisia. When many were converted to the faith, the Gentiles expelled them from Sutri.

Romulus returned to Rome, and Peter sent him to Fesulae [i.e., Fiesole] and established him as bishop there. With him he sent Marchicianus and Carissimus, but directed them first to approach Vulterana [i.e., Volterra], which was then called Antonia, to visit two of Peter's disciples whom he had sent there to preach: Crescentius and Dulcissimus.

They found these two dwelling in prayer in a cave on the side of a mountain, for they had been expelled from that city because of their preaching of Christ. Greeting them, they took them into the city of Vulterana [i.e., Volterra]. There Romulus healed a boy already near death, on account of which many were converted to the faith.

Romulus then heard that the people of Fesulae [i.e., Fiesole] were cruel and admitted no one who preached Christ. Desiring to bear fruit for God, he went to Brescia. There he raised a widow's dead son, and very many people were baptized because of the miracle.

From that city he proceeded to Bergamo. Restoring two dead people to life and curing many sick people, he led many to Christ's faith.

At last an angel of the Lord appeared in a dream and admonished him to go to Fesulae [i.e., Fiesole], to which Peter had sent him. He did so.

Romulus's companions Marchicianus and Carissimus had separated from him for a time and preached first at Fesulae [i.e., Fiesole]. The pagans beat them and expelled them from the city. Reunited with Romulus, they entered the city again and began steadfastly to preach Christ with him.

When Romulus freed the boy Celsus from a demon, the boy's parents and many others placed their necks beneath faith's yoke. Through his teaching and miracles, the Church multiplied there.

A certain Repercianus, ruler of the city, together with the Gentiles, commanded Romulus and his companions either to sacrifice to their gods or depart from the city.

Romulus answered: "I shall neither sacrifice to your gods nor abandon the sheep God has given me."

Repercianus ordered them beaten with rods and, after they had been beaten, cast out of the city. At midnight an angel opened the city gates and led them in by divine power. On entering, they persisted in preaching. Romulus also healed a widow's son who lay at the point of death.

Hearing his preaching, Repercianus imprisoned him with his companions and bound them in chains, but Christ appeared and comforted them. After they had remained there many days without food supplied by man, they were beaten most severely through the city.

At length a certain faithless man pierced Romulus with many blows and killed him. His companions were beheaded in the year of the Lord 90, or thereabouts.

Chapter Seventeen [read: Chapter Twenty-Seven]

Saint Nazarius

Saint Nazarius was the son of Blessed Perpetua, a most Christian woman of the noblest Roman stock who had been baptized by Blessed Peter, and of a most illustrious man named Affricanus [i.e., Africanus], who was a Jew.

When Nazarius was nine years old, he wondered greatly to see his father and mother so different in religious observance: his mother followed the law of baptism, but his father the law of the Sabbath. He therefore doubted greatly which one he ought to follow, while each strove to draw him to that parent's faith.

At length, by God's direction, he followed his mother's footsteps and was baptized by Saint Linus, who was not yet pope but became pope after Peter's passion.

When his father learned this, he sought to turn Nazarius away from his holy resolve and described the various kinds of torments inflicted upon Christians. But Nazarius would not consent to his father's counsel and publicly confessed Christ.

At the entreaties of his parents, who feared that he would be killed, he departed from Rome. He took seven pack animals laden from his parents' wealth and, traveling through the cities of Italy, distributed the goods to the poor.

In the tenth year after his departure from Rome, he came to Piacenza and then Milan. There he found Saints Gervasius and Prothasius [i.e., Protasius] held in prison. When they heard Nazarius, they were encouraged to constancy in the faith.

Nazarius was quickly taken in chains before the prefect. Because he persevered in confessing Christ's name, he was beaten with clubs and cast out of the city.

While he traveled from place to place, his mother, who had already died, appeared to him and admonished him in a dream to go to Gaul.

When he came to Genebellis and converted many there through preaching, a certain matron offered him her handsome son, a boy named Celsus, asking Nazarius to baptize him and take him along.

Hearing this, the prefect of Gaul bound Nazarius and the boy Celsus with their hands behind their backs, fastened a chain around their necks, and shut them in prison, intending to subject Nazarius to torments on the following day.

Then the prefect's wife sent him a message saying it was an unjust judgment to kill innocent men and presume to avenge the almighty gods. Rebuked by her words, the prefect released the saints but forbade them to preach there.

Nazarius next came to Treveris [i.e., Trier]. Preaching there and converting many, he built a church. When the imperial deputy Cornelius heard this, he reported it to Nero, who sent many soldiers to seize Nazarius.

They found him beside the oratory just mentioned and bound him, saying, "Great Nero summons you."

Nazarius replied: "A disordered king has disordered soldiers. Why did you not come civilly and say to me, 'Nero summons you'? I would have come."

They led Nazarius bound to Nero and urged the weeping boy Celsus to follow by striking him in the face. When Nero saw them, he ordered them sent to prison until he could devise torments by which to make them perish.

Meanwhile Nero was wounded in the foot while hunting and suffered considerable pain. Remembering Nazarius and supposing that the gods were angry with him because he had allowed the saints to live so long, he ordered Nazarius kicked, the boy Celsus scourged with lashes, and both brought from prison before him.

[Running head: Sixth Title.]

Sixth Title: On the Church Militant

Chapter Twenty-Seven (continued)

Seeing Nazarius's face shine like the sun, Nero supposed that he was being deceived by magic. He told Nazarius and Celsus to abandon magic and sacrifice to the gods.

Nazarius was therefore led to the temple, where he asked everyone to go outside. When this had been done, all the idols were shattered as he prayed. Because of this, Nero commanded that Nazarius and Celsus be cast into the sea and, if they escaped, burned with fire.

The soldiers placed them in a ship and cast them into the middle of the sea. But when they had been thrown in, they stood unharmed upon the waters. A great storm arose around the ship, so that those aboard were in danger. Fearing that they would be drowned, they repented of their evils and commended themselves to the saints.

Nazarius and Celsus walked over the waters with cheerful faces and boarded the ship. Immediately there was a great calm.

Nazarius then went to Ianuam [i.e., Genoa] and converted many by his preaching. Afterward he reached Milan. But the prefect Anclinus sent Nazarius into exile, while Celsus remained in a certain matron's house.

Returning to Rome, Nazarius found his father now an old man but a Christian. When his son asked how he had been converted, Africanus related that Peter had appeared to him in a vision and admonished him to imitate his wife and son, who believed in Christ.

The temple priests forced Nazarius, with much injury, to return to Milan in exile. There he was presented to the governor and, at the governor's command, was beheaded with the boy Celsus.

Christians received their bodies and buried them in gardens. That same night a certain holy man was admonished by the saints themselves to bury their bodies more deeply on his property, and he diligently did so.

After a long time, God revealed their bodies to Saint Ambrose. Leaving Celsus in his own place, Ambrose found Nazarius whole and incorrupt, with his hair and beard, as though he had been buried that very hour, and giving forth a marvelous fragrance. He translated him to the Church of the Apostles and buried him honorably. They suffered about the year of the Lord 57.

§ I: Saint Mennius

Saint Mennius, likewise born at Rome of noble stock, was consecrated bishop by Saint Peter the Apostle and sent by him into the regions of Gaul to evangelize Christ's kingdom.

With him went Saint Dyonisius [i.e., Dionysius], the future bishop of Paris; Saint Eucharius, bishop of the city of Treverensis [i.e., Trier]; Saint Savinianus, the future bishop of Senonis [i.e., Sens]; Saint Symierus, the future bishop of Suesionensis [i.e., Soissons]; seven other bishops; and the subdeacon Domitian. They are known to have been brothers in Christ as though born from a single womb.

When they had gone eighteen miles from Rome, the subdeacon Domitian happened to depart from this life. After he was buried, Saint Mennius returned to the city and tearfully explained to Blessed Peter what had happened in the death of his companion.

Peter said to him: "Take the fringe of my garment and return to the place of Domitian's burial. Hang it over the tomb and say, 'The Lord Jesus Christ and my master Peter command you not to delay in walking, just as Peter commanded you with his own mouth to go with me as a companion to preach God's word to the Gentiles.'"

When Mennius had done this, Domitian immediately arose unharmed and began the journey with him.

They came to the city of Cathalanensis [i.e., Châlons], which, like the other peoples, was devoted to idolatry. There the Lord worked many miracles through them: restoring sight to the blind, hearing to the deaf, and walking to the lame. Whoever was afflicted with sickness and sought the aid of Blessed Bishop Mennius with entire faith was restored to former health.

Because of their pagan error and hardness of heart, the people of Cathalanensis [i.e., Châlons] refused to receive either Mennius or his teaching. Moved by divine inspiration, the holy man therefore withdrew with the counsel of his ministers to a desert place one mile from the city. He remained there with his companions for a year, devoting himself day and night to prayers and fasts.

It happened that a certain noble boy was drowned in the little river beside the city gate. When his parents learned this, they raised a most violent lament over the dead body. Having learned of Saint Mennius's miracles, they came to his cave and tearfully begged him to raise their son.

Mennius came to the place where the corpse lay, restored the boy to life and health by his prayers, and baptized him.

The fame of his power spread through the city because of this miracle. The people asked him to enter the city as their bishop and honorably accompanied him with a great multitude.

On reaching the city gate, he immediately healed three blind men and three lepers whom he found on the road, invoking the Trinity's name and making the sign of the cross over them.

Received as bishop, he converted and baptized almost the entire city. Like a good shepherd he governed it for eighty years with divine instruction, persevering in prayers, fasts, and alms.

Chapter Twenty-Eight: The Disciples of the Apostle Paul

Among all the Apostle Paul's disciples, the chief and foremost teacher of the Church after the apostles among those who wrote was Blessed Dyonisius [i.e., Dionysius] the Areopagite.

He is named from the place of his origin. He maintained schools of philosophy as the greatest of philosophers. Because of the eminence of his wisdom, he was also called *Theosephus*, from *theos*, which means God, and *sephus*, which means wise--as though "a wise God."

The village of his birth was called Areopagus because Mars was worshiped there as a god. For the name is said to come from *Ares*, which means Mars, and *pagus*, which means village, as though "the village of Mars."

While Dyonisius [i.e., Dionysius] was still a Gentile, he saw that the eclipse of the sun which occurred during Christ's Passion was contrary to nature. At that time he was in Eliopolym [i.e., Heliopolis], a city of Egypt, with Appollophanus [i.e., Apollophanes], a very great astrologer.

As Dyonisius [i.e., Dionysius] himself relates in writing to Polycarp, he said: "This night, which we marvel at as new, signifies the coming light of the whole world."

The philosophers at Athens, however, said: "The God of nature suffers." Or, according to others, they said: "Either the order of nature is overturned, or the elements deceive us, or the God of nature suffers and the elements suffer with him."

The eclipse of the sun at Christ's Passion was contrary to nature for three reasons. First, the moon was then on its fifteenth day and therefore at its greatest distance from the sun. Second, the eclipse was universal throughout the whole world at the same hour. It occurred at Eliopolym [i.e., Heliopolis] in the East, as Dyonisius [i.e., Dionysius] relates, and at Rome in the West, as Orosius relates. Third, it lasted longer than a natural eclipse, from the sixth hour to the ninth, as the Evangelists write, and thus for three hours.

Because of this marvel, the Athenian philosophers caused a new altar to be erected in honor of the one on whose account so unnatural an eclipse had happened. They placed this inscription upon it: "An altar to the unknown God."

[Running head: Chapter Twenty-Eight, Folio 212.]

Paul the Apostle therefore went to Athens, where there were diverse sects of philosophers: the Epicureans, who placed blessedness in pleasure, and the Stoics, who asserted that happiness consists in virtue of soul. He preached and disputed with them. Among them was Dyonisius [i.e., Dionysius], a most eminent philosopher.

Paul looked at the altars of their gods and their inscriptions. When he read upon one the inscription "An altar to the unknown God," Paul said to Dyonisius [i.e., Dionysius]: "Who is the unknown god to whom this altar is dedicated?"

Dyonisius [i.e., Dionysius] replied: "He has not yet been shown to us, but he is unknown and will appear in a future age. He is the God who will reign in heaven and on earth, and his kingdom will receive no end."

Paul asked: "What do you think? Will he be a man or a spirit of the gods?"

Dyonisius [i.e., Dionysius] answered: "He will be true God and true man. He will renew the world, but he is still unknown to men, and his dwelling is in heaven with God."

Then Paul said: "I preach to you that God whom you call unknown." He began to preach the Incarnation, the Passion, and the other mysteries of the faith.

By chance a certain blind man passed by. Dyonisius [i.e., Dionysius] said to Paul: "If in the name of this one whom you proclaim and assert to be God you give this man sight, I shall believe entirely."

The Apostle replied: "Lest you doubt that this is done by magic or by any power other than that of Jesus Christ, you yourself pronounce these words to him: 'In the name of Jesus Christ, receive sight.'"

When Dyonisius [i.e., Dionysius] said them, the blind man received sight. Dyonisius [i.e., Dionysius] abandoned the idols, converted to the faith, and was baptized with his wife Damaris and his household.

Instructed by Paul, Dyonisius [i.e., Dionysius] remained with him for three years. He learned from him many things concerning the heavenly realities Paul had seen in rapture and was finally ordained by Paul as bishop of the Athenians. There Dyonisius [i.e., Dionysius] converted the greatest part of the country to the faith.

Afterward he appointed another bishop in his own place and went to Rome. After the apostles' passion, Saint Clement the pope sent him into France with the priest Rusticus and the deacon Eleutherius. He hastened to the city of Paris, which was more devoted to idols than other cities.

After many people had been converted there, a church built, and clergy of several orders added to it, so great a heavenly grace shone in Dyonisius [i.e., Dionysius] that the priests of the idols frequently stirred popular uprisings against him and sent innumerable armed crowds to seize him. Yet as soon as they saw him, they cast aside all ferocity and prostrated themselves before him, or, overcome by excessive fear, fled from his presence.

The devil, seeing with envy that his worship was being so thoroughly destroyed by the saints' preaching, moved Emperor Domitian to so great a persecution of the faithful that he issued an edict commanding Christians, wherever found, either to be forced to sacrifice to idols or to be killed with various torments.

The prefect Festenninus was therefore sent from Rome against the Christians. Finding Dyonisius [i.e., Dionysius] preaching to the people, he had him seized together with Rusticus and Eleutherius, struck with fists, spat upon, mocked, and bound with the hardest thongs, and ordered them presented before him.

As Dyonisius [i.e., Dionysius] answered steadfastly before him, behold, a certain noblewoman persistently sought her husband Lubius, who had been led astray by those magicians. When he was summoned, he was killed at his first confession of the faith. The saints, in turn, were scourged most severely by twelve soldiers, loaded with chains, and thrust into the theater as their prison.

On the following day Dyonisius [i.e., Dionysius] was stretched naked upon an iron grate with flames placed beneath it. Emerging unharmed, he was cast to exceedingly fierce beasts maddened by a long fast. As they rushed violently upon him, they suddenly became tame when he opposed them with the sign of the cross.

He was again cast into a furnace, but when the fire was immediately extinguished, he suffered nothing. He was tormented for a longer time upon the cross. Taken down from it, he was cast into prison with many faithful people.

There, after a long exhortation to the people, while he celebrated Mass so that the faithful might receive Communion, the Lord appeared to him in immense light. Taking bread, the Lord gave it to him, saying: "Receive this, my dear one, for your reward is very great with me."

They were thereafter presented to the judge, wasted by new torments, and encouraged one another for this purpose. Finally, after praying on bended knees, Dyonisius [i.e., Dionysius] was beheaded.

Led by an angel and preceded by heavenly light, he carried his head between his arms from the place called the Mount of Martyrs as far as the Church of Saint Dyonisius [i.e., Dionysius]. There, by his own choice and God's providence, he now rests.

The company of angels sang so great a melody that many who heard it believed and were converted to the faith. Among them was the wife of the aforementioned Lubius. Crying out that she was a Christian, she was killed by the impious and baptized in her own blood.

A certain noble and faithful matron feared that the saints' killers would cast their bodies into the nearby river. She invited the killers to a solemn banquet and detained them as they occupied themselves with the immediate pleasure of feasting. Meanwhile she had the saints' bodies buried far away in a field. After the fury of persecution had subsided, she caused them to be raised honorably.

They suffered in the year of the Lord 96. Dyonisius [i.e., Dionysius] was ninety years old.

In the Decrees, Distinction 38, *Omnes*, it is said: "The utterances divinely handed down are the substance of the mouth of the priesthood, as the great Dyonisius [i.e., Dionysius] declares." They are understood to be its substance not because the priesthood consists in them, but because it is sustained and rightly governed by them in the exercise of its office. In the same way, temporal goods are called a person's substance because one is nourished by them.

This Dyonisius [i.e., Dionysius] published several books in Greek, translated by others into Latin: the book *On the Celestial Hierarchy*, the book *On the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, the book *On the Divine Names*, and the book *On Mystical Theology*.

§ I: Saintininus and Antoninus

This Dyonisius [i.e., Dionysius] ordained a certain disciple of his named Saintininus as bishop and sent him to preach at Carnotum [i.e., Chartres]. He designated him bishop of Meldensium [i.e., Meaux] and gave him Antoninus as companion and helper.

As they hastened toward Italy, Antoninus was seized by fever. Saintininus served him for several days. Antoninus desired that Saintininus fulfill the command of their master Dyonisius [i.e., Dionysius], for Dyonisius [i.e., Dionysius] had commanded them to carry the carefully written account of his passion to the supreme pontiff, who would also make it known to the Athenians.

Saintininus left their host enough to care for Antoninus, whether he remained sick, recovered, or died, and then entered Roman territory. In spirit he saw that his companion Antoninus had died and that the host had raised the plank of his stable pit and cast him into the place where dung and urine flowed.

Saintininus returned with the greatest haste and asked the host about his companion. With feigned sadness the man said that Antoninus had died and that he had buried him honorably.

"You lie, son of the devil," Saintininus said. "You cast him upon the dunghill."

Struck with fear, the man raised the plank. Saintininus said: "Brother Antoninus, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, for whose love Dyonisius [i.e., Dionysius] suffered, arise, and let us complete our obedience."

[Running head: Sixth Title.]

Sixth Title: On the Church Militant

Chapter Twenty-Eight (continued)

Antoninus rose from the dead and went with Saintininus to the city of Meaux. There Saintininus, full of faith and good works, finally passed to the heavenly kingdom. Antoninus succeeded him in the episcopate and rested in a like faith.

§ II: Caurannus

Caurannus, a Roman by birth, was instructed for a long time with Blessed Dionysius. After preaching the Gospel in various places, he was six hundred miles from Carnotum [i.e., Chartres] when he saw sons of Belial coming to meet him. They thought that he and his companions were carrying a great sum of money.

His companions trembled and fled, with the pursuers following them. Preferring to perish alone rather than let all his companions die, Caurannus cried: "Do not destroy the innocent. The money you seek is with me."

All those robbers therefore ran to him alone, but found only the single solidus he had reserved for his journey. Angered by this, they cut off his head.

Regulus, a companion of Dionysius, was of noble Greek ancestry and a hearer of John the Evangelist. For a time he abandoned his great riches and distributed them to the poor. He afterward heard Dionysius at Athens and came with him from Rome to the city of Arelatensium [i.e., Arles]. Because of the inhabitants' ready conversion, Blessed Dionysius appointed him bishop there.

After the Lord's Prayer had been completed and the apostles' names recited, Regulus added, "and your blessed martyrs Dionysius, Rusticus, and Eleutherius." When he had said this, he was stunned and wondered why he had spoken these words contrary to custom. He saw three doves resting above the altar cross, bearing the martyrs' names written upon their breasts. From this he understood that their martyrdom had been accomplished just as he had learned.

Inflamed with desire for martyrdom, Regulus established a most blessed bishop there. After visiting the holy martyrs' relics, he entered Silvanectum. Many people had assembled before an image of Mercury. Making the sign of the cross, he struck it with his staff and destroyed it. He converted many people as a result, freed a boy possessed by a demon, and even freed his donkey when a demon invaded it. At last he rested in the Lord.

Ionius came from the region of Athens with Blessed Dionysius. While preaching the Gospel near Parasius [i.e., Paris], he used raw herbs for food and cold water for drink. During Lent he took food twice a week. After pagans cut off his head, he carried it in his hands for one mile, following a light sent from heaven, to the place where he now rests.

§ III: Dionysius's Account of Eutropius

This Dionysius wrote in Greek letters an account of Blessed Eutropius's passion, which had been accomplished in France while Eutropius was still living. He arranged for the writing to be sent by the hands of Blessed Clement the pope to Eutropius's parents in Greece, who had already believed in Christ.

Pope Calixtus [i.e., Callistus] II found it at Constantinople in the school of the Greeks and caused it to be translated into Latin, as Vincent relates in Book 11, Chapter 18 of the *Historical Mirror*.

Eutropius was born a Gentile and sprang from a most eminent family. Xerxes, a Babylonian of admirable name, and Queen Guma begot him according to the flesh.

In childhood he was instructed in Greek and Chaldean letters. He went to King Herod in Galilee in hopes of learning something remarkable, and remained at his court for some time. When he heard of the Savior's miracles, he greatly desired to see him.

When Jesus went across the Sea of Galilee, Eutropius happened to be present when Christ satisfied five thousand people with five loaves and two fish. He greatly desired to speak to him but feared offending a certain Nichanor [i.e., Nicanor] who had been assigned as his tutor.

Returning from there to his parents' house, he began to tell his father: "I saw a man called Christ, whose like cannot be found in the whole world. He gives life to the dead, sight to the blind, hearing to the deaf, walking to the lame, cleansing to lepers, and health to every kind of sick person. Why say more? In my presence he satisfied five thousand people with five loaves and two fish."

Hearing this, his father Adimundus considered how he might see this Jesus.

Not long afterward Eutropius obtained his father's permission and, desiring to see the Lord Jesus again, went to Jerusalem with a suitable retinue for the purpose of worshiping at the Temple. Many Gentiles coming from diverse regions did the same.

On Palm Sunday he saw the Lord Jesus accompanied by a very great crowd. Boys cried, "Hosanna to the Son of David," and spread many flowers and branches of palms and olives in the road as he was about to enter Jerusalem. Eutropius followed with the others, but became sad because the crowd made it difficult for him to see Jesus.

He therefore approached the Apostle Philip with many other Gentiles and said to him, "Lord, we wish to see Jesus." When this was granted them, Eutropius rejoiced greatly and from that time secretly believed in Christ. He then returned to his own country.

When he learned that the Jews had killed Jesus, he grieved greatly; but when he heard of his Resurrection and Ascension into heaven, he rejoiced. In zeal for his love of Christ and in vengeance for Christ's killing by the Jews, he caused all the Jews found in Babylon to be killed.

After the glorious apostles Simon and Judas went to Babylon to preach Christ and confirmed their teaching by many miracles, Eutropius was filled with joy. He not only believed perfectly and received baptism himself, but also exhorted the king of Babylon to abandon the error of paganism and the Jews' superstitions and receive the Christian faith, so that he might deserve to attain heaven's kingdom. This came to pass.

After their conversion, the apostles made Abdias, whom they had brought with them from Jerusalem, a bishop. Not many days later the apostles were crowned with martyrdom, as was said above. Eutropius committed the account of their passion to Chaldean and Greek letters.

When he heard the fame of the miracles through which the prince of the apostles shone at Rome, Eutropius left his parents and country and went to Rome. Blessed Peter received him honorably. After Eutropius had remained with him for some time and had been more fully instructed in all the mysteries, he entered the region of Gaul with other brothers on Peter's counsel.

When he entered the city called Sanctonas [i.e., Saintes], he ran through its streets and lanes, urgently preaching God's word. As soon as the citizens recognized that he was a foreigner and heard him preaching things unknown to them, they indignantly burned him with torches, beat him with poles, and cast him outside the city.

Patiently enduring these injuries, he made a wooden hut on a certain hill beside the city and lived in it for some time. By day he nevertheless descended to the city to instruct it by preaching, and at night he remained in the hut with tears, vigils, and prayers.

When after a very long time he had drawn only a few to the Lord Jesus Christ's faith, he went to Rome again. He found that Peter had already suffered on the cross. Received in temporal succession by Blessed Clement, he was sent into Gaul with Dionysius and his companions.

When they parted from one another with tearful embraces and greetings, Dionysius went with his companions to Parasius [i.e., Paris]. Eutropius returned to Sanctonas [i.e., Saintes]. There, filled with zeal for Christ, he persisted in preaching in season and out of season, converted many, and baptized them.

Among them was Castella, daughter of the lord of that city. Because of this her father abominated her and sent her outside the city. This girl, bearing all things calmly for Christ, humbly chose to remain in a small dwelling beside the holy man's hut rather than abound in delights with her parents in the palace while sacrificing to idols.

Her impious father saw that neither flatteries nor threats could recall her from her resolution of faith. Driven by fury against Eutropius, he ordered the city's executioners to stone the saint and beat him with clubs and leaded scourges. Finally they killed him in the hut by crushing his head with an axe. He was buried there at that time.

After the persecutions against Christians had ceased and that country had converted to Christ, a huge basilica was built there in his honor. His body rests there, shining with frequent miracles.

§ IV: Eugenius

Eugenius, sent by Blessed Dionysius from among his companions to preach to the people of Tolletanis [i.e., Toledo], converted that barbarous nation. Desiring to see Blessed Dionysius, he set out on the road. When he was four miles from Parasius [i.e., Paris], he met certain soldiers.

They asked what god he worshiped. When he answered that he worshiped Christ, he merited martyrdom by beheading.

Taurinus was born of a Christian mother and a Gentile father. Baptized by Pope Clement and the spiritual son of Dionysius, he was led by him into Gaul and finally became bishop of the city of Ebroicensis [i.e., Évreux].

While Taurinus preached in the house of a citizen named Lucius, the devil seized the man's daughter and cast her into a fire. When Taurinus raised her from death, no trace of burning remained upon her.

After he had baptized many and worked a great many miracles, he one day said to Gentiles entering Diana's shrine to worship: "Behold your goddess. Ask her to help you."

Diana's priests stood prostrate, saying: "Holy and most invincible Diana, avenge us and yourself upon this sorcerer."

The demon hidden within answered: "Cease, wretches; cease to invoke me. Since this man, servant of the most high God, entered here, I have been bound with fiery chains. I would not have dared speak unless he had commanded it."

Taurinus said to the people: "Do you wish to see your goddess?" He therefore commanded the demon dwelling in the statue to depart and show itself to the people.

It came out and was seen by everyone in the form of an exceedingly black Ethiopian, with a long beard and fiery sparks vomiting from its mouth. Seeing this, everyone prostrated themselves at the saint's feet and begged him to free them from that horrible beast.

An angel of the Lord appeared, bound the beast, and led it away. The idols were then destroyed and churches consecrated.

§ V: Saint Thecla

The history of Saint Thecla, a disciple of the Apostle Paul, is given by Vincent in Book 10, Chapter 47 of the *Historical Mirror*. But because it is numbered among the apocryphal writings in Distinction 15, *Sancta Romana*, it will be abridged.

When the Apostle Paul came from Antioch to Ychonium [i.e., Iconium], he had with him Demas and Alexander the coppersmith as companions, but they were feigned disciples, as he himself relates in his epistles.

Hearing of Paul's arrival, Honestiferus [i.e., Onesiphorus] went with his household to meet him. Titus had told him the signs by which to know Paul. Seeing among the others a man short in stature, with an aquiline nose and an angelic countenance, Honestiferus [i.e., Onesiphorus] humbly greeted him alone.

The men accompanying Paul were indignant that Honestiferus [i.e., Onesiphorus] had not greeted them too. He answered that he did not see in them the fruit of righteousness.

Paul entered Honestiferus [i.e., Onesiphorus]'s house and continually preached about all the fruits of virtue. The virgin Thecla, already betrothed to Tamirus [i.e., Thamyris], sat at the window of a house very near his and listened to Paul preaching. She was so moved and overcome by his speech, although she did not know his face, that she did not leave the window for three days because she wished to hear him.

Seeing this, her mother Theodia [i.e., Theoclia] sent for Tamirus [i.e., Thamyris], Thecla's betrothed. Lamenting that the daughter had been led astray, he accused Paul.

When Thecla's mother and betrothed could not recall her from the resolution she had conceived to believe in Christ, Paul was arrested and led to prison. Thecla followed him to the prison. Seeing her affection for Paul, they accused both and presented them to the judge. Paul was scourged and driven from the city. Thecla was condemned to fire and leapt voluntarily into the flames.

Immediately, however, rain from heaven extinguished the fire. So great an earthquake followed that many died. Escaping in this way, Thecla went to Honestiferus [i.e., Onesiphorus]'s house, where Paul remained hidden.

Filled with joy at seeing him, she wished to cut her hair and assume a man's clothing so that she might freely follow him, being most eager for his teaching. Paul did not permit this, fearing that some sudden temptation might befall her, for she was exceedingly beautiful.

Paul therefore went to Antioch, and Thecla followed him. A certain Alexander, a leading man of Antioch, was attracted by Thecla's beauty and began to promise Paul many things if Paul would surrender her to his pleasure. Paul wholly refused.

Carried away by lust, Alexander publicly embraced her. Unable to bear the injury, she tore his cloak. Embarrassed by this, he had her presented to the judge as though she had committed sacrilege.

When she confessed what she had done, she was condemned to the beasts. Until she was delivered to be devoured by them, the judge entrusted her for safekeeping and propriety to a very wealthy matron named Trifena [i.e., Tryphaena], whose daughter had recently died.

Thecla was placed in a cage before a lioness. The lioness, however, laid aside all ferocity and licked Thecla's feet while all the people watched and marveled.

She was again cast to the fiercest beasts, but the lioness lay at her feet and strangled a bear that rushed against her. An exceedingly fierce lion was also sent to tear her apart. The lioness met it, fought with it for a long time, and both lion and lioness died together.

Thecla was then cast naked into a deep pit filled with water to be drowned and devoured by sea beasts. A cloud appeared above her and covered her so that people could not see her. The beasts inflicted no injury whatever upon her.

They led out two exceedingly fierce bulls, fastened burning plates to them, bound Thecla to the bulls, and exposed her to be consumed. Yet she was harmed in no way.

Freed from all these dangers and desiring to see her master Paul, Thecla cut her hair and assumed a man's clothing to seek him. She came with certain others to Paul, who feared that some temptation had befallen her. Understanding this, she reassured him by saying that she had been baptized, and thus entered his lodging.

Finally, with Paul's permission, she returned to Ychonium [i.e., Iconium] after the death of her betrothed Tamirus [i.e., Thamyris]. When she could not bring her mother to the faith, Thecla went to Seleutia [i.e., Seleucia], converted many by preaching, and at last rested in peace.

[Running head: Seventh Title.]

Sixth Title: On the Church Militant

Chapter Twenty-Eight (continued)

§ VI: Other Illustrious Disciples of Paul

As is apparent from the martyrology, several other eminent and illustrious men were disciples of Paul. Among them was Timothy, to whom Paul wrote two epistles.

The priest Polycrates writes of him as follows. Timothy was born in the city of Listris [i.e., Lystra] in Lichaonia [i.e., Lycaonia] and was instructed by the Apostle Paul. Having become his fellow traveler, he came with him to the most splendid metropolis of the Ephesians. He was the first to obtain the episcopate there, while Nero reigned among the Romans. There he shone in teachings, miracles, and conduct.

He became not only a spectator and hearer of Paul but also of the glorious theologian John the Evangelist.

When remnants of the former idolatry still remained at Ephesus, Saint Archbishop Timothy ran into the middle of the portico on the day of their abominable festival and exhorted them, saying: "Men of Ephesus, do not rave in idolatry, but clearly acknowledge him who is God."

The devil's workers were indignant and killed the just man with clubs and stones. God's servants carried him, still breathing, to a mountain beside the city. There he rested in peace while Nerva was emperor.

On the fourth day before the Kalends of January, the feast of Saint Trophimus is celebrated at Arelatum [i.e., Arles]. Paul mentions him in writing to Timothy. Ordained bishop by that same Apostle, he was the first sent to the aforesaid city to preach Christ's Gospel. As Pope Zozimus [i.e., Zosimus] writes, all Gaul received streams of faith from his fountain.

Likewise, on the day before the Nones of January is the feast of Blessed Titus. Ordained bishop of the Cretans by the Apostle, he most faithfully fulfilled the office of preaching, obtained a blessed end, and was buried there. The Apostle also wrote an epistle to him.

Likewise, on the fourteenth day before the Kalends of March is the feast of Saint Onesimus, of whom the Apostle writes to Philemon. The same Apostle adorned him as bishop, entrusted him with the word of preaching, and left him at the city of the

Ephesians. He was finally brought to Rome and stoned there for Christ's faith. His body was returned to the place where he had been appointed bishop.

Likewise, on the fourth day before the Kalends of June at Rome is the feast of Saint Potentiana, virgin. After innumerable struggles, after reverently performing the burial rites of many martyrs, and after distributing all her possessions to the poor for Christ, she finally passed to heaven.

On the same day Blessed Prudens [i.e., Pudens], father of that virgin, also made his passage to Christ. Clothed by Christ's apostles in baptism with the garment of innocence, he preserved an immaculate life until he received the crown.

Praxedes, a holy virgin, daughter of that Prudens [i.e., Pudens] and sister of Potentiana, performed many pious works and concealed the faithful in her house during the persecution, feeding them with word and food. After burying many faithful people, she finally rested in the Lord. Their brothers were Novatus and Timothy.

Likewise, on the fifth day before the Kalends of July in Galatia is the feast of Saint Crescens, a disciple of Saint Paul the Apostle. While making his passage into Gaul, he converted many to the faith by the word of preaching. Returning to Galatia, where he had been appointed bishop, he completed the end of his life in good work.

Likewise is the feast of Saint Epaphras. Ordained by the Apostle Paul as bishop of Collosis [i.e., Colossae] and illustrious in miracles, he merited the palm of martyrdom for the sheep entrusted to him by a manly contest.

Likewise, on the day before the Ides of December at Narbonam [i.e., Narbonne] is the feast of Saint Paul the confessor. Paul the Apostle ordained and sent him as bishop of that city. Traveling with the Apostle himself into Hyspaniam [i.e., Spain] for the sake of preaching, he was left there. After diligently fulfilling the office of evangelizing and becoming illustrious in miracles, he rested crowned.

Likewise there is Erastus, of whom Paul writes at the end of First Corinthians. Paul sent him with Timothy from Asia into Macedonia. Left by Paul himself as bishop at Philippi, he was crowned there with martyrdom.

Likewise Crispus and Gayus [i.e., Gaius], whom Paul mentions in the first chapter of First Corinthians, rested in the Lord at Corinth.

Seventh Title: On the Reign of Vespasian

Chapter One

On Vespasian's Reign, from Hugh of Fleury

After that turbulent crowd of tyrants had been scattered, Vespasian obtained the empire and reigned for nine years, eleven months, and twenty-two days.

He had been sent by the emperor to besiege Jerusalem because that country had rebelled against the Romans. After many Jewish towns had already been captured, he heard of the death of Nero and Nero's successors. At the exhortation of the soldiers in his army, he was made emperor.

Leaving his son Titus to complete the siege, Vespasian went to Rome. Thus he would be absent neither from the Romans nor from the Jews, among whom his son Titus represented him.

Vespasian ruled as the seventh emperor, as Eusebius writes in the *Chronicle*, in the year of the Lord 71. It was the 4,034th year from the creation of the world, but according to another, more common opinion, the 5,270th.

As Suetonius says, when Vespasian was once among Nero's companions, he repeatedly departed while Nero sang or fell asleep while present. He incurred the gravest offense and, being forbidden not only Nero's company but even his public greeting, withdrew to his own country.

The province of Judea was then offered to him with an army because it had thrown off the empire's yoke of subjection.

After assuming the censorship, lest he omit any occasion for discipline, he sharply rebuked with a most severe expression and voice a young man fragrant with perfume who thanked him for obtaining a prefecture. He revoked the man's letters of appointment.

After attaining the empire, he purified the highest orders, which had been depleted by various killings and corrupted by the negligence of former rulers. He replenished them after reviewing the senate and equestrian order, removing the most unworthy and enrolling the most honorable.

Civil and merciful until the end of his life, he never concealed the humbleness of his birth and frequently even displayed it. He sought no ornaments. He bore the freedom of his friends and the obstinacy of philosophers with the greatest mildness.

He was so little mindful of offenses and injuries, and so little their avenger, that he was far from being driven by suspicion or fear to anyone's ruin. When friends warned him to beware of someone commonly believed to possess an imperial horoscope, he made that very man consul and promised that the man would remember the favor once it had been conferred. He also married the daughter of his enemy Vitellius most splendidly, gave her a dowry, and furnished her household.

The only trait rightly blamed in him is greed for money. Vespasian was not content to restore taxes omitted under Galba. He added new and burdensome ones, increased the tribute of provinces, and doubled it for some.

He also openly practiced dealings that would have been shameful even for a private person. He did not hesitate to sell honors to candidates, and acquittals to defendants, innocent as well as guilty.

He is believed deliberately to have promoted the most rapacious procurators to greater offices so that, after they had become wealthier, he might soon condemn them. People commonly said that he used them as sponges, because he would wet them when dry and squeeze them when wet.

Some report that he was exceedingly greedy by nature. Others, on the contrary, suppose that the greatest want of the treasury and fisc compelled him to spoils and plunder. This seems more probable because he used even things badly obtained in the best way.

He was most liberal toward every class of people. He made up the senatorial property qualification and maintained impoverished former consuls with five hundred thousand sesterces. He restored to a better condition very many cities throughout the world that had been afflicted by earthquake or fire.

He especially fostered intellects and arts. He was the first to establish from the fisc annual salaries of one hundred thousand sesterces for Latin and Greek rhetoricians. He rewarded eminent poets and artists with great payments.

§ I: The Destruction of Jerusalem and the Extermination and Dispersion of the Jews

This was accomplished by Vespasian's son Titus in the second year of his reign. It had been foretold by the prophet Daniel 535 years before Jerusalem's overthrow, as is apparent in Daniel 9, in the seventy weeks of years. At the end of that vision it says: "A people with a leader who is to come"--namely Titus--"will destroy the city and the sanctuary, and its end shall be devastation."

Daniel first gave the cause of this destruction, saying: "Christ will be killed by the Jews after sixty-two and seven weeks," from among the seventy weeks he had mentioned. According to the exposition of all the doctors, these were weeks of years, not days.

Our Lord and Savior also foretold this forty years before the devastation itself. Seeing the city from the Mount of Olives on Palm Sunday, he wept over it, saying among other things: "The days will come upon you, and your enemies will surround you with a rampart, hem you in on every side, cast you to the ground, and not leave in you one stone upon another."

Assigning the cause of so great a calamity, he added, "Because you did not know the time of your visitation," Luke 19--that is, because Jerusalem did not receive Christ as its Savior and believe in him.

As Jerome says in Distinction 93, *Diaconi*, God's moderation and loving-kindness seek only our return and desire to save us by his long goodness while he waits. But, the same writer says, if we are not converted, if we are hard, and if we persevere in evils to the end, God does not have mercy on those who sin continually.

Therefore, after the Jews had been awaited for forty years following the Passion and remained in the obstinacy of their unbelief--indeed, everywhere persecuting Christ's worshipers--they were finally exterminated from the land.

Josephus fully narrates the order of the siege, its calamities, killings, and overthrow in his book *The Jewish War*. In that same work he relates that many prodigies occurred not long before the city's overthrow.

A brilliant star resembling a sword was seen hanging over the entire city. This comet appeared to burn with destructive flames throughout the whole year.

At the feast of Unleavened Bread, at the ninth hour of the night, so great a radiance surrounded the altar and temple that everyone thought the clearest day had come. At the same festival, a heifer led to sacrifice gave birth to a lamb.

Some days later, after sunset, chariots and four-horse teams were seen to be carried through the air over the whole region. Cohorts of armed men appeared mingled with the clouds and surrounding the cities with unexpected battle lines.

On another feast, called Pentecost, the priests entered the Temple at night to complete the mysteries in the customary manner. They perceived certain movements and noises and suddenly heard voices saying, "Let us depart from these dwelling places."

Four years before the war, at the Feast of Tabernacles, a certain man named Jesus, son of Ananias, suddenly began to cry: "A voice from the East! A voice from the West! A voice from the four winds! A voice against Jerusalem and the Temple! A voice against bridegrooms and brides! A voice against the whole people!"

This man was seized, beaten, and scourged. Unable to say anything else, the more he was struck, the more strongly he cried the same words.

He was brought before the judge, afflicted with dire torments, and torn until his bones were exposed. He poured forth neither prayers nor tears, but at almost every blow uttered the same things with a certain howl, adding, "Woe, woe, woe to Jerusalem!" Thus Josephus.

When Vespasian and Titus were about to come with the Roman army to subdue rebellious Judea, Christians who were in Jerusalem were warned by an angel to depart from there and cross the Jordan to dwell in Agrippa's cities.

Vespasian arrived with his army in the regions of Judea. A very great multitude of Jews from every nation under heaven, among whom they had been scattered through diverse former captivities, came to the chief feast of Unleavened Bread according to the command of their Law. Then the city of Jerusalem was besieged.

As Egisippus [i.e., Hegesippus] says in Book 5, in the first year of the empire conferred upon Vespasian, Judea was torn by harsh wars and domestic seditions. The city of Jerusalem labored within itself under a threefold battle. No rest and no truces were granted. They fought at every moment. Innumerable people were slaughtered. Blood flowed and filled everything, running like a river through the Temple's inner recesses.

Thus innumerable people fell throughout the city from bloodshed, fire, ruin, and famine. No place was free of danger. There was no means of escape. Everywhere there was fear, the shouting of those dying, and the despair of those living, so that the wretched called those who remained miserable and those who had departed blessed.

“How deceived you are, city, by your peoples! You are conquered by your own arms, though you were accustomed to conquer without arms and strike the enemy without battle when angels fought for you and the waves of the sea, the chasms of the earth, and the crashes of heaven served as soldiers for you.

“Behold, you have what you sought. Today recognize Barabbas living for you and Jesus dead. Sedition reigns in you and peace is buried, so that you perish more cruelly by your own people than if you perished by strangers.”

In the Temple itself, therefore, in place of sweet-smelling ointments, fragrant incense, and various flowers, there was the grievous stench of unburied corpses. Rain dissolved them, flame burned them, and the sun heated them.

No one had leisure to bury the bodies of those killed either in the Temple or around the streets, because war among themselves occupied them and concern for striking rather than burying held them all. Nothing had perished more than mercy amid such calamities, though mercy alone is accustomed to alleviate miseries and console hardships.

Certain robbers, however, who raged against others but found the stench of the slain grievous, cast the remains of the dead from the wall into deep ravines.

And so Titus, Vespasian’s son, who had received the war from his father, looked upon the steep chasms filled with corpses and gore floating among the torn entrails. He groaned deeply, lifted his hand to heaven, and testified that this was by no means to be ascribed to him. He had wished to grant pardon if surrender took place, had waited for them to seek peace, and was prepared to preserve them unharmed if they too had laid down the war.

[Running head: Seventh Title.]

Seventh Title: On the Reign of Vespasian

Chapter One (continued)

Manneus, son of Lazarus, asserted that 115,000 bodies had been carried out through the single gate entrusted to him, with 880 funerals added to these. This was a count only of those buried at public expense, apart from those whom their own families buried. Yet what burial was there except that the corpses were cast from the wall?

Some asserted that the number of those whose bodies could not be carried out because of their infinite multitude was beyond telling, in addition to the bodies taken outside the gate. For many had come even from the world’s farthest region to worship at the Temple on the feast day.

§ II: The Most Bitter Famine That Oppressed Them, and Their Avarice

Many of those who had fled to the Romans, when they purged their bowels after receiving food, voided certain golden coins which they had swallowed while preparing their escape. They did this so that, if apprehended, they would face neither loss nor danger, because ambushers searched everything, and for anyone other than robbers to possess gold was treated as a crime.

Thus the Jews, with wretched hope, gathered the gold amid the filth of the belly. A certain Assyrian discovered this, and from one man the belief spread to all that this race of men was headlong toward avarice and ready for cunning, that it would avoid nothing however atrocious and blush at nothing however shameful in its zeal for money.

From the Syrians the rumor spread to the Arabs, whose avarice was no less and whose ferocity was monstrous in proportion to their barbarous savagery. Believing that the Jews were full of gold, they seized everyone they saw approaching, contrary to divine and human law, contrary to the law of surrender, and contrary to Caesar’s promise that they were not permitted to kill them.

They cut open the men while they were still living, eviscerated the belly’s hidden places with bloody hands, searched the bowels, and sought gold among the flowing filth. In a single night almost two thousand men were cut apart in this crime.

Another grievous affliction befell those who had fled to the Romans. Because they had lost the accustomed practice of eating, when an abundance of food was given them, what had previously been useful became a burden.

Their teeth had no strength to chew food. The inner organs had become rigid. The passages of food were obstructed. The veins of the liver which draw in nourishment had dried up. Bile had disappeared, while appetite increased. The wretched rushed upon food but attempted weak bites like infants.

Many failed amid every kind of food merely from joy and died upon the foods they had longed for. It was a lamentable procession, since more rose from the food toward danger than toward health. They swelled from unaccustomed food as though from a kind of dropsy. If measureless greed for eating heaped sudden, strong food upon them beyond due measure, they burst.

It is no wonder that food is dangerous to one exhausted by peril, for if after a two-day fast one takes something too greedily, it immediately causes indigestion. Some of them escaped by a certain art, weighing out moderate portions of food until flesh unaccustomed to eating returned to its proper functions.

After the buildings adjacent to the Temple and also its porticoes had been destroyed, partly by the Romans and partly by the Jews themselves, the Temple's face now lay bare, and men's hunger was savage.

They ambushed one another so that each might seize the other's food. Wherever food was suspected, there was war. Even those most dear were killed. They searched the dead to see whether food lay hidden inside their clothing. With mouths open like rabid dogs catching breaths of air, they were driven here and there under want's leadership.

When they found no other alleviation of hunger, they stripped the leather from shields so that it might serve them as food when it no longer served for protection. They gnawed the leather of their shoes. They felt no shame at receiving into the mouth and licking with the tongue what had been loosened from their feet.

Old straw which had once been thrown away was sought with no slight effort, and if any was found, they bought it at a great price.

§ III: The Woman Who Ate Her Son

There was also a wealthy woman named Mary from the region beyond the Jordan. When the terror of war arose, she had gone to Jerusalem so that she might be safer. The leaders of the factions eagerly invaded her possessions. If she procured any food for a price, it too was snatched from her hands.

Everything had now failed. Accustomed to delicacies, she could not soften the rougher pieces of chaff or the hard pieces of leather. Savage hunger therefore poured itself into her innermost marrow, inflamed her humors, and agitated her mind.

She had a little infant whose crying in the cradle awakened her. Seeing herself and her little child wasted away, she was overcome by such monstrous evils and lost natural affection. Turning to the child, she said:

"What shall I do with you, little one? Savage things surround you on every side: war, famine, fire, robbers, and ruins. To whom shall I entrust you when you are about to die--or the tiny remainder of your life? I had hoped that, if you grew up, you would feed me, your mother, or bury me when I died.

"But what shall I, wretched woman, do? I see no support for life for you or me. For whom shall I preserve you? In what tomb shall I conceal you, lest you become prey for dogs, birds, or beasts?

"O flesh sweet to me, delightful limbs, before famine consumes you, render to me, your mother, what you received. Return to that natural hidden place in which you took up your spirit; within it a tomb is prepared for you when you are dead.

"I shall therefore kiss you. Because there is no time for love, let the force of necessity have its way, so that I myself may devour my own limbs with real, not feigned, bites. We have done what affection required; let us do what hunger urges.

"Yet your cause is better and has a certain appearance of piety, because it is more tolerable that you should have given food to your mother with your entrails than that she could either kill or devour you."

Saying this, she turned away her face and plunged in the sword. Cutting her son into pieces, she placed him upon the fire. She ate part and covered part lest anyone suddenly arrive.

The smell of roasted flesh, however, reached the faction leaders. Following the smell, they immediately entered the woman's dwelling. They threatened her with death because she had dared to eat while they fasted and to make them exiles from whatever food she had found.

She said: "I have saved your portion for you. Do not be indignant. I have prepared food for you from my own flesh. Sit down more quickly; I shall set the table."

Saying this, she uncovered the burned limbs and offered them to be eaten with this exhortation: "This is my meal; this portion is yours. Look more closely and see whether I have defrauded you. Behold one of the boy's hands; behold his foot; behold half the rest of his body. And lest you think him someone else's, he is my son.

"Never were you sweeter to me, my son. To you I owe it that your sweetness has held my soul in life until now and prolonged the day of death for your wretched mother. Those who came to kill have been made my guests. They too will have something they owe you when they have eaten my banquet."

She said to those struck with horror: "Why do you shudder in spirit? Why do you not eat what a mother has made? Taste and see that my son is sweet. Do not become more tender than a mother or weaker than a woman. I indeed prepared such a banquet, but you too made a mother feast in this way. Affection restrained me, but necessity conquered."

The wickedness of so great a crime immediately filled the entire city, and each person shuddered at the service of this parricidal banquet. The enormity of the deed also reached the Romans, for many, terrified by this horror, fled to the enemy.

When Caesar Titus learned of it, he cursed the contagion of that unhappy land. Raising his hands to heaven, he made this declaration:

“We came to war, indeed, but not with men; rather, we fight against the madness of beasts. Wild animals generally love their own offspring: they nourish them even in famine, feed them with the bodies of others, and abstain from the corpses of their own kind. This exceeds all bitterness--that a mother should devour the limbs she bore.

“I am clean of this contagion. Whatever power you are in heaven, I absolve myself before you. You know that with deepest affection I frequently offered peace. And, what I am not ashamed to say, as victor I begged, because I wished to spare them. But what was I to do when they fought back and raged against their own people? They themselves often exhorted us from the walls to fight them, lest they perish more grievously at their own people’s hands.”

Having said this, Titus ordered the rams to be moved against the Temple. At last, when the authors of the seditions fled as it burned, the Romans placed their standards inside its enclosure, sacrificed before the eastern gate, and proclaimed Emperor Titus with loud and mighty voices.

The priests, wasted by lack of water and the heat of the nearby fire, begged for their lives. Titus ordered them killed, answering that it was the mark of a degenerate spirit that they wished to outlive the Temple and the divinity.

When John, Simon, and the other leaders of the seditions asked indulgence, Titus answered: “Too late, most wicked men, is the time for mercy, when nothing remains that might be preserved. I offered peace, but you did not receive it. I wished to spare you, but you did not permit it. I suspended battles, and you rushed upon us.

“Now the people are extinguished and the Temple burns. Why do you still stand armed? Lay down your arms as though conquered. I shall grant you life, although you do not deserve it.”

Although provoked to anger, Titus did not abandon his resolution, in view of royal dignity, but received those who fled solely out of regard for compassion.

The Romans, already weary from much killing, did not refuse pardon of life. Because they desired to sell captives as slaves, they were more inclined to preserve their lives. There were very many for sale but few buyers, because the Romans disdained to hold Jews in servitude, and no Jews survived to redeem them.

On the eighth day of the month Gorpaci [i.e., Gorpiaeus], therefore, the city was burned. It is asserted that one million were killed throughout the entire siege. Ninety-seven thousand captives were taken.

As Hugh of Fleury says, the Romans, finally weary from much killing, sought people to whom they could sell the captive slaves. Because there were many for sale and few buyers were found, some did not fail to buy thirty slaves for one coin.

Then, according to Eusebius in the *Chronicle*, the kingdom of the Jews came to an end.

From the second year of Darius, under whom the Temple at Jerusalem was rebuilt, to Vespasian’s second year, in which Jerusalem was most recently overthrown, they reckon 590 years. But if anyone considers carefully and attends to the number of Daniel’s seventy weeks, fewer are found.

Jerome says upon Zechariah, as found in Distinction 76, chapter *Ieiunium*, that in the fifth month according to the Hebrews, who begin the months of the year with April--the month called August among us--the Temple at Jerusalem was burned and destroyed by Titus and Vespasian. The city of Bethel, to which many thousands of Jews had fled, was captured. Long before, in the same month, the city and Temple of Jerusalem had been captured and burned by Nabuchodonosor [i.e., Nebuchadnezzar].

Gratian also says in Cause 23, Question 5, section *Hinc notandum*, that God sometimes punishes sins through those who do not know, and sometimes through those who know, as he punished the Jewish people through Nabuchodonosor [i.e., Nebuchadnezzar].

Such persons are said to serve God insofar as they punish. But insofar as they proudly suppose in impious vanity that they are not ministers of God’s wrath and attribute victory to their own strength, they do not receive from God the reward of their service except a temporal one, and they do not escape the punishment of their pride.

Gratian illustrates this with the Romans. When God determined through them to punish the sin of death perpetrated by the Jews--under the leaders Titus and Vespasian--they began to ascribe the city’s destruction and the Jewish people’s wretched captivity to their own strength.

Therefore the prophet prays against them, saying: “Raise your hands against their pride unto the end. How greatly your enemies have boasted in your holy place. They set up their signs”--that is, monuments of their victory--“in the midst of the Temple’s court.”

God punishes through those who know, however, as when through the Jewish people under their leader Joshua he exterminated the seven peoples of the Canaanites. The Jews knew that God had appointed them to exterminate those peoples, the Lord commanding them to do so because of their crimes, and they attributed their victories to God.

Likewise, even in the time of grace, through Karolum [i.e., Charlemagne], king of the Franks, and his men, God liberated the Church and Ytaliam [i.e., Italy] from the hands of the Longobardorum [i.e., Lombards], Distinction 63, *Adrianus*.

Thus, after the city was destroyed, Titus returned victorious to Rome and was received by all in a great triumph. He is also said to have caused the Ark of the Covenant, the lampstand, and certain columns of the Temple to be carried away.

§ IV: Josephus Flavius

In these times Josephus Flavius flourished, a writer and historian and a commander in the Jewish war. When he was about to be killed by the Romans after being captured in that war, he foretold to Vespasian the emperor's death and Vespasian's elevation by the senate to the empire, as Eusebius relates in the *Chronicle*.

Jerome likewise writes of him in the book *On Illustrious Men*: Josephus, son of Matathie [i.e., Matthias] and a Jerusalemite, was captured by Vespasian and was also a priest. Coming to Rome, he offered the emperor, father and son--Vespasian and Titus--seven books of the Jewish captivity. These were delivered to the public library, and because of the glory of his genius he merited a statue at Rome.

He also wrote twenty other books of *Antiquities*, from the beginning of the world to the fourteenth year of Emperor Domitian. In the eighteenth book he gives the greatest testimony concerning Christ and his miracles, as was said above.

[Running head: Seventh Title.]

Seventh Title: On the Reign of Vespasian

Chapter One (continued)

Vespasian, Hugh of Fleury says, died in the seventieth year of his life, mingling jokes with the serious matters in which he delighted. Exhausted by a flux of the belly, he rose and said, "It is fitting for an emperor to depart the earth standing." Thus he expired, and his son Titus succeeded him.

Apollinaris suffered under Vespasian, as was said above.

§ V: Titus

Titus reigned for two years and was most eloquent in both languages, as Eusebius says in the *Chronicle*. According to Hugh of Fleury, he was a man marvelous in every kind of virtue, equally adorned with imperial manners, and one who refused nothing to anyone. He was so eloquent that he pleaded cases in Latin verse and composed tragedies in Greek.

Suetonius speaks of him as follows. Titus was the love and delight of the human race. In boyhood his bodily stature and gifts of mind shone forth, and more and more through the successive stages of age: an outstanding appearance, possessing no less authority than grace; exceptional strength; a singular memory; and aptitude for almost all the arts of both war and peace.

He was highly skilled in arms and horsemanship, ready in speaking Greek and Latin and in composing poems. He was not ignorant even of music, but sang and played the harp pleasantly and skillfully. In military service he possessed the greatest diligence and no less modesty.

At first cruelty, luxury, rapacity, and lust were suspected in him. People openly regarded and proclaimed him another Nero. But this reputation turned to his advantage and was transformed into the greatest praise, when no vice was found in him but, on the contrary, the highest virtues.

He held banquets that were pleasant rather than extravagant. He chose friends whom later rulers also approved as necessary both to themselves and to the commonwealth, and especially employed.

He took nothing from any citizen. He abstained from what belonged to others and did not even receive the customary contributions that were permitted. Nevertheless, in generosity he was inferior to no one before him.

In responding most kindly to everyone's desires, he most resolutely maintained that he would send no one away without hope. Indeed, when members of his household warned that he seemed to promise more than he could perform, he said, "No one ought to leave a prince's conversation sad."

At supper, remembering that he had performed nothing for anyone during the whole day, he uttered that memorable and deservedly praised saying: "Friends, I have lost this day."

Above all he treated the whole people with great kindness on every occasion. He denied petitioners nothing and even voluntarily exhorted them to ask for whatever they wished.

Although his brother did not cease plotting against him, Titus could not bring himself to kill or depose him, or even to hold him in lesser honor. From the first day of his rule he continued to declare him his partner and successor. Sometimes in private, with tears and entreaties, he begged that his brother would at last return his affection.

In the midst of these things death overtook him, to the greater loss of humankind than of himself. When his death became public and all mourned openly, the senate came to the senate house before it was summoned by edict. While the doors were still closed and then after they had been opened, it gave the dead man such thanks and heaped upon him such praises as it never gave him even when he was living and present.

As Eusebius says, he built an amphitheater at Rome and killed five thousand beasts at its dedication. By decree of the senate he was enrolled among the gods.

In his time Mount Hebius broke open at its summit and threw out so great a fire that it burned neighboring regions and cities with their inhabitants. At Rome too several buildings were burned by fire.

According to the Savior's irrefutable teaching, "He who does not believe has already been judged, because he does not believe in the name of the only-begotten Son of God." Since Vespasian and Titus did not believe in Christ, they were therefore judged by the Church's judgment to eternal death. They cannot have an excuse for their sin of unbelief, because Christ's faith had already been proclaimed throughout the world and especially at Rome.

Note also what Gratian says in Cause 28, Question 1, section *Ex his itaque*. True moral virtues are denied to exist among unbelievers, not because true acquired virtues did not exist in them, but because those virtues lacked the effect of eternal salvation. They were not virtues infused through grace, which alone causes the virtues leading to the heavenly homeland, and these are properly true virtues.

§ VI: Domitian

Domitian, Titus's younger brother, succeeded him in the year of the Lord 83. As Hugh of Fleury says, he at first appeared merciful. He also administered justice most equitably and constructed many buildings at Rome. Among them he built a marvelous temple there which was anciently called the Pontheon [i.e., Pantheon] but is now known to have been consecrated in honor of Saint Mary the Mother of God and all the martyrs.

At the beginning of his principate, he customarily took private hours for himself every day and did nothing other than catch flies and pierce them with a very sharp stylus. Hence, when someone asked whether anyone was inside with Caesar, it was not absurdly answered, "Not even a fly."

For some time he showed himself variable in administering the empire, with an equal mixture of vices and virtues, until he turned even his virtues into vices. Beyond the nature of his disposition, want made him rapacious and fear made him cruel.

He introduced many changes into common practice. He forbade males to be castrated. He administered justice diligently and industriously. He abolished defamatory writings publicly circulated in which prominent men and women were accused, not without disgracing their authors. He removed from the senate a man of quaestorian rank because the man was devoted to gesturing and dancing.

At the beginning he so greatly abhorred every killing that he hastened to decree that oxen should be sacrificed [read: that oxen should not be sacrificed]. For some time he scarcely offered any suspicion of greed or avarice. Indeed, as a proof of generosity, he treated everyone around him with the greatest largesse.

Nothing moved him earlier or more sharply than that anyone should act sordidly. He did not accept inheritances left to him by those who had children. He restrained fiscal calumnies by imposing a great penalty upon the accusers. A saying of his was repeated: "A prince who does not chastise informers incites them."

But, Suetonius says, he remained constant neither in clemency nor in restraint. He unjustly killed several senators and certain former consuls as though they were devising revolution.

For the slightest cause he also killed a pupil of the pantomime Parisius [i.e., Paris], still a boy and at that time very ill, because in skill and appearance he seemed not unlike his master. He killed Salivus Cocceranus [i.e., Salvius; Cocceianus] because he had celebrated the birthday of his paternal uncle, Emperor Otho.

He killed Metius Pomposianus [i.e., Mettius; Pompusianus] because he was commonly reported to possess an imperial horoscope, carried about a map of the world on parchment and speeches of kings from Titus Livy, and had given his slaves the names Mago and Hannibal.

He expelled all philosophers from Rome and Ytalia [i.e., Italy]. Some time after victory in the civil war he tortured many elderly men of the opposing faction who were still in hiding, seeking knowledge of their accomplices by every kind of interrogation. He inserted fire through their private parts and also cut off the hands of some.

His cruelty was not only great but cunning. He questioned the astrologer Ascletarion about the end awaiting him. When Ascletarion declared that he would soon be torn apart by dogs, Domitian ordered him killed without delay, but commanded that he be buried with the greatest care to disprove the rashness of his art. While this was being done, a sudden storm cast the corpse from the funeral pyre, and dogs tore it apart.

Helinandus says of this in Book 40: it is not astonishing that an astrologer could predict before death what would happen to him after death. As Pope Gregory says, demons are accustomed to predict many true things so that they may ensnare a soul through some falsehood.

Augustine likewise says: "Whenever astrologers give marvelously true answers, it is rightly believed that this occurs through the hidden prompting of spirits--not good spirits, but evil ones, whose concern it is to sow these false and harmful opinions about astral destinies firmly in human minds." For this reason they are called horoscope-makers: astrologers of this kind, not because they have perceived something by an art, which does not exist.

If it is asked, the same writer adds, how demons could have known this beforehand, I answer that perhaps the demons had already secretly inspired Domitian to have Ascletarion killed and buried; as inhabitants of the air they had already perceived the storm that would soon come; and they knew that dogs would come to that place. Either they caused the dogs to come, or the demons themselves, transformed into dogs, did this to him.

The same Domitian considered nothing shameful if only he might plunder in every way. The goods of the living and the dead were seized everywhere, by any accuser and on any charge. It was enough to allege any deed or word whatever against the emperor's majesty.

Even inheritances belonging to complete strangers were confiscated if a single person appeared who said that he had heard the dead man, while living, name Caesar as his heir.

Eusebius says of him: this Domitian also sent very many senators into exile. He was the first to order that he be called God and Lord. In his fifth year Quintilian, a forceful man from Spain, maintained a public school at Rome. He is also said to have been Pliny's teacher, and his sayings were placed above.

§ VII: Domitian's Persecution

This man, so very wicked, stirred up the second persecution against Christians, or against the Church. Because of the unconquerable constancy of John the Evangelist in evangelizing, he caused him to be brought from Ephesus to Rome and placed in a vat of boiling oil before the Latin Gate. John emerged unharmed. Domitian banished him to the island of Patmos, as was said above.

In his time Dyonisius [i.e., Dionysius] suffered martyrdom with his companions near Parisius [i.e., Paris], Eutropius at Santonas [i.e., Saintes], and Timothy, the Apostle Paul's disciple, as was said above.

Under this Domitian, Nereus and Achilleus also suffered. They had been baptized by Blessed Peter and were eunuchs and chamberlains of the virgin Domicilla [i.e., Domitilla], Domitian's niece, who had been betrothed to Aurelian, the son of a former consul.

Nereus and Achilleus converted her to the faith, persuading her by their words to resolve upon virginity. They asserted that virginity is near to God, sister to angels, and innate in human beings, whereas a wife is subjected to a husband, struck with fists and kicks, sometimes brings forth deformed children, endures the greatest pains in them, and suffers grievous abuse from husbands. Domicilla [i.e., Domitilla] acknowledged that she had seen her own father behave so toward his wife, her mother.

She therefore made a vow and received the sacred veil of virginity from Clement. Hearing this, her betrothed Aurelian obtained Domitian's permission and banished Domicilla [i.e., Domitilla] with Nereus and Achilleus to the island of Pontiana [i.e., Pontia].

When gifts could not induce Nereus and Achilleus to recall her from her resolution of faith and virginity, but rather they confirmed her in it, Aurelian had them beheaded.

Aurelian went to Domicilla [i.e., Domitilla] after she was recalled from exile, intending to violate her by force after songs and dances with his entertainers. After dancing continuously for two days, he finally breathed out his spirit.

Aurelian's brother, named Lutius [i.e., Lucius], likewise obtained permission to avenge his brother. He ordered those who had become Christians to be killed and fire set to the chamber where Domicilla [i.e., Domitilla] was with other virgins. There they surrendered their souls to God, while their bodies remained unharmed by the fire.

At that time certain men were denounced before Domitian, as Egisippus [i.e., Hegesippus] says, for belonging to David's race and to the posterity of the man called Judas, who is said to have been Christ's brother according to the flesh, that is, the Savior's cousin.

Domitian feared Christ's coming just as Herod had feared when Christ was born. He had therefore ordered those of David's royal stock to be killed. A certain man named Revocatus was sent for this purpose. He found certain grandsons of Judas and brought them to Domitian.

Asked by Domitian whether they belonged to David's family, they confessed that they did. Asked the amount of their property, they stated a fixed sum, but explained that it consisted not in money but in the value of forty-one *iugera* of land. They cultivated it with their own hands, supported themselves from it, and paid their taxes. As evidence, they showed their hands, stiff and covered with calluses from rural labor.

Further questioned about what Christ's kingdom was like, who Christ himself was, whence and when he would come, they answered: "His kingdom is not of this world, nor is rule over this earth assigned to him. His kingdom is heavenly, prepared through the mysteries of angels at the consummation of the age, when he will come to judge the living and the dead and render to each according to his works."

Finding no crime in them and utterly despising their lowliness, Domitian allowed them to depart free. By public edicts he restrained the persecution he had ordered against Christians.

In the senate he did not hesitate to boast, with equal arrogance, that he had given the empire to his father and brother and that they had returned it to him.

When dictating a formal letter in his procurators' names, he began: "Our God and Lord commands as follows." He permitted no statues of himself to be placed on the Capitol unless they were of gold or silver and of a specified weight.

Terrible and hateful to all because of this, he was finally crushed by a conspiracy of his courtiers, freedmen, intimates, and likewise his wife. Condemned by the senate, he was killed in the palace.

It was also decreed that all whom he had condemned to exile should be recalled by decree of the senate and recover their possessions. His body lacked human burial. The people bore his killing with indifference, the soldiers with the greatest grief. The senate rejoiced greatly and caused his images and titles to be removed.

§ VIII: Nerva

The aged Nerva succeeded Domitian, Hugh of Fleury says, through the agency of the prefect Patronius [i.e., Petronius] and the eunuch Parthemius [i.e., Parthenius], Domitian's killer. According to Eusebius in the *Chronicle*, he reigned one year and four months, until the year of the Lord 98.

[Running head: Seventh Title.]

Seventh Title: On the Reign of Vespasian

Chapter One (continued)

By his first edict Nerva recalled all whom Domitian had banished. Thus John the Evangelist, banished to the island of Patmos, was recalled, as Miletus testifies. Returning to Ephesus, he was received with the people's greatest exultation.

At his entrance John raised the dead Drusiana. At the philosopher Crato's exhortation, he restored broken precious stones. He raised another dead man and commanded him to declare the rewards which John's two disciples had lost because they repented of abandoning worldly things, and the torments of hell prepared for them. They were pierced in heart at his words. All these things were discussed above.

“The Church,” Eusebius says through Irenaeus, “which was founded by Paul was afterward built up by John.” In the year when John returned from exile to Ephesus, he found Timothy, archbishop of Ephesus, crowned with martyrdom.

Under Emperor Nerva, Eutices [i.e., Eutyches], Victorinus, and Marco [read: Maro] suffered.

Aurelian, Domicilla [i.e., Domitilla]’s betrothed, heard that she loved the aforesaid saints for their faith and virtue more than Nereus and Achilleus, who had already been crowned with martyrdom. He obtained from Nerva permission to have them surrendered to him if they refused to sacrifice to idols.

When they manfully resisted sacrificing to demons, he removed them from the island and divided them among his several estates as though they were his slaves. They were to dig the earth every day and eat bran--that is, the refuse of wheat.

Because they were pleasing to everyone there, worked miracles, and converted many to the faith by preaching, Aurelian had them killed by diverse punishments on the seventeenth day before the Kalends of June, as is found in the martyrology.

In the same martyrology is read at Rome, on the Nones of September, the feast of Blessed Victorinus the martyr. Illustrious in holiness and miracles, he obtained the priesthood of the city of Amicernina [read: Amiternina, Amiternum] by election of the whole people.

Afterward, under Emperor Nerva, he was ordered to be suspended head downward at a place where foul and sulfurous waters spring forth. Having suffered this for three days for Christ’s name, he was gloriously crowned and passed to Christ. Many others were crowned with martyrdom while Nerva ruled.

Nerva Caesar, Hugh of Fleury says, greatly assisted the afflicted commonwealth by adopting as his son Trajan, a vigorous and exceedingly wise man. Nerva himself perished by illness in the Gardens of Sallust in the seventy-second year of his age. By decree of the senate he was enrolled among the gods.

§ IX: Trajan

In the hundredth year of the Lord’s Incarnation, the 4,063rd year of the world--or, according to another computation, the 5,029th--Trajan became the eleventh emperor. He reigned for nineteen years.

He received the insignia of imperial power at Agrippa, a city of Gaul, as Hugh of Fleury says. He immediately subjected Germany across the Rhine and conquered many peoples beyond the Danube. He also reduced to provinces the barbarous nations situated beyond the Euphrates and Tigris. Finally he occupied Seleucia and Babilonia [i.e., Babylon] and, after Alexander the Great, advanced as far as the borders of India.

He was liberal toward friends, possessed diligence in military affairs, gentleness in civil matters, and generosity in relieving cities. Indeed, after the Roman state had been cast down and weakened, he was believed to have been divinely given as a remedy for its evils.

Helinandus says this of him. Once, when Trajan was about to depart for war and had mounted his horse, a certain widow took hold of his foot and lamentably demanded that justice be done for her against those who had killed her most just and innocent son.

“You rule, Augustus,” she said, “and I suffer so atrocious an injury?”

“I shall make satisfaction to you when I return,” he said.

“What if you do not return?” she asked.

“My successor will make satisfaction to you.”

“How do I know that?” she said. “Even if he should do it, how will it benefit you if another does good? You are my debtor, and you will receive reward according to your works. It is fraud not to wish to render what is owed. Your successor will be bound on his own account to those who suffer and will suffer injury, but another’s justice will not free you. It will go well with your successor if he frees himself.”

Moved by these words, Trajan dismounted. He examined the widow’s case in her presence on the spot, and consoled her with fitting satisfaction. Thus Helinandus.

§ X: Plutarch

His tutor was the philosopher Plutarch, who had a slave who was a wicked and defiant man, but extremely well instructed in the liberal disciplines.

It happened that, for some cause unknown to me, Plutarch ordered the man's tunic stripped off and commanded him to be beaten. He began to be scourged somewhat harshly with a strap. Nevertheless, he denied the fault, saying that he had done nothing wrong.

Finally, when he accomplished nothing by asking pardon, he began to shout and speak harsh and reproachful words amid the savage blows. He said that Plutarch did not behave as befitted a philosopher; that anger was shameful, especially for one who had often disputed about the evil of anger and written a most beautiful book on patience. The slave added that it was disgraceful for Plutarch to oppose his teaching by his conduct: having fallen from integrity of mind and poured himself out into anger, he was punishing an innocent man with many blows.

To this Plutarch said slowly and gently, with the greatest gravity: "Do I seem angry with you because you are being beaten? Is it my anger if you receive what is owed by me? From my face, my voice, my color, or at least my words, do you understand me to be so corrupted?

"My eyes, I think, are not fierce; my mouth is not troubled; I do not shout savagely; I do not grow hot with froth and redness. I say neither shameful things nor things to be regretted. I do not tremble at all or make gestures in anger. If you do not know, all these are customarily signs of anger."

Turning to the man who was beating him, Plutarch said: "While he and I dispute, continue what you are doing. Without anger on my part, blunt this servile defiance; and if he at last repents, teach rather than quarrel."

This Plutarch wrote to Trajan a most beautiful book on political organization. Its beginning is this:

"Plutarch sends greetings to Trajan. I knew that your modesty did not seek the principate, although *super morum elegantia merens induisti* [read: which nevertheless you always strove to deserve by elegance of character]. You are judged all the more worthy of it insofar as you appear further removed from the crime of ambition.

"I therefore congratulate your virtue and my fortune, provided that you rightly administer what you honorably merited. Otherwise I do not doubt that you will be subjected to dangers and I to the tongues of detractors, since Rome does not tolerate the sloth of emperors, and public talk customarily transfers the faults of pupils to their teachers.

"Thus Seneca is deservedly lashed by detractors' tongues because of his Nero; the rashness of Quintilian's young men is transferred to Quintilian; and Socrates is accused of having been too indulgent toward his pupil.

"You, however, will conduct whatever you wish most rightly if you do not depart from yourself. If you first compose yourself toward virtue, all matters of political organization will proceed rightly."

The same Plutarch attempts to impress four things upon rulers: reverence for God; governance of self; discipline of officials and powers; and affection for and protection of subjects.

[Running head: Chapter One, Folio 217.]

§ XI: John the Evangelist and Ignatius

While Trajan ruled, John the Evangelist passed to the Lord at the age of ninety-nine. His passing was discussed above.

Blessed Ignatius was martyred at Rome by Trajan himself. He was a disciple of John the Evangelist and bishop of Antioch.

Ignatius sent an epistle to the Blessed Virgin, which reads in this manner:

"Ignatius, her own, to Mary the Christ-bearer. You ought to strengthen and console me, a neophyte and disciple of your John. I have learned marvelous things to tell about your Jesus and am astounded by what I have heard. From you, who were always familiarly joined to him and knew his secrets, I desire from my heart to be made more certain concerning what I have heard. Farewell; and may the neophytes who are with me be strengthened by you, through you, and in you."

The most blessed Virgin answered him:

"The humble handmaid of Christ to Ignatius, her beloved fellow disciple. The things you have heard from John and learned concerning Jesus are true. Believe them, adhere to them, and firmly maintain the vow of Christianity. Conform your conduct and life to that vow. Stand and act manfully in faith. Do not be moved by the harshness of persecution, but let your spirit prevail and exult in God your Savior."

So great was this Ignatius's authority that even Blessed Dyonisius [i.e., Dionysius], Paul's disciple, the greatest of philosophers and perfect in divine knowledge, introduced Ignatius's words as an authority to confirm his own statements.

In the book *On the Divine Names*, when Dyonisius [i.e., Dionysius] asserted that some said the name "love" was not suitable in divine matters, he wished to show that the name of love is also spoken in divine matters and said, "The divine Ignatius writes: 'My love is crucified.'"

It is also read in the *Tripartite History* that Ignatius heard angels singing antiphons upon a certain mountain. From this he instituted that antiphons be sung with psalms in churches.

After Ignatius had prayed for the Church's peace for a long time, fearing not his own danger but that of the weak, he met Emperor Trajan as Trajan returned from victory and threatened a most bitter death to Christians. Ignatius freely declared that he was a Christian.

Trajan bound him with iron and entrusted him to ten soldiers for custody, taking him to Rome to be devoured there by beasts. While Ignatius was led to Rome, he sent epistles to diverse churches, strengthening them to remain in the faith.

Among the others he wrote one to the Roman church in these words, as is read in the *Ecclesiastical History*:

"From Syria to Rome I fight with beasts on land and sea, day and night, bound and chained to ten leopards--the soldiers given to guard me--who become older [read: become more savage] from our kindnesses. Yet I am made more learned by their wickedness.

"O saving beasts prepared for me! When will they come? When will they be released? When will they be permitted to enjoy my flesh? I shall invite them to devour me. I shall entreat them not to fear touching my body, as they have done with some. Indeed, if they hesitate, I shall force them and cast myself upon them. Grant me pardon, I beg you. I know what benefits me.

"Let fires, crosses, beasts, the scattering of bones, the tearing apart of every limb and the whole body, and every punishment devised against me by divine art [read: by the devil's art] flow together, provided that I may merit to attain the Lord Jesus Christ."

When Ignatius reached Rome and was brought before Trajan, Trajan said: "Ignatius, why do you cause Antioch to rebel and convert my people to Christianity?"

Ignatius answered: "Would that I could convert you too, so that you might obtain the strongest sovereignty."

Trajan said: "Sacrifice to our gods, and you will be chief of all the priests."

Ignatius replied: "I shall neither sacrifice to your gods nor seek your dignity. You will be able to do with me whatever you wish, but you will in no way change me."

Trajan said to his servants: "Beat his shoulders with leaded scourges, tear his sides with claws, and rub his wounds with hard stones."

When they had done all these things to him and he remained immovable, Trajan said: "Bring live coals and make him walk upon them with bare feet."

Ignatius replied: "Neither burning fire nor boiling water will be able to extinguish Christ's love in me."

Trajan said: "These are magical arts, that you endure so much without yielding."

Ignatius answered him: "We Christians are not sorcerers. In our law we forbid sorcerers to live. But you are sorcerers, because you worship idols."

Then Trajan said to his servants: "Tear his back with claws and pour salt into his wounds."

Ignatius said: "The sufferings of this time are not worthy to be compared with the glory to come."

Trajan said: "Now take him away, bind him with iron chains, secure him in stocks at the bottom of the prison, permit him neither food nor drink, and after three days deliver him to be devoured by beasts."

On the third day, therefore, the emperor, the senate, and all the people assembled to see the bishop of Antioch fight with beasts.

Trajan said: "Because Ignatius is proud and defiant, bind him and release two lions against him, so that they leave no remains of him."

Saint Ignatius said to the people standing by: "Men of Rome who behold this contest, I have not labored without reward, for I suffer these things not because of wickedness but because of devotion."

Then he began to say, as is read in the *Ecclesiastical History*: "I am Christ's wheat. May I be ground by the beasts' teeth so that I may be made pure bread."

Hearing this, the emperor said: "Great is the endurance of Christians. Which of the Greeks would endure so much for his god?"

Ignatius answered: "I have endured this not by my own power but by Christ's help."

Saint Ignatius then began to summon the lions so that they might run to devour him. The two savage lions ran upon him and merely suffocated him, but did not touch his flesh at all.

Seeing this with excessive wonder, Trajan departed and commanded that no one be prevented if anyone wished to take Ignatius's body. The Christians therefore took his body and buried it honorably.

Trajan received certain letters in which Plinius Secundus [i.e., Pliny the Younger] greatly commended the Christians whom he had ordered killed. He grieved over what he had inflicted upon Ignatius and commanded that no Christian be sought out, but that anyone who killed one should be punished.

It is read that amid so many kinds of torments Blessed Ignatius never ceased invoking Jesus Christ's name. When his torturers asked why he repeated it so often, he answered: "Because I have this name written upon my heart, and therefore I cannot cease invoking it."

After his death, certain men who wished to investigate this more curiously tore his heart from his body and cut it through the middle. They found his entire heart inscribed with the name "Jesus Christ" in golden letters, and because of this many believed.

[Running head: Seventh Title.]

Seventh Title: On the Reign of Vespasian

Chapter One (conclusion)

Concerning Ignatius, Bernard speaks as follows in his exposition of the psalm *He Who Dwells*: "Great is that Ignatius, a hearer of the disciple whom Jesus loved, and himself a martyr, by whose precious relics our poverty has been enriched. In several letters which he wrote to Mary, he greets her as the Christ-bearer." This is indeed an eminent title of dignity and a commendation of immeasurable honor.

Chapter Two

Since the deeds of several emperors have been treated, from Tyberio, Octauiani's successor, down to Trayanum [i.e., Tiberius; Octavian's; Trajan], the fourteenth emperor, we must now treat the supreme pontiffs who came after Peter, the first vicar of Jesus Christ and supreme pontiff.

Although Peter, before his own passion and in an assembly of the faithful, appointed Clement as his successor, the faithful, instructed by the Holy Spirit, decreed together with Clement that another should be created bishop of the city: namely Linus, Blessed Peter's disciple and assistant in the ministry. They did this lest other supreme pontiffs, following Peter's example, should choose their own successors--not a man like Clement, singular in holiness and wisdom, but someone unlike Clement according to their own pleasure.

Although Haymo seems to say that Linus and Cletus were not themselves supreme pontiffs but Peter's assistants, and that they are therefore numbered among the pontiffs, it is nevertheless said more truly and commonly that they were supreme prelates: Linus after Peter, Cletus after Linus, and Clement after him, as is found in *Si Petrus*, Cause 8, Question 1, with the gloss on the canon.

Linus, therefore, a Tuscan by birth, held the Roman cathedral see after Peter for fifteen years, four months, and thirteen days. He ordained that a woman should enter a church with her head veiled, and he was crowned with martyrdom in the time of Emperor Domitian.

He was succeeded by Cletus, a Roman by birth, who sat for eleven years, one month, and eleven days. He is found to have been the first to place the words "Health and apostolic blessing" in apostolic letters, and he was crowned with martyrdom.

Cletus left Peter's see to Clement, who governed the Church for nine years and two months. Clement divided the city into seven regions among notaries who were diligently to record the deeds of the martyrs. He also ordained that the episcopal chair should stand in a more elevated place in the church, so that the bishop might be seen by everyone and might himself see everyone, as in *Episcopus*, Distinction 95; and that a baptized person should be confirmed more promptly with chrism by a bishop. He was crowned with martyrdom under Trayano [i.e., Trajan].

After him Anacletus undertook the government of the Roman Church, which he governed for nine years, two months, and ten days. The pontificate was vacant for thirteen days. He ordained that a cleric should grow neither long hair nor a beard, and he was crowned with martyrdom under Trayano [i.e., Trajan].

Eusebius is silent about this Anacletus in the *Chronicle* and says that Anacletus is Cletus. But Damasus, following Jerome in the chronicle of the Roman pontiffs, says that they are two different men, for Cletus was a Roman and Anacletus a Greek. In many other matters also the chronicle of Eusebius seems to differ from those of others.

§ I: Returning to Clement's Deeds

Many noteworthy things are related concerning Clement's conversion and his recognition of his parents and brothers in the book called *The Itinerary of Peter*. Because that book is numbered among the apocryphal writings in *Sancta Romana*, Distinction 15, I shall touch only upon its principal points, which Vincent pursues at length in the *Historical Mirror*.

Clement was born of a noble Roman family. His father was named Faustinus and his mother Mathidiana. His brothers, born before him, were Faustus and Faustinus.

Faustinus's brother was drawn by Mathidiana's beauty into desire for her, though she was his brother's wife, and repeatedly solicited her to wickedness. She resisted as a most chaste woman. At last Mathidiana, unwilling to reveal the kinsman's crime to her husband lest she cause dissension between the brothers, but wishing both to provide against danger to her own chastity and to remove from the other man an occasion of temptation, pretended that a certain divinity had revealed to her in a dream that she should go with her sons Faustus and Faustinus to distant lands, or else she would incur death together with them.

Believing this, Faustinus, lest he lose at once his wife and his dearest sons, sent the boys with their mother to Athens, so that in the meantime they might at least be educated there in learning.

While they were sailing over the sea, however, they were battered by a marvelous storm and suffered shipwreck. When the ship broke apart, Mathidiana was cast upon a plank onto the shore of an island. Her sons, carried far away by the waves of the sea upon other timbers, were taken up by certain people in another ship.

Tormented by excessive grief, Mathidiana uttered pitiable cries over the loss of her children, looking this way and that in case the wave of the sea might cast even her sons' corpses onto the land. Deprived of any hope of seeing them again, she lacerated her hands and arms with bites and admitted no consolation from the comfort offered by others.

One woman among the others came to her and, for her own consolation, related that her husband had perished in the sea while still a young man, that she had borne it with equanimity, and that for love of him she had afterward married no other. Out of compassion the woman offered Mathidiana her house in which to live with her. Mathidiana went to dwell with her and sought her livelihood by the work of her own hands.

Not long afterward, however, Mathidiana's hands and arms became incapable of work and almost devoid of feeling. The widow also fell into paralysis. Therefore, lest they perish from hunger, Mathidiana was obliged to procure food for herself and her companion.

Her sons Faustus and Faustinus had been taken into a little ship by pirates, who saw them floating upon planks among the waves of the sea. The pirates sold them to an honorable widow named Justina, who reared them as sons and had them educated in the liberal arts. She changed their names, calling the first Aquila and the second Nicetas. In the course of time they adhered to Simon Magus, but when Peter exposed his deceits, they abandoned Simon and became Peter's disciples.

Their father, Mathidiana's husband, heard nothing about what had happened to his wife and sons after they left the city. He sent many different messengers to Athens and other regions to inquire about them, but could obtain no information from anywhere. At last, leaving the boy Clement under the care of kinsmen as guardians, he himself departed from the city to search for them. He too suffered shipwreck at sea and became poor, being ashamed to return home.

Clement, who had been left at Rome, devoted himself to philosophy and attained its summit. He greatly desired and diligently sought to discover how the soul's immortality might be proved to him. For this reason he frequented the schools of the philosophers. If an argument establishing that the soul was immortal prevailed, he rejoiced; if one concluded that it was mortal, he went away sad.

[Running head: Chapter Two, Folio 218.]

Barnabas the Apostle came to Rome for the sake of preaching and publicly announced the mysteries of Christ and of the life to come. The philosophers thought him insane because they were hearing unfamiliar things. Clement was nevertheless moved by his words and, desiring his friendship, brought him into his house.

After Barnabas had instructed him in many matters, Clement heard that Peter, the chief teacher of this doctrine, which he confirmed by miracles, was at Antioch. Clement went there to him. Peter instructed him fully in the faith and baptized him, and Clement followed him everywhere.

When Peter questioned Clement about his family, Clement related what he believed had happened to his mother and brothers and then to his father--namely, that they had perished in the sea--and set everything out in order. On hearing this, Peter could not restrain his tears.

On one occasion Peter, together with his disciples Clement and others, came to the island where Mathidiana, Clement's mother, lived. Seeing her begging, he reproved her for not seeking her livelihood with her own hands and for begging idly.

She explained the incapacity of her hands and its cause, namely the danger she had undergone and the loss of her sons. Because of this she had, as though in despair, lacerated her hands and arms with her teeth. She then narrated the sequence of events.

Peter said to her, “There is among us”--for Clement was not then present--“a certain young man named Clement who reports that these things happened to his mother and brothers.” Hearing this, she begged to be brought to him so that she might see him. When this was done, they recognized each other and embraced one another with joyful tears.

Meanwhile Aquila and Nicetas, who were then absent, returned. When they saw Mathidiana speaking with Peter, they asked who this woman was. Clement said to them, “She is my mother, whom our master Peter has caused me to find.” When Peter related the manner of the recognition, they clearly understood from what they had heard from Peter and from the reports of others that she was also their mother and Clement their brother. Once they recognized this, and after the stupefaction of their minds had passed, they fell into mutual kisses and pious tears, each embracing the other.

At another time Peter, Nicetas, Aquila, and Clement went to a certain secluded place for the sake of prayer. A venerable but poor old man began to address them, saying: “I pity you, brothers, because I perceive that under the appearance of piety you are gravely mistaken. There is no God and no providence in the world. Rather, a person’s nativity in the constellation and fortuitous chance govern everything, as I myself have learned, being more educated than others in mathematical learning. Therefore, whether you pray or do not pray, what your nativity contains will happen.”

Clement, Aquila, and Nicetas disputed with him for a long time about divine providence and demonstrated with clear arguments that no one was compelled or driven by fate to good or evil.

At last the old man said: “From your words I would believe that providence exists, but my own knowledge forbids me to assent to this matter. I know my own nativity and that of my wife, and I know that events befell each of us just as it declared. Hear, therefore, the configuration of my wife. She had Mars with Venus above the center, but the moon toward its setting in the house of Mars and in the bounds of Saturn. This configuration produces adulterers, causes a man’s own servants to love his wife, and causes her to die during travel and at sea.

“This is what happened. My wife fell in love with a servant and, fearing danger and disgrace, fled with him and entrusted herself to the sea. As my brother related, she first loved him. But because he refused to consent, she redirected the love of her lust toward his servant. Yet this should not be imputed to her, because her nativity compelled her to it.”

He also related how she had feigned the dream so that she might go to Athens, but had perished at sea.

Peter said: “So that you may know your opinion--that people are subject to their nativity or to the fate of the stars--to be false, behold your wife, the chaste and modest Mathidiana; behold your sons Faustus and Faustinus, and Clement.”

When he recognized them all and they recognized him, they fell into mutual embraces and kisses, casting all who were present into amazement. Their father Faustinus himself also, once instructed in the faith, received baptism. Mathidiana and the widow who had received her into her house had already been healed.

§ II: Clement’s Exile and Martyrdom

After Cletus, Clement was created supreme pontiff by the faithful. He excelled so greatly in the adornments of character that he was loved by everyone, not only by worshipers of Christ but also by Jews capable of understanding and by Gentiles.

When he had consecrated Domicilla [i.e., Domitilla], Aurelian’s betrothed, with the sacred veil, and had persuaded Theodora, wife of Syfimius [i.e., Sysimius], a prominent citizen, to remain chaste, Syfimius [i.e., Sysimius] was moved by jealousy. One day he entered the church in which Clement was celebrating the divine rites for the faithful, wishing to learn why his wife frequented the church so much.

While Clement was praying, Syfimius [i.e., Sysimius] became so blind and deaf that he could see or hear nothing. He therefore signaled to his servants to carry him outside. They went round and round with him but could not find the church door. Understanding what had happened, Theodora prayed for him, and by God’s power he was permitted to depart.

When he returned home, however, he remained blind and mute. On hearing this after Mass, Theodora prostrated herself at Clement’s feet. She explained what had befallen her husband and asked Clement to pray for him.

After a common prayer had been offered by everyone, Clement went with Rheodora [read: Theodora] to Syfimius [i.e., Sysimius]’s house and, praying over him, restored his sight and hearing. When Syfimius [i.e., Sysimius] saw Clement, he thought that Clement had deluded him by magical art and ordered his servants to bind and drag him. They instead bound and dragged a column standing there, while they and Syfimius [i.e., Sysimius] imagined that they were binding and dragging Clement.

Leaving that place, Clement admonished Theodora not to cease praying until the Lord visited her husband with his light. While she prayed, Blessed Peter appeared to her and said: “Through you your husband Syfimius [i.e., Sysimius] will be saved, so that what my brother Paul said may be fulfilled: ‘The unbelieving husband is sanctified through the faithful woman.’”

Not long afterward Syfimius [i.e., Sysimius], illuminated by God, called Theodora and asked her to cause Clement to come to him. Filled with the greatest joy, she did so immediately. Clement came, instructed Syfimius [i.e., Sysimius] and his household in the faith, and at the following Easter baptized 424 people from his household. Through this Syfimius [i.e., Sysimius] the Lord also led to the truth of the faith many nobles and friends of Emperor Nerva.

Finally Publius Tarquinius, count of the sacred largesses, gave money to many people and stirred up a very great sedition against Saint Clement. But when the prefect Mamertinus had Clement brought before him and tried with many words to bend him, Clement answered those words prudently and reasonably. Mamertinus reported to Emperor Trayano [i.e., Trajan] that the people had accused Bishop Clement in this way although he had done no wrong. Trayanus sent word back [i.e., Trajan] that Clement must either sacrifice or be sent into exile overseas.

[Running head: Seventh Title.]

Seventh Title: On the Reign of Vespasian

Chapter Two (continued)

When this decree had been confirmed by the senate, God gave Saint Clement such grace that even Mamertinus wept on his account and dismissed him by providing him with a ship and all necessities, while many of the clergy and people accompanied him.

Upon reaching his place of exile, Clement found there more than five thousand Christians who had already been condemned to cut marble. When they saw Saint Clement, they burst into tears. He comforted them in the Lord, saying: “God has sent me not for my merits but in answer to your prayers, so that I may become a sharer in your crowns.”

When he heard that water was carried to them from six miles away, he prayed with the people that God would open a spring of water for his confessors. Looking around after the prayer, he saw a lamb standing and indicating a place by raising its right foot. Saint Clement then understood that what he had seen was divine. He alone had seen it, but he approached the place with everyone and commanded them to dig there.

When they failed to reach the place where the lamb had stood and found nothing, Saint Clement dug beneath the lamb’s foot with a small hoe. Immediately a living and abundant spring flowed forth. At the report of this miracle and through the saint’s teaching, more than five hundred people were baptized in one day, and within a year seventy-five churches were built.

After three years Trajan heard of these things through a malicious report by the Gentiles and sent a certain commander there to take charge of the matter. When the commander perceived that everyone wished to die, he spared the multitude. He commanded that Saint Clement alone be submerged in the sea with an anchor bound to his neck.

When this had been done and the Christian people wept at the sight, Clement’s disciples Cornelius and Ephebus, standing on the shore, exhorted everyone to pray to God that he would reveal the body of his martyr. The sea immediately receded for three miles. They entered over dry ground and found a dwelling prepared by God in the form of a marble temple. In a chest lay the body of Saint Clement, Peter’s disciple, with the anchor beside him.

It was revealed to the disciples that they should not remove him from that place. Every year, on the anniversary of his passion, the sea receded for seven days and provided those coming near Gersona with a dry road for three miles. When the feast was over, the waters returned.

On one occasion a woman went there with her little son. After the feast, when everyone was returning, the woman in her forgetfulness and haste left the child there, for he had fallen asleep in the temple. When she returned home, she believed that he had been submerged and remained in great mourning throughout the whole year.

Returning to the place at the feast of the following year, however, she found him sleeping where she had left him. Awakened and questioned by his mother, he said that he thought he had slept sweetly for only one night.

In the course of time, however, because of the sins of the inhabitants, that miracle of the sea waters’ withdrawal ceased. Owing to an incursion of barbarians, the temple had been destroyed, and the chest containing the body had been carried away from there and its location in the sea was unknown.

A certain priest called Philosophus, however, was sent by Pope Nicolao [i.e., Nicholas] to preach to certain nations. When he reached those regions and diligently inquired about this body, the inhabitants did not know where it was. After prayers were offered concerning it by the clergy and the people, its location was revealed to him. He had the body brought out from there and carried to Rome, and it rests in the church dedicated in Clement’s name.

As was said above, Clement was succeeded in the papacy by Anacletus, and Anacletus by Evaristus, a Greek by birth. Evaristus sat for nine years, six months, and two days, and the episcopate was vacant for eighteen days. He divided the titular churches in the city among the priests and appointed seven deacons to guard the bishop while he preached.

Chapter Three

Saint Fochas [i.e., Phocas] suffered under Trajan, as Vincent relates in Book 11, Chapter 62 of the *Historical Mirror*. He showed not only, while suffering in the fire and amid every single torment, what sort of man he was; throughout his entire life he was so overcome by love that he is believed not to have incurred martyrdom but to have commanded it.

He passed through the time of infancy in such a way that something marvelous and of divine character appeared in him even then. When, with the years of puberty, he entered the first threshold of pious adolescence, he began to display the wisdom of an old man. He was gentle in approach and sober in mind, glorious in chastity, a lover of justice, a master of mercy, and an instructor in humility.

Accordingly, when the Gentiles' grievous terror oppressed every Christian and savage torments of diverse punishments already tortured some, while a hiding place had provided refuge to others, Fochas [i.e., Phocas] was ordered to be sought through vigilant inquiry because of the renown of his name. A man of such great glory could not, or would not, remain hidden any longer.

When Fochas [i.e., Phocas] had been found and presented, the prefect Affricanus [i.e., Africanus] said to him: "Who is there who testifies that our prince Trajan is not a god, when he has destroyed all his adversaries as he sees them?"

Fochas [i.e., Phocas] remained silent at this, as though he had not heard or believed that it had been said to someone else. Affricanus [i.e., Africanus] shouted at him: "Why are you silent? Why do you not answer? Do you not know before whose tribunal you stand?"

Fochas [i.e., Phocas] answered: "Is it now not enough for Trajan to be called emperor unless, in addition, he ascribes to himself the divine name, invisible to all? Do you think that you can draw me away from the truth by your emperor's threats, when that master of yours, once the end of his life is completed--who exists today--will not exist tomorrow? The punishments you threaten are things I desire. Hasten, if you take counsel: in haste you will give me joy; in delay, punishment."

Affricanus [i.e., Africanus] said: "A punishment that is desired is no punishment. I therefore spare you because you hasten to perish."

Fochas [i.e., Phocas] answered: "But you are sparing me; kill me. For know first that I cannot live for my salvation unless I die here."

Affricanus [i.e., Africanus] said to him: "Show me your God, and I will obtain from my emperor that he serve him."

Fochas [i.e., Phocas] answered: "The Lord our God, who is great and invisible, reigns in heaven."

Affricanus [i.e., Africanus] said: "You have surpassed the loquacity of Demostenis [i.e., Demosthenes]. What remains is for you to sacrifice, lest you be burned in a harsh fire. Look: more than fifty thousand men direct their eyes and minds toward you alone. If you persist in your obstinacy, you will invite them to a madness like that of this vain religion. We must sacrifice to the pure and great gods, whom you pronounce wicked."

Fochas [i.e., Phocas] answered: "They are to be considered not only wicked, but also wretched adulterers, sacrilegious beings, and demons. Nor they alone, but also those who, through the worship of this perdition, ignore the name of the God who reigns in heaven, whose glory and power are forever and ever."

The whole crowd of brothers standing around answered, "Amen." Then thunder sounded, an immense rain poured down, the whole earth shook, and everyone's footing began to give way.

[Running head: Chapter Three, Folio 219.]

The governor Affricanus [i.e., Africanus] fell upon his face. With the soldiers who formed a circle around him, he rolled prostrate upon the ground, without voice or sense.

Some of us saw these things, to whom the divine will granted it. So great was the fear and so great the reverence occasioned by this miracle that scarcely a few were permitted the sight. While these things were happening, an immense fire appeared from heaven, which, by striking the eyes' power of vision, concealed what took place. That light was seen to be brighter than the sun.

Three angels stood there, arrayed in the manner of horsemen, and flame formed their appearance. Trembling immediately pervaded everyone's limbs. We stood bloodless and, despairing of safety, were already anxious about death. But the angels, fiery as they were and lofty in stature, joined themselves to Saint Fochas [i.e., Phocas]'s side. After conversing with him at some length, they departed and sought heaven in flight.

Behold, a little later Terentiana, Affricanus [i.e., Africanus]'s wife, came thunderstruck, her hair disheveled, her face torn, and her clothing disordered. With her five sons and her whole household, she fell at Fochas [i.e., Phocas]'s knees. Clinging there to his feet, she begged pardon for so great a crime and bound herself to him with this pledge: if her husband were restored to her, she would pass over to the Christian law with her whole house and her sons.

Her promise was not false, for she denied nothing of what she had pledged. Moved by her tears, Fochas [i.e., Phocas] called all the clerics together and, after truly persistent prayer, furnished her with a remedy from the man from whom, a little earlier, she had feared destruction. Affricanus [i.e., Africanus], immediately mindful of his new salvation, fully informed Trajan.

The emperor at once commanded Fochas [i.e., Phocas] to come before him. When Fochas [i.e., Phocas] had been brought in, he said: "You despise the royal power. What god raises you to such pride that you scorn the emperor? Let us see who that one is to whom you sacrifice."

Fochas [i.e., Phocas] answered: "It is not permitted for you to know. For it is written: 'Do not cast your pearls before swine.'"

The emperor said to him: "Do we therefore appear to you to be swine, that you say this?"

Fochas [i.e., Phocas] answered: "Would that you were animals, for then God's judgment would not come upon you."

Trajan said: "Behold, you will be suspended on the wood. Let us see how much that obstinate spirit benefits you."

Fochas [i.e., Phocas] said: "Suspended on the wood, I shall migrate to the heavenly kingdoms. But you, enveloped in darkness with your gods, will be tormented among the dead with eternal death."

He was then suspended on the wood and tortured through all his limbs by the force of the claws pressed into him, so that his sides themselves gaped in open streams. But in this he uttered no word as one either conquered or angered; he merely moved his lips and gave thanks to his protector in silent prayer. When he reached the end, he cried, "Amen."

A voice thundered from heaven with a mighty rumbling, saying: "Be cheerful, Fochas [i.e., Phocas]; I am with you. A place is prepared for you in paradise with the patriarchs and with those who denied neither me nor my Father. Trajan, however, will be tortured in the place and in the punishment in which you wished."

The emperor was immediately terrified. He ordered Fochas [i.e., Phocas] removed from the rack and assigned four soldiers and a centurion named Crispinianus [i.e., Crispinian] to guard him. Received by them, Fochas [i.e., Phocas] went joyfully to prison, fulfilling his vows to the Lord.

At midnight, when he had prayed, the prison's barriers opened as light poured down from above. More than a thousand soldiers belonging to that great guard, terrified by the miraculous power, fell at Fochas [i.e., Phocas]'s knees and implored the remedies of salvation.

The people therefore went outside the walls to the seashore and received the grace of baptism and the sign of the cross. And so that a firmer root of miracle might arm with greater certainty minds that were still tender and untrained, the Lord showed himself to everyone, and the heavenly majesty flashed forth as mortal eyes were able to behold it. Now regarding the enjoyment of this world as worthless, they returned to the prison no longer ignorant of the divine law.

When night had been driven away and day had dawned, the whole multitude gathered in the forum, awaiting Fochas [i.e., Phocas]'s coming contest.

Trajan said to him: "Sacrifice to Neptune."

Fochas [i.e., Phocas] answered: "I do not sacrifice to monsters. I shall always utter this declaration. Seek whatever torments you wish: I am a Christian."

Trajan, angered, pronounced a cruel sentence. He commanded Fochas [i.e., Phocas] to be plunged quickly into a furnace of burning lime and to be cast headlong and face-down into that lake of flowing heat, fearing lest the fire fail to reach some part of his limbs. He said: "Let us see how much that one whom you fear benefits you."

Placed, therefore, in the flame Trajan had ordered prepared, Fochas [i.e., Phocas] remained in the fire for three hours. He was brought out from it so intact in every limb and feature that it was as though he had not been in the flame.

Defeated in this suffering, Trajan was again inflamed with renewed madness. He said: "The baths were fired for you three days ago and no one has yet opened them. We command you to be led into them."

After making the sign of the cross upon himself, Fochas [i.e., Phocas] entered as he was commanded. So great was that fire and so great the force of the flame that the furnaces glowed on every side and even the walls themselves took on the color of fire. Standing joyful amid these things, Fochas [i.e., Phocas] fulfilled these vows to God:

“I give thanks to you, Lord, because, chosen for this honor, I have by your favor reached the glory of a happy martyrdom; because for the confession of your name I did not fear prison, chains, the cross, or fire. And now, Lord, send your angel and snatch me from Trajan’s hands, lest the Gentiles say, ‘Where is your God?’”

As soon as he completed his prayer, he breathed forth his spirit. When the baths were opened a little later, his remains were found lying in order within them and defiled by none of the fire’s harshness. His body had drawn in the fragrance of nard. The baths had become cold, as though they had never been kindled.

When Trajan examined Saint Fochas [i.e., Phocas]’s remains, he was astounded by so novel a miracle. He allowed his soldiers to carry them back to Fochas [i.e., Phocas]’s homeland and, marveling at his strength of mind and body, said: “Truly there is no other God than he who reigns in heaven.”

As Trajan himself was leaving those baths, the joyful Fochas [i.e., Phocas] appeared before the door and said: “Trajan, Trajan, proceed to the places of the uttermost abyss, and hasten to the torments prepared for you, where you must be burned with perpetual night and savage fire. You will live in this light for three days; when that time has elapsed, the darkness of death will receive you.”

Trajan then went up to the palace, and from the miracle itself he was kindled with the heat of fevers. On the third day he expired. Fochas [i.e., Phocas] suffered on the third day before the Nones of March in Pontho [i.e., Pontus].

§ I: On the Cruelty of the Persecution against the Christianistians [read: Christians] and Pliny’s Writing on Their Behalf

Eusebius says: So immense were the companies of martyrs slaughtered daily under Trajan that Plinius Secundus [i.e., Pliny the Younger], who governed the province, was moved by the multitude of those killed and reported to Emperor Trajan that innumerable thousands of people were cut down every day. In them no crime whatsoever was found to have been committed, nor anything contrary to Roman laws, except that before dawn they sang hymns to a certain Jesus Christ as God. Among them adultery and other crimes of this kind were considered unlawful and were utterly excluded. In all other matters they acted according to the common laws.

[Running head: Seventh Title.]

Seventh Title: On the Reign of Vespasian

Chapter Three (continued)

Trayanus [i.e., Trajan] then decreed by the authority of his rescript that Christians were not indeed to be sought out, but that any who happened to be encountered should nevertheless be punished. By this he was thought in some measure to have extinguished the fire of persecution. Yet those who desired to exercise their wickedness against the Christians did not appear to have been deprived of an opportunity to harm them. Sometimes the people were incited; sometimes even a judge made use of occasions and denied that those whom he wished to punish had been sought out, claiming instead that they had been brought before him.

Tertullian says this in his *Apologeticum*, and among other things he says: “O sentence necessarily confused [read: O sentence confused by necessity]! It says that they are not to be sought out, as though innocent, yet commands that they be punished, as though guilty. It spares and rages, dissembles and takes vengeance. *Quid timens ipsam eē secundam circumuenis* [read: Why do you circumvent yourself by your own censure?] If you condemn them, why do you not also seek them out? If you do not seek them out, why do you not also acquit them?”

In Trayanus [i.e., Trajan]’s fourteenth year, therefore, Plinius Secundus nocomenſis [i.e., Pliny the Second of Novum Comum] is held to have been an illustrious orator and historian. Many works of his talent survive, Vincent says in Book 11, Chapter 67 of the *Historical Mirror*. He wrote thirty-seven books of *Natural History*, which he addressed to Vespasian with a prefatory letter. He also wrote about one hundred letters to various people, from which the few written below have been excerpted.

In the letter to Junius: “This very thing belongs to one who loves: not to honor a friend with praises.”

In the letter to Cornelius zicianus [i.e., Ticianus]: “It is wicked and malicious not to admire a person most worthy of admiration.”

In the letter to Cornelius Tacitus: “Everyone favors his own invention and embraces it as though it were the strongest when another has said what he himself foresaw. A short speech is more pleasing to many.”

In the letter to Cathulium [i.e., Catullius]: “Greatness of mind regards nothing for display, but refers everything to conscience. It seeks the reward of a deed rightly done not from the speech of the people but from the deed itself.”

From the letter to Nothomius: "*Librum quem misi ad vota que putaueris corrigenda* [read: Mark the things that you think must be corrected]. For I shall more readily believe that certain things please you if I learn that certain things have displeased you."

In the letter to Ursus: "Just as torches preserve their fire by continual shaking but grow slack when lowered, so the speaker's heat and the listener's attention are preserved by continuity, but languish through an interruption and, as it were, a relaxation."

In the letter to Arrianus: "It is necessary that everyone rejoice in the extent, course, and journey of his praise. For somehow widespread glory delights people more than great glory."

In the letter to Fundanus: "Love commonly runs ahead of its own wishes, and the very anticipation of the things you desire to attain is delightful."

Tranquillus speaks of him as follows in his book, or catalogue, of illustrious men: Pliny the Second diligently performed equestrian military services and administered the most splendid and continuous procuratorships with integrity. Yet he devoted so much effort to liberal studies that hardly anyone in leisure would have written more. Accordingly, he embraced in thirty-seven volumes [read: twenty volumes] all the wars waged with the Romans [read: wars waged with the Germans]. He likewise completed thirty-seven books of *Natural History*.

He died at Gades in Campania [read: He died in the disaster of Campania]. For when he commanded the Misenian fleet and Mount Vesuvius was burning, he hastened in Liburnian vessels to explain the causes more closely [read: to investigate the causes more closely]. Unable to return because the winds opposed him, he was overwhelmed by the force of dust and ash. Or, as some think, he was killed by his own servant, whom he had asked to hasten his death when he was failing from the heat.

§ II: On Trayanus [i.e., Trajan]'s Death and the Marvels Occurring at That Time

Eusebius says that in Trayanus [i.e., Trajan]'s seventeenth year an earthquake at Antioch nearly destroyed the whole city. The Jews who were in Libya also fought against their foreign fellow inhabitants, and likewise in Egypt and Alexandria. At Cyrene and in the Thebaid too they contended in a great sedition, but the party of the Gentiles prevailed at Alexandria.

When the Jews in Mesopotamia rebelled, Emperor Trayanus [i.e., Trajan] commanded Lusius Quietus to exterminate them from the province. Quietus drew up a battle line against them and killed countless thousands of them. For this achievement the emperor appointed him procurator of Judea.

At last Trayanus [i.e., Trajan] died from a flux of the belly at Seleucia, a city of Isauria, in the seventy-third [read: sixty-third] year of his age and the nineteenth of his reign. His bones were gathered into a golden urn and placed in the forum beneath his column.

Helinand says of him: He alone of all the emperors was buried within the city after Julius Caesar. The senate enrolled him among the gods for this reason: by his moderation he had surpassed the military glory with which he had been filled. At Rome and throughout the provinces he showed himself equal to everyone. He often visited his friends to greet them, including those who were ill; on feast days he held convivial meals with them without distinction; and in turn he used their vehicles and clothing without distinction.

He enriched everyone both publicly and privately, granted every immunity to cities, and remitted the provinces' debts. He was dear to everyone and burdensome to no one, so much so that even down to our age no other acclamation is made in the senate than: "May you be more fortunate than Augustus and better than Trayanus [i.e., Trajan]."

His statue was placed in Trayanus [i.e., Trajan]'s forum in the attitude in which he had once delivered a widow during an expedition. This later moved Blessed Gregory to compassion. It is therefore said that Gregory wept so much on his behalf that he obtained the liberation of Trayanus [i.e., Trajan]'s soul from hell. How this was done, however, you have above in the fourth book of the *Sentences*, from Blessed Thomas.

Eutropius records this excellent saying about Trayanus [i.e., Trajan]. When his friends blamed him for being too familiar with everyone, he answered that he was such an emperor toward private persons as, when he was a private person, he had wished emperors to be.

Chapter Four

Hadrian Aelius, son of Trayanus [i.e., Trajan]'s cousin, obtained the principate after Trayanus [i.e., Trajan]'s death as the twelfth emperor from Augustus. This was in the year of the Lord's Incarnation 119 [read: 117], as Hugh of Fleury writes, and the year of the world 4,082; but according to another, more common computation it was the year 5,318. He ruled for twenty-one years.

He was exceedingly learned in Greek letters and was not learned in speech alone, but was also proficient in other disciplines, including the arts of singing and healing. He matched poem with poem and saying with saying so readily that in absolutely everything one would say he had prepared beforehand.

Helinand says of him: Aelius Hadrian, while administering the prefecture at Rome with distinction, was created emperor from among the senators. When the senate begged him to call the son he had Caesar Augustus, he said: “It ought to be enough that I have reigned unwillingly, although I did not deserve it. The principate is not owed to blood but to merits, and he who is born a king but does not merit it reigns uselessly.”

[Running head: Chapter Four, Folio 220.]

“Without doubt he abandons a parent’s affection who crushes his little children beneath an unbearable burden. This is to suffocate one’s children, not to advance them. They must first be nourished in virtues before they are put into action; and when they have so advanced that they are proved to excel in virtues those whom they ought to precede in honors, let them ascend when invited and not withdraw themselves from the wishes of their fellow citizens.”

This Hadrian, Eusebius says, was born at Italica in Spain. He restored at public expense Alexandria, which the Romans had overthrown. Envying Trayanus [i.e., Trajan]’s glory, however, he recalled the armies from Assyria, Mesopotamia, and Armenia, which Trayanus [i.e., Trajan] had made provinces.

Hadrian himself was most learned in both languages, but was too little restrained in the love of boys. Thus he carefully buried Antinous, a royal boy of extraordinary beauty who had died in Egypt. He had kept him among his delights and enrolled him among the gods. A city too was named after him.

Hadrian remitted the arrears of taxes and publicly burned the records. He also made very many people free from the taxes themselves. He also subdued the Jews when they rebelled against the Romans a second time. These things are from Eusebius in the *Chronicles*.

Hadrian himself also, as the Comestor says, placed his own statue in the Jerusalem destroyed by Titus, at the place where the ark of the Lord had previously stood, because certain traces of the city still remained. The Jews who had survived while hiding in various places sometimes returned in increased numbers to the holy place and removed the statue. For this reason Hadrian applied a final measure and utterly destroyed the city. He decreed that no Jew should dwell in that land. Luke appears to speak of this last destruction in his Gospel when he says: “They shall be led captive into all nations.”

Finally, as Hugh of Fleury says, Hadrian rebuilt Jerusalem and named it after himself, namely Aelia, because he himself was also called Aelius. By his work it came about that the holy places of the Lord’s Passion and Resurrection, which had formerly lain outside the city, were now enclosed by its northern wall.

At last he decreed that no Jew was to have permission to enter, the city being permitted only to Christians. Thus Marcus by name was installed there as the first bishop from among the Gentiles, and from that time onward bishops began to be taken from the Gentiles and circumcision ceased.

When Hadrian had made many distinguished buildings at Athens, he held games and constructed a library of marvelous workmanship. At last, according to Eusebius, he died of dropsy at Baiae.

It is read in the history of Saint Sophia and her daughters that, when Hadrian had fallen ill, he lost his sight. His flesh also putrefied, with worms flowing from his mouth. At last, when placed at the point of death, he said: “Lord God of the three virgins and their mother, draw my soul from my body more swiftly. For I know that I suffer these things because of them.” Crying out with a great wail, he expired. This happened to him after he had inflicted martyrdom upon Faith, Hope, and Charity, as will appear below.

In Hadrian’s time the heresiarch Basilides lived at Alexandria. Cochebas tortured in every way the Jewish factions that refused to bring him aid against the Roman army. As Helinand says, he is called Barchobas by others, a name that signifies “star.” Cruel and wicked in every way according to his own name, he persuaded the Jews as though they were worthless slaves that for their salvation he was a great star sent down from heaven to bear the help of salvation to sick mortals condemned to long darkness.

In those days Aquila flourished, an orator of Pontic birth and the second translator of the Mosaic law after the seventy translators, as Hugh of Fleury relates.

§ I: Secundus the Philosopher

In Hadrian’s time there flourished Secundus the philosopher, who practiced philosophy while maintaining silence throughout his life and leading a Pythagorean life. Vincent relates this in Book 11, Chapter 70 of the *Historical Mirror*.

While Secundus was still a little boy, he was sent away to learn. In the schools he heard that every woman was a fornicator and immodest. At last, perfected in philosophy, he returned to his native country bearing the ordinary equipment of a traveler, carrying a staff and a pouch, and with the hair of his head and his beard long. He lodged in his own house, but none of the household recognized him, nor did his own mother.

Wishing to test concerning women whether what he had heard was true, he called one of the maidservants and promised her ten gold coins if she would persuade his mother. The mother consented to the maidservant, and had him brought into her room in the evening. When she thought that he was about to have intercourse with her, he embraced her as his own mother and slept between her breasts until morning.

In the morning, when he wished to go out and depart, she seized him and said: “You did this in order to test me.”

He said: “By no means, lady mother. By no means is it fitting that I should defile the vessel from which I came forth.”

When she asked who he was, he said: “I am Secundus, your son.” Reflecting within herself and unable to bear the shame, she died. Secundus the philosopher, knowing that his mother’s death had occurred through his speech, imposed this penalty upon himself thereafter: that he should speak no more. Thus he observed silence until death.

During the same period Hadrian came to Athens. He heard about Secundus and, having caused him to come before him, greeted him first. Secundus remained silent.

Hadrian then said: “Speak, philosopher, so that we may learn something from you.” But Secundus persisted in his intention of silence.

The emperor called an executioner and said: “We do not wish this man, who refuses to speak to the emperor, to live. Lead him away, therefore, and torture him.” But Hadrian secretly called the lictor and said: “Persuade him on the way to speak. If he is persuaded and answers, behead him; but if he does not answer, bring him back to me.”

Secundus was therefore led by the executioner to the place of torments. The man said to him: “O Secundus, why will you die in silence? Speak, and you will live.” But Secundus, despising his own life, awaited death in silence.

When the executioner reached the appointed place, he said to him: “Stretch out your neck and receive death.” Secundus stretched out his neck and placed life after silence. The executioner therefore took him and brought him back to Hadrian, saying that Secundus had remained silent even to the point of death.

Hadrian, seeing the philosopher’s self-restraint, said to him: “Because this law of silence which you have imposed upon yourself can in no way be dissolved, take this tablet and write; speak at least with your hand.”

Taking the tablet, Secundus wrote in this manner: “O Hadrian, I certainly do not fear you because you appear to be the prince of this time. You can indeed kill me, but no power is given to you to bring forth my voice.”

Hadrian said: “You have indeed excused yourself well. But I propose certain problems to you in addition to these, so that you may at least answer them for me in writing.”

The first of these was: “What is the world?”

He answered: “The world is an unceasing circuit, visible furnishing, a multiform formation, an external course, and a circuit without error.”

[Running head: Seventh Title.]

“What is the ocean?”

He answered: “The world’s embrace constrained by boundaries, the lodging of rivers, and the fountain of rains.”

“What is God?”

He answered: “An immortal mind, an unobservable height, a multiform form, an inconceivable inquiry, an unsleeping eye, the one containing all things, and the light of good things.”

“What is the sun?”

He answered: “The eye of heaven, the circuit of heat, splendor without setting, the ornament of day, and the distributor of hours.”

“What is the moon?”

He answered: “The purple of heaven, the rival of the sun, the enemy of evildoers, the solace of travelers, the direction of sailors, the sign of solemnities, the giver of dew, and the foretelling of weather.”

“What is the earth?”

He answered: “The base of heaven, the middle of the world, guardian and mother of fruits, covering of hell, mother of those being born, nurse of the living, devourer of all, and cellar of life.”

“What is a human being?”

He answered: “An incarnate mind, a phantom of time, an observer of life, a slave of death, a passing traveler, a guest of a place, a laboring soul, and the dwelling of a short time.”

“What is beauty?”

He answered: “A fading flower, carnal happiness, and human desire.”

“What is woman?”

He answered: “A human being’s confusion, an insatiable beast, continual anxiety, an unending struggle, the shipwreck of an incontinent man, and a human being’s slave.”

“What is a friend?”

He answered: “A desirable name, a person scarcely appearing, a refuge in unhappiness, and unending happiness.”

“What are riches?”

He answered: “The weight of gold, a servant of cares, unpleasant delight, insatiable envy, inexhaustible desire, a proud mouth, and hated covetousness.”

“What is poverty?”

He answered: “A hateful good, the mother of health, the removal of cares, the discoverer of wisdom, a business without loss, possession without accusation, and happiness without anxiety.”

“What is old age?”

He answered: “A desired evil, the death of the living, sound infirmity, and breathing death.”

“What is sleep?”

He answered: “The image of death, rest from labors, the wish of the sick, and the desire of the wretched.”

“What is life?”

He answered: “The joy of the blessed, the sorrow of the wretched, and the expectation of death.”

“What is death?”

He answered: “Eternal sleep, the fear of the rich, the desire of the poor, an inevitable event, the robber of a human being, the flight of life, and the dissolution of everything.”

“What is a word?”

He answered: “The betrayer of the mind.”

“What is the body?”

He answered: “The dwelling of the soul.”

“What is the beard?”

He answered: “The distinction of sex.”

“What is the brain?”

He answered: “The guardian of memory.”

“What is the forehead?”

He answered: “The image of the mind.”

“What are the eyes?”

He answered: “The guides of the body, the vessel of light, and the judges of the mind.”

“What is the heart?”

He answered: “The receptacle of life.”

“What is the liver?”

He answered: “The guardian of heat.”

“What is gall?”

He answered: “The arousing of anger.”

“What is the spleen?”

He answered: “The faculty of laughter and joy.”

“What is the stomach?”

He answered: “The cook of foods.”

“What are the bones?”

He answered: “The strength of the body.”

“What are the feet?”

He answered: “A moving foundation.”

“What is wind?”

He answered: “A disturbance of the air, movement of the waters, and dryness of the earth.”

“What are rivers?”

He answered: “An unfailing course, refreshment of the sun, and irrigation of the earth.”

“What is friendship?”

He answered: “Equality of minds.”

“What is faith?”

He answered: “Marvelous certainty about an unknown thing.”

“What is it that does not permit a person to become weary?”

He answered: “Profit.”

Seventh Title: On the Reign of Vespasian

Chapter Four (continued)

§ II: Quadratus and Aristides

At that time Quadratus, a disciple of the apostles, was appointed in the place of Publius, bishop of Athens, after Publius had been crowned with martyrdom. By his faith and diligence Quadratus gathered together the Church, which had been dispersed by great terror.

When Adrianus [i.e., Hadrian] had spent the winter at Athens, visiting Eleusis and being initiated into almost all the sacred rites of Greece, he gave those who hated the Christians an opportunity to afflict the believers without the emperor’s command.

Quadratus then presented him with a book composed in defense of our religion, a most useful work, full of reason and faith and worthy of apostolic teaching. In it, showing the antiquity of his own age, he said that he himself had seen many who under the Lord had been afflicted by various calamities and who had risen from the dead.

Aristides too, a most eloquent Athenian bishop and a disciple of Christ still wearing his former garb, gave Prince Adrianus [i.e., Hadrian] at the same time as Quadratus an apologetic work on behalf of the Christians, a volume containing a reasoned account of our doctrine. Persevering to this day, it is held among natural philosophers as a testimony to his talent.

Then, as Hugh of Fleury says, Adrianus [i.e., Hadrian] commanded by a letter given to Minutium Fundanum [i.e., Minucius; Fundanus], proconsul of Asia, that no one should be permitted to condemn a Christian without the accusation and proof of a crime.

This, Eusebius says, is a copy of the emperor’s letter to the aforesaid Minutium Fundanum [i.e., Minucius; Fundanus]:

“I have received the letters written to me by your predecessor Serenius, a most illustrious man. It does not please me to pass over the report in silence, lest the innocent be disturbed and an opportunity for plunder be given to slanderers.

“Therefore, if the provincials clearly wish to support this petition of theirs against the Christians, so that they may accuse them before the tribunal of some offense, I do not forbid them to pursue this. But I do not permit them to use petitions and acclamations alone. For it is much more equitable that, if someone wishes to accuse them of the charges alleged, you should judge the matter.

“If, therefore, someone accuses and proves that the men named have done anything contrary to the laws, you shall impose punishments in accordance with the gravity of their sins. You shall take very great care, however, that if anyone charges any of them for the sake of slander, you avenge the accused upon the slanderer with more severe punishments for his wickedness.”

Chapter Five

Alexander, sixth after Peter, succeeded Evaristus in the papacy. As is found in the *Book of Pontiffs*, he was a Roman. He sat for ten years and, because of his great holiness, was assumed to the supreme prelacy in the thirtieth year of his age. At last he was crowned with martyrdom by Count Aurelian under Emperor Adrianus [i.e., Hadrian], as will be said below.

He inserted the Lord’s Passion into the priests’ prayer when Mass is celebrated, namely: “Who, on the day before he suffered,” and so forth. He also instituted the sacramental use of blessed water and its sprinkling in dwellings. Thus he himself says in *On Consecration*, Distinction 3: “We bless water sprinkled with salt for the peoples, so that by it all may be sanctified and purified,” and so forth. He there explains its effects.

As is found in Alexander’s deeds, he converted Hermes, prefect of the city. Count Aurelian therefore sent Alexander to prison, and because Hermes had believed, he too was in chains in the custody of the tribune Quirinus.

The tribune said to Hermes: “I marvel that you, a prudent man, should abandon the dignity of the prefecture and believe in another life.”

[Running head: Chapter Five, Folio 221.]

Hermes answered: “Before these years I mocked everything and did not think there was another life, but only this one.”

Quirinus said to him: “Cause me, therefore, to prove what you believe, and I shall believe.”

Hermes answered him: “Saint Alexander, who is in chains, taught me these things.”

On hearing this, Quirinus began to curse Alexander, saying: “I tell you to cause me to prove these things, and you name to me one whom I keep bound in chains for his crimes. Nevertheless, if you speak the truth, I shall go to him and tell him: ‘If you wish me to believe through you, make it so that I find you together with Hermes.’”

Hermes said: “Let it be done.”

Quirinus therefore departed, tripled the guards and barriers around Alexander, and told him why he was doing this. When Saint Alexander prayed, however, an angel of the Lord led him to Hermes in prison. Finding them together in the prison, Quirinus marveled.

Hermes himself also told Quirinus how Saint Alexander had raised his son and given light to his blind maidservant.

Quirinus said: “I too have a daughter who is blind and swollen in the throat, and I promise that I shall believe if she is healed by you.”

Saint Alexander said to him: “Go, lead your daughter to my prison, place my iron collar around her neck, and in the morning you will find her healed.”

Quirinus said to him: “Since you are here in prison, how shall I find you there?”

Alexander answered: “Go quickly, for he who brought me here will lead me back there.”

When Quirinus went to the prison with his daughter, therefore, he found Saint Alexander there and, prostrating himself before him, asked pardon. Alexander commanded him to bring to him Eventius the priest and Theodolus [i.e., Theodulus] the deacon, who were bound for Christ in the same prison.

Before Quirinus returned, he found his daughter healed. He was baptized with his daughter and many others.

When Aurelian heard these things, he asked Quirinus why he was abandoning him and following Alexander.

Quirinus answered: “I am a Christian. Do what you wish, for I shall be no other.”

Aurelian then ordered his tongue to be cut out and him to be tortured on the rack. Because Quirinus still spoke and defied Aurelian, he was ordered to have his hands and feet cut off; he was beheaded and cast to the dogs.

His daughter Balbina remained in virginity. When she often kissed the iron collar through which she had been healed, Saint Alexander said to her: “Daughter, do not kiss my iron collar, but rather kiss the chains of Saint Peter.” After she had long done so, he entrusted her to Theodora, Saint Hermes’s sister. This Theodora buried the body of Hermes after he was beheaded by Aurelian.

When Saint Alexander had worked many miracles and, though arrested, could in no way be changed, he was tortured on the rack. When he said nothing, Aurelian said to him: “Why are you silent?”

Alexander answered: “Because during prayer a Christian speaks with God.”

He was next cast into a furnace heated for three days and remained unharmed within it. When he praised God there, Aurelian said to his attendants: “Let us hear what that wretch is babbling in the fire.” When he drew near, his face was half burned, while half of his cloak escaped unburned. Many of his soldiers died in the flame.

Aurelian then ordered Alexander to be drawn out and cast into another, still hotter furnace. When this was done, the aforesaid deacon Theodolus [i.e., Theodulus] began to weep and, standing among the people, reproved Aurelian for his unjust judgment. Hearing this, Aurelian ordered him cast into the same furnace.

Theodolus [i.e., Theodulus] cried out: “Saint Alexander, help me, for I am a sinner and cannot bear the fire.”

Alexander answered him: “Do not fear. Stand and act manfully.” When he had prayed, he called him, saying: “Come here to the place of refreshment, for with me is he who delivered the three boys in Babylon.”

Theodolus [i.e., Theodulus] immediately leapt into the furnace and began to praise God together with Alexander. Hearing Theodolus [i.e., Theodulus] speaking with Alexander, Aurelian was angered and ordered him cast into a burning oven.

Alexander then said to Theodolus [i.e., Theodulus]: “Which do you choose: to come out healthy or to proceed with me to God?”

Theodolus [i.e., Theodulus] answered him: “Father, I shall not abandon you. Although I was grievously tormented at the beginning, since you prayed for me I have felt neither pain nor burning.”

Alexander said to the ministers: “Cease from your labor, for before you add new fires we are hastening to the Lord.” Praying, Alexander and Theodolus [i.e., Theodulus] breathed forth their spirits together.

When Aurelian heard this and proceeded to insult the dead, a fiery iron rod suddenly appeared before his feet. A voice was heard by everyone, saying: “Aurelian, receive the reward of your merits, with which you may know that you are to be sent into hell.”

Attributing this to magical arts, he angrily ordered Saint Eventius to be brought and cast into the furnace among the saints. But before the fire was applied, Eventius breathed forth his spirit. When Aurelian also insulted him, a voice was heard, saying: “Aurelian, heaven has been opened to those whom you insult, and they shall ascend to it. Tartarus, however, has been opened for you, so that you may descend there.”

Terrified by this voice, Aurelian was seized by so great a fear and trembling that he was carried back to the palace in his servants’ hands. His wife Severina received him and reproached him for his wickedness. She went to the saints of God and buried them honorably. Returning to her husband, she found him biting his own tongue because of excessive pain and immediately expiring. The bodies of these saints now rest in the church of Saint Sabina.

§ I: Pope Sixtus I and Saint Peregrinus

Alexander was succeeded by Sixtus I, a Roman by birth, who sat for ten years. He ordained that consecrated vessels should be touched only by ministers. He also ordained that any bishop summoned to the Apostolic See should not be received back into his parish except with letters of apostolic greeting. At last he was crowned with martyrdom on the third day before the Nones of April.

Sixtus sent Saint Peregrinus to Gaul and appointed him bishop of Anthiſiodorenſem [i.e., Auxerre], so that he might rekindle the lamp of faith, already extinguished, and convert the unbelievers by preaching. He gave him as companions Marcus the priest, Concordianus the deacon, Jovinian the subdeacon, and Jovinian, whom he ordained lector.

After much preaching and the conversion of many people of Anthiſiodorenſem [i.e., Auxerre], Peregrinus went to another place for the sake of evangelizing. There he was beheaded at the command of Emperor Adrianus [i.e., Hadrian]. At the command of a holy angel, who accompanied him on the way, his body was carried with oxen in the cart of a certain Christian peasant to a place near Parisius [i.e., Paris], and was deposited in the monastery of Saint Dyonisius [i.e., Dionysius].

§ II: Saint Taurinus

In that time Saint Taurinus, bishop of Ebroycenſis [i.e., Évreux] and a Roman by birth, was sent from the city to preach in Gaul. While he traveled about evangelizing, two magicians, Cambises and Saraa, priests of Diana, sent twenty of their disciples to kill him.

When Taurinus saw them, he made the sign of the cross and ordered them to remain fixed, unable to move themselves. When they had been freed by the saint's word, they prostrated themselves before Saint Taurinus, asked for baptism, and received it.

[Running head: Seventh Title.]

Licinius, a governor and a Gentile, caused Taurinus to be presented to him. Questioning him about his parents and receiving an answer, Licinius acknowledged that he was Taurinus's cousin and that some years earlier he himself had caused Taurinus's mother to be killed for the faith. At this the saint gave thanks to God that his mother had ascended to heaven by martyrdom.

Licinius ordered Taurinus to be beaten with rods. While amid the blows the saint said, "Lord, look upon me and have mercy on me, now an old man," a voice came from heaven saying: "Do not fear, my servant, for I am with you." Immediately the hands of those striking him withered.

Meanwhile it was reported to Governor Licinius that his son and his son's armor-bearer had fallen from a precipice and died while engaged in hunting. Licinius's wife Leonilla had already conceived a purpose of faith and had reproached her husband for torturing his cousin. On hearing this news, she fell at the saint's feet and begged for her son's resurrection, because report had already spread that Taurinus had raised another dead man.

Licinius too, almost in mockery, asked the saint whether by his magical arts he could raise his son.

The saint said: "All things are possible to one who believes. You therefore only have faith, and you shall receive your son alive."

When Licinius believed his words, the saint raised the young man by his prayer. The youth, who was called Marinus, rose as though from sleep, prostrated himself at the saint's feet, and asked for baptism, saying that this had been commanded him by an angel.

He said to his father: "Alas, Father, you do not know how wretched a life we lead, how great the punishments reserved because of it for people like us, and how great the glory prepared for those who worship and serve the God whom this kinsman of ours, Taurinus, worships. I saw him present among the choirs of angels, interceding for us."

As Marinus preached these and other things concerning future glory, Licinius, his wife, and that son were converted to the faith and baptized with 1,208 others.

The youth who had been restored to life said: "Man of the Most High God, I beg you, raise my armor-bearer, lest he remain in the punishments in which I left him."

When Taurinus prayed for him, the man, named Pascasius, arose and said: "Holy man, I was enduring great punishments when a messenger came from on high, bearing a command that I be brought back to you."

He said to his master: "On the eighth day, when you have laid aside the white garments, he who brought me here commands you to return to him." Marinus was soon seized by a slight fever and, in accordance with the message, died on the eighth day.

While these things were happening and all the people rejoiced under so great a shepherd, the enemy of truth stirred up a vast eastern scourge against the Gauls. When the Gauls learned with greater certainty that they would fall and could resist in no way, they all fled for help to the man of God.

He proclaimed a three-day fast. While he prayed concerning this matter, an angel appeared to him and said: "Give thanks to your Creator, for you have obtained only their souls. This place will be deserted for a long time, but it will again be restored to a better condition. You will receive a crown from God for your labors on the eighth day."

When morning came, Taurinus announced the Lord's revelation to the assembled people. He greatly comforted those who were terrified, saying: "Do not lose confidence. Hasten to Rome and make known to Blessed Pope Sixtus the day of my departure."

On the appointed day, therefore, when all the people were standing in the church and the office had been prepared, Taurinus greatly comforted them as they lamented deeply over their father's departure. He foretold many things that were afterward fulfilled. Finally, sitting upon the episcopal throne, he blessed them, saying: "Go, my little children, in peace, and the Lord will be with you."

Seventh Title: On the Reign of Vespasian

Chapter Five (continued)

When Saint Taurinus had said this, an innumerable multitude of persons clothed in white suddenly appeared around the altar. A voice was heard saying, “Come with us, holy Taurinus of God.” With the voice there arose so dense a cloud that no one could see the person standing beside him. After an hour that fragrant cloud disappeared, and the saint was seen dead upon his throne, his face turned toward heaven and his hands raised upward.

Since the people did not know where his body ought to be buried, a venerable man, white as snow, appeared and said: “Take up the body and follow me. I shall show you the place where it must be laid.” When they had proceeded about a third of a mile, he indicated the place to them.

As everyone wept and wailed toward heaven, Saint Taurinus raised himself from the grave as though alive and said: “What are you doing, my little children? Do not be afraid, but listen to this man who appeared before you.” Then, bowing his head, he became silent again.

The one who had appeared--an angel of the Lord in human form--said to those looking upon him: “Brothers, you fear that your father will be taken from you by enemies. This shall not happen. I guarded him while he lived, and I shall guard him now that he is dead. This city will presently be overthrown, but none of you will perish.” When all the burial rites had been completed, he said: “Depart quickly, lest you be caught up by the enemy.” Having said this, he was never seen again.

§ III: Saint Eustace and His Family

At this time Eustace, together with his wife Theospita and his sons Agapitus and Theospitus, returned from a victory. Because they refused to sacrifice to the idols in thanksgiving for the victory, they were exposed to a lion; but the lion harmed none of them. They were then shut inside a hollow bronze bull, which was heated with fire. There, while praying, they gave up their spirits. When their bodies were taken out, neither their hair nor their clothing had been burned.

The account of their conversion and subsequent life contains many wonders. Eustace, although a pagan, devoted himself to works of mercy and was a commander in Trajan’s army. While occupied in hunting, he pursued a stag more beautiful than all the others. The stag stopped upon a high place. As Eustace looked for a way to capture it, the image of Christ crucified appeared to him between its antlers and said: “Why do you pursue me?” When Eustace asked who he was, the figure answered: “I am Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who came from heaven to earth, was crucified for the salvation of humankind, and rose again.” When Eustace asked what he must do for his salvation, Christ answered that he should receive the faith of Christ and baptism, and that after this he should return to the place, where it would be shown to him what must befall him.

He carried out all these commands and returned home. His wife told him that the Lord had revealed the same thing to her in a dream. He therefore received baptism together with his wife and two sons. When he returned after their baptism to the place already mentioned, the Lord appeared to him, commended him for the baptism and faith he had received, foretold that he would suffer many things, and strengthened him to endure them.

Soon afterward all his servants and slaves died, all his livestock perished, and his goods were plundered. Reduced to poverty and ashamed to remain among those who had known his former prosperity, he departed with his wife and sons for Egypt.

When they disembarked at the port after crossing the sea, Eustace lacked the fare for the voyage. The shipmaster therefore retained his exceedingly beautiful wife as payment. When Eustace complained, the ship’s master threatened to plunge him into the sea. Grieving, he was therefore compelled to depart without her, taking his two sons with him. The Lord God nevertheless protected her chastity, so that the man did not touch her.

Coming to a river, he left one child on the bank and carried the other across upon his shoulders. While he stood in the middle of the river returning for the second, he saw a lion seize the child already carried over and bear him into the forest. Turning back in despair toward the other, he saw a wolf seize that boy and flee with him into a wood. Believing that both children had been devoured by the beasts, he was driven by overwhelming grief to think of drowning himself. God comforted him, however, and he gave thanks for all things. In fact, shepherds and farmers had seen what happened, pursued the animals with dogs, and rescued the little children from the jaws of the lion and wolf.

Eustace therefore went alone to a village and served there for fifteen years as the steward and keeper of another man’s fields. Meanwhile a province rebelled against Trajan’s empire. Remembering Eustace’s skill and energy in battle, the emperor sent many messengers into different regions to seek him. Some of them came to the village where he was living and lodged in his master’s house. At last they recognized him by the mark of a scar upon his head. They made his former rank and dignity known to the others and announced that the emperor was seeking him. He was honorably clothed and revered by all, then presented himself to Trajan, who received him with great joy. When asked the reason for his disappearance, Eustace explained that he had lost his wife and sons. He was then made commander of the army and sent against the enemy.

When recruits were assembled from many places, the two sons of Eustace, now grown to young manhood, were among those presented to him. Although he did not know that they were his sons, their nobility of conduct, ability, and a certain instinct of natural affection moved him to give them the first places among his table companions.

He departed for war and won a very great victory over the enemy. On his return he lodged at a place where his wife was then living. One day the two young men spoke together about their parentage. One related that his father, a commander of the army, had left the city with his wife and two sons; that a shipmaster had taken his wife from him; and that as his father returned for him after carrying the other boy across a river, a lion had seized him, though shepherds had rescued him from its mouth. The other replied that something similar had happened to him. From these accounts they recognized that they were brothers. Their mother heard all of this and began to consider whether they might be her sons.

The next day the woman approached Eustace, the commander, and asked him to take her back to the city of Rome. Looking carefully at his face and certain marks upon his body, she recognized her living husband and disclosed herself to him. He too recognized his wife. They embraced, unable to restrain their tears. When she asked about their sons, he said that beasts had devoured them and explained how. She then related what she had heard the day before from the young men who had recognized one another as brothers. She had them summoned and questioned them about what they had said, and they recognized them as their sons. Great joy and celebration arose throughout the army both over the family's discovery and over the victory against the barbarians.

When Eustace returned to Rome, Trajan had died and Hadrian had succeeded him. Hadrian received him with great honor; but when Eustace and his family refused to sacrifice to the idols, he caused them all to suffer the martyrdom described above.

§ IV: The Ten Thousand Martyrs of Mount Ararat

Under this same Hadrian, ten thousand martyrs were crucified upon Mount Ararat. Vincent recounts their passion in Book Eleven, Chapter 98 of the *Historical Mirror*, saying that Anastasius, librarian of the Apostolic See, translated it from Greek into Latin.

The peoples called the Gadarenes and Euphratensians had rebelled against the Roman Empire. Sixteen thousand Roman soldiers were sent against them under Achacius, their commander-in-chief, and Heliades, a duke; the army carried images of Jupiter and Apollo. When they advanced to battle and saw the enemy's extraordinarily great multitude--for there were one hundred thousand--they were overcome with fear, and seven thousand fled. Achacius urged the nine thousand who remained to sacrifice to their gods so that they might triumph. They did so and advanced again, but were nevertheless put to flight by the enemy.

Then an angel of the Lord in the form of a young man came before them and said: "Believe in Jesus Christ, the immortal king. He will fight for you, and you will prevail over your enemies." After taking counsel together, they all accepted the angel's persuasion and cried out: "Lord Jesus, we believe in you, and we promise to do what this young man says." Trusting in him, they advanced against the enemy and obtained a complete victory: all their foes fell by the sword, were drowned in a nearby lake, or were killed by plunging over a precipice.

The angel then led them in triumph to Mount Ararat, five hundred stadia from Alexandria, as they glorified God. While the angel sat among them, the heavens opened and seven angels descended to teach them. They said: "Blessed are you who have believed in God. In three days you will be sought and brought before kings, but do not fear them, for the Lord is with you."

Messengers sent by Hadrian and his adopted son and fellow ruler Antoninus came to them. When the emperors learned that the soldiers had become Christians, they were deeply grieved. They summoned the princes of the neighboring regions and sent another army against them.

Achacius exhorted his companions to pray against the devil's assaults. A voice from heaven said: "Do not fear those who kill the body. I will strengthen you."

The soldiers sent against them said: "Kings and emperors have sent us to command you to come before them." They descended the mountain and presented themselves, and the emperors wept at the sight of them.

[Running head: Seventh Title.]

Hadrian asked how and why they had abandoned their gods and believed in the crucified Christ. When Achacius had told him what happened, Hadrian became exceedingly angry and answered: "Since you all believe in Christ, you shall suffer every punishment that he suffered."

When they scorned the rulers' threats, Hadrian ordered them to be stoned, but the stones rebounded into the faces of those who threw them. He next ordered them to be scourged. While they were being beaten cruelly, Trachonarius, brother of Achacius and Heliades, said: "Holy men, pray for us, because the things we suffer are grievous." Achacius answered: "Persevere, brothers, in your confession, for the one who perseveres to the end will be saved."

As they prayed, an earthquake suddenly occurred, and the hands of those who were striking them withered. A commander named Theodorus was present from the army of Prince Maximus and had one thousand men under him. Struck with wonder at the miracle, he cried: “Lord God of heaven and earth, who have granted the help of your mercy to nine thousand men, deign to unite us sinners with your holy martyrs.” Departing from Prince Maximus, Theodorus and his men joined the saints, believed in Christ, and confessed him, bringing the number of the martyrs to ten thousand.

When, therefore, all ten thousand were urged to worship the idols and they refused, the persecutors scattered very sharp, three-pointed nails along twenty stadia of road and made the saints walk over them barefoot. An angel gathered the nails away, however, and the saints passed unharmed.

At last the rulers sentenced them to suffer like Christ. They crowned them with thorns, fastened them to the ground with nails upon Mount Ararat, and opened their sides with sharp reeds. At the sixth hour an earthquake occurred and the rocks split. At the ninth hour their souls passed to heaven amid a brilliant light, and angels buried their bodies.

§ V: Saint Sophia and Her Daughters

At the same time the noble woman Sophia came to the city with her daughters Faith, Hope, and Charity. By the example of their piety and sobriety they converted many noble women to Christ. These women abhorred their unbelieving husbands because of their idolatry and other vices and abstained from their husbands’ beds, believing that no one could advance except in the worship of Christ.

A nobleman named Antiochus denounced Sophia and her daughters to Hadrian, alleging that a Christian woman had arrived in the city and by her novel teaching was causing wives to abstain from their husbands’ beds. Hadrian ordered them to be brought before him. The girls were exceedingly beautiful and thoroughly instructed in the divine Scriptures. Strengthening themselves with the sign of the cross, they stood with their mother before the emperor.

Greatly admiring their beauty, Hadrian asked their mother her name. Sophia answered: “My first and noblest name is Christian. According to the flesh I am called Sophia, and I descend from the noblest Italian lineage. I have come to Rome to offer my daughters as a gift to Christ.”

Hadrian entrusted them for three days to the senator Palladius. During that time the mother exhorted her daughters to despise the present life and to endure courageously for Christ.

After three days they were brought before Hadrian. He said to them: “O little girls, have pity on your tender age and on your mother’s old age.”

Seventh Title: On the Reign of Vespasian

Chapter Five (continued)

“Sacrifice to the rulers of the city, and I shall adopt you as my daughters in the presence of the senate and army. But if you refuse, I swear by the gods that I shall spare neither your age, your lineage, nor your beauty, but shall consume you with torments.”

The girls answered: “Neither your promises are dear to us nor do your threats terrify us. We have a Father who has adopted us for an eternal inheritance, and we fear his eternal threats. Apply every torture you can devise, and you will learn that Christians are stronger than every torment.”

Angered, Hadrian summoned the mother and said: “Tell me the girls' names in order of age.” She said: “The first is called Faith, aged twelve years; the second, Hope, aged ten; the third, Charity, aged nine.”

Hadrian summoned Faith and said: “Sacrifice to the great Diana and recognize how beautiful she is.”

Faith answered: “O folly of human blindness! Why do you abandon the Lord who made all things from nothing by his word and worship wood and stone, things fashioned by human art and adorned by carving?”

He ordered her to be stripped and beaten with rods until she should promise to sacrifice. Twelve centurions took turns striking her, yet no wound appeared upon her body. Her breasts were then cut off, but milk rather than blood flowed from them.

Faith said to the emperor: “These,” she said, “are all your threats.” She was placed upon a heated griddle, but rested upon it as peacefully as a ship upon a calm sea. She was then cast into a pan filled with pitch, wax, and bitumen, but emerged unharmed. When she had not been harmed at all even by this torment, Hadrian, angry because he had been unable in any way to persuade the virgin to sacrifice, ordered her to be struck with the sword.

Hadrian then summoned the second daughter and began to urge her to sacrifice to Diana and escape the torments. She answered: “Know, emperor, that you will accomplish nothing with empty words.” She was stripped and beaten with oxhide scourges. Ten centurions took turns striking her, but they could not move her to consent.

She said to the emperor: “Enemy of piety, apply every torment, so that you may learn the power of my God.”

She was cast alive into a furnace, but the flame went out, and she praised the Lord. She was then suspended and tortured, yet the sweetest fragrance issued from her body. She said: “With Christ present, I feel no pain.”

A bronze vessel was brought and filled with pitch, fat, wax, and resin. When it was boiling and the attendants attempted to put the girl into it, the vessel dissolved and burst apart, and its liquid burned the executioners to their bones. Not softened even by so great a miracle, Hadrian ordered Hope to be beheaded.

Charity was next brought forward. When she refused to obey the emperor’s words and sacrifice to the idol, she was suspended, subjected to certain new devices of torture, and scourged. Then, strengthening herself with the sign of the cross, she was cast into the fire; but the flame suddenly burst out of the furnace and burned a great crowd of the attendants.

[Running head: Chapter Six, Folio 223.]

She walked unharmed in the midst of the fire, praising God. Hadrian ordered his guards to bring her out. As they approached the mouth of the furnace, they saw three persons walking with her, brighter than the sun, and fell upon their faces in terror. When they recovered their senses, they begged the virgin to come out. She did so and was presented to the emperor, who ordered her to be killed.

Sophia gathered the bodies of her daughters, had them carried to the eighteenth milestone from the city, and buried them there. In the presence of the crowds she cast herself down in prayer over their tombs and said with tears: “My daughters, receive me to yourselves.” Then, as though overcome by sleep, she rested in peace.

§ VI: Saints Serapia and Sabina

At that time the blessed virgin Serapia, a native of Antioch, was brought before the judge Belillus. She had been living in the house of the illustrious Roman woman Sabina, formerly the wife of Valentinus and daughter of Herod, but now a widow.

When Serapia was seized and refused to sacrifice to the gods, the judge ordered her to be shut in a dark chamber. At his command two lustful young men entered to violate her, but they fell to the ground paralyzed as though dead. When they were brought before the judge, Serapia restored them by her prayer.

The impious judge ordered burning lamps to be applied to both her sides, but the attendants were turned backward. She was then beaten with clubs, but a great earthquake arose. A splinter flew from the club with which she was struck and entered the judge’s eye; after much pain it left him blind in that eye.

Serapia was then put to death by the sword. Sabina, who had been converted through her, placed her body in her own tomb on the twenty-ninth day of July.

Sabina, a most noble and wealthy woman devoted to works of mercy, was afterward denounced as a Christian to the prefect Helpidius, whom the account calls a most rabid dog. When she was commanded to sacrifice, she answered that she would not sacrifice to false and mute gods, but to the living and true God who created all things, and that the emperors who worshiped the images of demons would burn together with them.

She was therefore condemned to death on the twenty-ninth day of August. The bodies of both women rest in the church of Saint Sabina at Rome.

§ VII: Saint Mary

At this time a virgin named Mary, a slave by condition but secretly a Christian, was denounced to the judge. She was urged with threats to sacrifice to the gods.

As she refused and the instruments of torture were prepared, the surrounding crowd felt compassion for the virgin and cried out as if with one voice that she was being torn unjustly through the cruelty of the judge, not for the guilt of any sin, and that everything was being done contrary to law. Fearing a riot, the judge ordered her released and held under a relaxed guard.

Mary prayed and saw an army of angels, a multitude of saints, and the Son of God seated at the right hand of the Father. From this she received the greatest joy. When she departed and saw herself surrounded by persecutors, she prayed to the Lord to deliver her from their hands. She was immediately heard. A great rock before her opened at God’s command, revealing a cleft of refuge to receive the virgin. As soon as she had entered, its previously opened sides closed, so that those surrounding the rock could neither find nor see her.

On hearing this, the judge sent a great multitude to the place, and the people gathered there. When they attempted to lay hands upon the rock, a flash of exceeding brilliance immediately arose in the east. Without delay came thunder and such a crash that everything seemed to collapse; the earth shook, and all fell to the ground.

Then two horsemen, angels shining like fire, appeared, and many of the persecutors died. The survivors fled into the temple of the idols, but fire from heaven consumed both the people and the temple. In all, 2,700 died.

Those who survived cried out: “Great is the God of Mary! Great is the God of the Christians!” Nearly three thousand souls then believed in Christ.

Saints Faustinus, Jovita, and Callocerius

At Brescia in Italy, in the same period, Saints Faustinus and Jovita suffered. First, various kinds of exceedingly savage beasts were sent against them. The beasts did them no harm, but became gentle and lay prostrate at their feet. Seeing this, the people cried out, “Great is the God of heaven,” and more than three thousand believed.

The saints were cast into a fire but remained unharmed. The persecutors ordered them to be flayed, but the executioners were unable to accomplish it. Their arms were bound and they were suspended high in the air while molten lead was poured over them, yet they felt nothing. They were stretched upon the rack and burning lamps were applied, but the lamps went out. At last they were led outside the city and beheaded.

Blessed Callocerius suffered with them because he had cried out: “Truly great is the God of the Christians.”

Chapter Six: The Supreme Pontiffs of This Period

Telesphorus succeeded Sixtus in the papacy. He was a Greek and had come from the life of the anchorites.

He decreed that clergy should observe a seven-week fast before Easter. He says: “Just as the life of clerics ought to be distinguished from the conduct of laypeople, so too ought there to be a distinction in fasting. Therefore, during the seven weeks let all clerics fast from meat and delicacies, and let them strive to devote themselves to vigils and prayers by day and night.” This is found in Distinction 4, in the canon beginning “We Establish.”

Gratian says that because this ordinance was not approved by common usage, those who do not observe it are not transgressors. He says this, however, concerning the two days immediately following the Sunday of Quinquagesima.

Telesphorus also decreed that Mass should be celebrated during the night of the Lord’s Nativity, and that the angelic hymn beginning “Glory to God in the highest” should be sung. After the words of the angels, the hymn was completed by a doctor of the Church.

Formerly no one dared to celebrate Mass before the third hour because of the canon “At Night,” in *On Consecration*, Distinction 1. That rule has now been abrogated by contrary custom.

Telesphorus was crowned with martyrdom after sitting for eleven years. He was buried near Saint Peter at the Vatican on the second day of January.

Hyginus succeeded him and sat for four years.

[Running head: Seventh Title.]

Pius succeeded Hyginus and sat for eleven years. He was an Italian from Aquileia, the son of Rufinus and brother of Pastor, and lived in the time of Antoninus.

During his pontificate Hermes wrote the book called *The Shepherd*, because an angel appeared to him in the form of a shepherd and commanded him to celebrate Easter on a Sunday. The work is reckoned among the apocrypha, as appears in Distinction 15, in the canon “The Holy Roman Church.”

Thus Pius says in *On Consecration*, Distinction 3, in the canon beginning “To Know”: “An angel appeared to Hermes in the form of a shepherd and commanded him that the Lord’s Passover should be celebrated by everyone on Sunday. Therefore, by apostolic authority, we too establish that all must observe the same, because we ourselves observe it, and no one ought in any way to depart from the head.”

He also says in Distinction 3: “Fasting, prayer, and other religious works profit a person nothing unless the mind is recalled from iniquity and the tongue from detraction.” The gloss explains that they do not profit toward eternal life, although they may confer some other benefit.

Pius died on the eleventh day of July and was buried at the Vatican.

Anicetus, a Syrian, succeeded him. He sat for nine years, three months, and four days, and the see was vacant for fifteen days.

He decreed that clerics should wear the crown of their hair in the form of a small sphere, to show that they are spiritual kings who govern themselves and others well by virtues. Jerome is cited concerning this in Cause 12, Question 1, the canon "There Are Two."

He also decreed that a bishop should be consecrated by no fewer than three bishops, and that the suffragan bishops should be present at the consecration of an archbishop, as stated in Distinction 67, the canon "The Archbishop." Archbishops are also called metropolitans, though not primates.

Soter, a Campanian from Fondi, succeeded Anicetus. He sat for nine years, three months, and eleven days, and the see was vacant for twenty-three days.

He decreed that no nun should touch the palls--which perhaps means the corporals--or carry incense to the altar, and that nuns should wear the veil.

He also decreed that no woman should be regarded as a legitimate wife unless she had been blessed by a priest and given by her parents according to custom. This decree concerns a first marriage. It was instituted to prevent scandal and to deter people from illicit unions; nevertheless, where the substance of consent is present, a true marriage exists even without these solemnities.

In his time the heresy of the Cataphrygians arose.

Eleutherius succeeded Soter and sat for fifteen years, six months, and five days. The see was vacant for six days.

Lucius, king of Britain, sent a letter to Eleutherius asking that, by his direction, he be made a Christian. Eleutherius sent Fugarius and Damian, who baptized the king and his people.

Eleutherius decreed that no food fit for human beings and governed by reason should be rejected, lest Christians appear to Judaize. He also decreed that a cleric should not be deposed unless he had first been accused and convicted. At last Eleutherius was crowned with martyrdom.

§ II: Polycarp and Papias

Under the pontiffs named above, while Antoninus Pius and his sons were reigning, as will be told, many saints adorned the churches by glorious martyrdom and teaching, especially Polycarp and Papias.

Jerome writes in his book *On Illustrious Men* that Polycarp, a disciple of the apostle John and ordained by him bishop of Smyrna, was chief of all Asia. For he had as teachers some of the apostles and some of those who had seen the Lord in the flesh.

Seventh Title: On the Reign of Vespasian

Chapter Six (continued)

§ II: Policarpus [i.e., Polycarp] and Papias (continued)

Because of certain questions concerning the day of Easter, Policarpus [i.e., Polycarp] came to Rome under Emperor Antoninus Pius, while Anacletus [read: Anicetus] was governing the Church in the city. There he brought back to the true faith many believers who had been deceived by the persuasion and heretical depravity of Martion [i.e., Marcion] and Valentin [i.e., Valentinus].

When Martion [i.e., Marcion] happened to meet him and said, "Recognize us," Policarpus [i.e., Polycarp] answered, "I recognize the firstborn of the devil." Bede also reports this in Cause 24, Question 1, the canon "Every."

Later, when Marcus Antoninus Pius and Lucius Aurelius were ruling and the fourth persecution had been stirred up against the Church, the whole populace at Smirne [i.e., Smyrna] cried out against Policarpus [i.e., Polycarp] in the amphitheater, and he was handed over to the fire.

He wrote a very useful letter to the Philippenses [i.e., Philippians], which to the present day is read in the assembly of Asia.

When Policarpus [i.e., Polycarp] first heard that the crowd had been roused against him with shouts, he was moved in no way but remained fearless. He was tranquil in character and serene in appearance. Although he wished to remain undaunted in the same city, he nevertheless yielded to the entreaties of his household and withdrew to a farm near the city. There he remained with a few companions, doing nothing by day or night except praying for the peace of the churches, as it had been his constant custom to do throughout his life.

Three days before he was arrested, he saw in a vision by night that the pillow beneath his head was consumed by fire. Awakening, he interpreted the dream to those present and declared with certainty that he would be consumed by fire for Christ.

When he learned that those sent to arrest him had arrived, he went out to meet them and received them so joyfully that everyone marveled. He immediately ordered a table to be set before his enemies as though they were guests and abundant food to be served to them.

After praying for the Church, he mounted an ass and proceeded toward the city. As he traveled, the prefect Herodes and his men met him. They lifted him into their carriage and tried to persuade him, saying: "What harm is there in calling Caesar lord and sacrificing, and thereafter living in safety?"

When they perceived that they were accomplishing nothing, they became indignant and contemptuously threw him from the carriage, so that he fell headlong and injured his foot.

As he entered the city and a multitude came running together, a voice descended from heaven, saying: "Be strong, Policarpus [i.e., Polycarp], and act manfully."

The proconsul ordered it proclaimed to the people in a loud voice that Policarpus [i.e., Polycarp] had three times confessed himself a Christian. On hearing this, the entire multitude of both Gentiles and Jews in the city of Smirne [i.e., Smyrna] cried out in great fury: "This is the teacher of the Christians of all Asia and the destroyer of our gods. Let him be burned alive!"

A great fire was therefore prepared. His hands were bound behind his back, and he was cast into it, but the flame stood above his body without burning him. When the ministers of wickedness saw that his body could not be consumed by fire, they ordered a man to draw near and pierce with a sword the body from which the flame had withdrawn. When this was done, so much blood poured forth that it extinguished the fire. Astonished by so great a *miratuli* [read: *miraculi*, miracle], the people departed in amazement.

Twelve others who had come from Philadelphia were also crowned with martyrdom at Smirne [i.e., Smyrna].

§ III: Papias

Jerome writes in *On Illustrious Men* that Papias, a hearer of John and bishop of Hieropolitanus [i.e., Hierapolis] in Asia, wrote only five volumes.

[Running head: Chapter Six, Folio 224.]

He entitled them *Explanation of the Discourses*. In their preface he declares that he does not follow diverse opinions but has the apostles as his authorities. He says:

"I used to consider what Andrew had said, what Peter, what Philip, what Thomas, what James, what John, what Matthew, or what any other disciple of the Lord had said, and also what Aristion and the elder John, disciples of the Lord, were saying. For books to be read do not profit me so much as the living voice, which even to the present day resounds in its own authorities."

From this catalogue of names it is evident that the John placed among the apostles is one person and the elder John, whom Papias lists after Aristion, another. We have said this because of the opinion reported above as handed down by many, namely, that the latter two letters of John are not by John the apostle but by John the presbyter.

Papias is said to have published the false Jewish opinion about the thousand years: namely, that after the final resurrection the saints would reign with Christ for a thousand years amid bodily pleasures. This was based upon the words written in the Apocalypse, "They shall reign with him for a thousand years," and so forth.

Yet Cause 24, Question 3, in its penultimate canon, says that Cerinthus was the inventor of this error. Hyreneus [i.e., Irenaeus] and Appollinaris [i.e., Apollinaris] followed this opinion, and Tertullian, Victorinus Pictabronensis [i.e., of Pettau], and Lactantius were also led into it, as is evident concerning Lactantius in his book of *Institutes*.

Note here what Helinand says about these men, and says well. Papias, therefore, was the author of the heretics called Chiliasts, that is, Millenarians. Nevertheless he is numbered not among the heretics but among the saints in the martyrology. Likewise neither Hyreneus [i.e., Irenaeus] of Lugdunum [i.e., Lyon] nor Victorinus Pictabronensis [i.e., of Pettau] is judged a heretic. They were glorious martyrs, and yet they followed Papias in this opinion.

For many saints are said or read to have erred innocently in certain matters. Saint Cyprian, for example, denies that true sacraments exist among heretics even when the required form is observed, as appears in Cause 1, Question 1, the canon "For If Anyone." The Church holds the contrary, as stated in Distinction 32, the section beginning "But."

Nevertheless such error is not judged ruinous in them because of their other eminent virtues, and because they erred not from obstinacy but from ignorance and in simplicity. Add that these matters had not yet been determined by the Church.

Thus Cyprian says: “One who errs in simplicity can be pardoned. But after inspiration and revelation have been given, whoever knowingly and deliberately perseveres in that in which he had erred no longer sins with the pardon due to ignorance. For he relies upon a certain presumption and obstinacy when he is overcome by reason.” This is found in Distinction 8, the canon “Custom.”

§ IV: Iustinus [i.e., Justin] the Philosopher

Fustinus the philosopher [i.e., Justin], as Hugh of Fleury says, presented Antoninus Pius with a book composed about the Christian religion and made him favorable toward the Christians.

Jerome says that Iustinus [i.e., Justin] wore the garb of philosophers. He came from the city of Neapolis in Palestine and was the son of Crispus. He labored so greatly for the Christian religion that he presented Antoninus Pius, his sons, and the senate with a work against the Gentiles and did not blush at the shame of the cross. He gave another book to Antoninus’s successors, Marcus Antoninus Verus and Lucius Aurelius Commodus.

There is also another volume by Iustinus [i.e., Justin] against the Gentiles in which he discusses the nature of demons, and a fourth work against the Gentiles. There is another work on the monarchy of God, another entitled *The Psalmist*, and one on the soul. He also wrote a dialogue against the Jews, conducted against Triphon [i.e., Trypho], chief of the Jews; notable volumes against the heretic Martion [i.e., Marcion], which the martyr Hyreneus [i.e., Irenaeus] mentions; and another work against all heresies.

This Iustinus [i.e., Justin], however, as Vincent says in Book Eleven of the *Historical Mirror*, was a disciple of Pompeius Trogus the Spaniard. Trogus composed in Latin, in forty-three books, the histories of the whole world from the time of Ninus, king of the Assyrians, to the monarchy of Caesar. This Iustinus [i.e., Justin] made an abridgment of them. I do not know, however, whether this was Iustinus [i.e., Justin] the martyr or another man.

In the apology that he sent to Antoninus Pius, Iustinus [i.e., Justin] says among other things: “I expect that I shall suffer plots from one of those whom I oppose on behalf of truth and that I shall be struck with a staff or club--certainly by Crescens, who in this respect is not a philosopher but a lover of boasting, that is, not a lover of wisdom but a lover of vainglory. For one who publicly makes assertions about matters he does not know, and calls Christians godless and impious for the favor and pleasure of those who are set in error, while he himself entangles them in still greater snares of error, is not worthy to be called a philosopher.”

Eusebius writes of Iustinus [i.e., Justin] that he labored over the contests of others who had been martyrs before him more than over his own, describing them in writing. Iustinus [i.e., Justin] says, “I too expect that I shall suffer plots from one of those whom I have opposed on behalf of truth.”

Jerome says in *On Illustrious Men* that, while Iustinus [i.e., Justin] held disputations at Rome against that same Cynic philosopher who blasphemed the Christians, he reproved him as a glutton, one fearful of death, and a follower of luxury and lust. At last, through the man’s plots and efforts, Iustinus [i.e., Justin] was accused of being a Christian and shed his blood.

It is also read elsewhere, as Vincent reports, that as a reward for his faithful and learned tongue Iustinus [i.e., Justin] received the gift of martyrdom. A certain Cynic philosopher named Crescens laid traps and plots for him because of his confession as well as because of his conduct. Iustinus [i.e., Justin] had often disputed with him in the midst of an audience and had not only defeated him but, with truth supporting him, confounded him still more forcefully.

§ V: The Martyrs of Lugdunum [i.e., Lyon] and Vienne

At that same time, namely, during the reign of Marcus Antoninus and Lucius Aurelius, a most severe persecution, as Hugh of Fleury says, invaded Lugdunum [i.e., Lyon] and Vienne, the most noble cities of Gaul. Fotinus [i.e., Pothinus], bishop of Lugdunum [i.e., Lyon], and Justus, bishop of Vienne, were crowned with martyrdom in those cities together with many others.

Fotinus [i.e., Pothinus], as Eusebius says, was already ninety years old and nearly dead. He lived only through his love of martyrdom. He was led to the tribunal--or rather, because he was exhausted by age and weakness, was carried there.

When the governor asked who the God of the Christians was, Fotinus [i.e., Pothinus] answered: “If you are worthy, you will know.” Angered by these words, the bystanders afflicted him with fists, kicks, and many other kinds of blows, then shut him in prison with many others. A short time afterward he commended his spirit to the Lord.

The soldiers raged especially, as Eusebius says in Book Five of the *Ecclesiastical History*, against a certain deacon of Vienne named Sanctus; against Maturus, a neophyte in faith but exceedingly strong in endurance; against Attalus, a citizen of Pergameus [i.e., Pergamum] who was in every respect a pillar and foundation of our church; and also against the woman Blandina. Through her Christ showed that things despised among human beings and regarded as contemptible are held in great glory before God.

[Running head: Seventh Title.]

Seventh Title: On the Reign of Vespasian

Chapter Six (continued)

§ V: The Martyrs of Lyon and Vienne (continued)

Because charity makes by grace the things naturally fragile become exceedingly strong, all of us trembled for Blandina. Even her mistress according to the flesh, who was herself one of the martyrs, was anxious that Blandina might yield under the torments and that, because of her bodily weakness, she might scarcely suffice for the torments of the first confession.

Yet Blandina was strengthened with such power of endurance that the executioners' hands, which succeeded one another because of the judge's contentious determination, were exhausted and fell before she did. From the first light of day until evening they repeatedly renewed the same torments. At last they confessed themselves defeated, marveling at how any spirit remained in her when nothing seemed to remain of her body after its punishment.

But that truly blessed woman, as she afterward explained to us, received new strength in her body each time she uttered her confession aloud and cried, "I am a Christian." As though her pains were forgotten through that confession, she was restored fresher for the contests.

The deacon Sanctus likewise endured new kinds of punishment beyond what can be told and beyond what human nature can lawfully bear. The ministers of demons pressed him still more cruelly in the hope of eliciting from him some unlawful confession, and what he endured far exceeded the substance of the human condition.

But that man, filled with God, so mocked their cruelties and held so firm a response under interrogation that he never deigned to disclose his family, home, country, or even his name. When questioned about each of these things amid every torment, he answered nothing except that he was a Christian.

"This," he said, "is my name, this my family, this my country. I am nothing else at all but a Christian."

They were therefore driven by an unbelievable madness because, after exhausting so many kinds of punishment, they had been unable to wrench from him even the declaration of his own proper name.

At last they applied red-hot plates of bronze to his groin and to all the more delicate parts of his body, renewing the fires. His burned flesh now flowed away, yet he remained immovable, unshaken, and fearless, tempering the human flames within himself with the heavenly and eternal streams that proceed from the belly of Jesus.

The recognizable human form perished in him. The cruelty of the torments had taken away not only the ability to recognize who he was, but even what he was. Christ alone was nevertheless recognized in him through the glory of martyrdom.

Yet the craftsmen of wickedness were never ashamed before the martyr's courage. Rather, after allowing a few days to pass, they planned to inflict the torments again and to assault anew his already putrefying limbs. They hoped that he might at least in this way believe, or that, if he surrendered his soul amid the torments, they might strike fear into the others.

The outcome was far different from what the impious men intended. What unbelievers could scarcely credit came to pass: through the second torments his body was restored to its former appearance, and the second cruelty restored the functions of the limbs that the first had taken away, so that the repeated punishments now brought him healing rather than pain.

In the same way Blandina, whom we mentioned a little above, was recalled for a second round of sufferings. She was almost half dead and placed at the very boundary of death when she was struck with the renewed tortures. Suddenly, as though awakening from a certain sleep, she called to mind the blessedness to come and addressed the people with a constant voice as though speaking from a height. Thus, persevering in her confession, she was again thrust back among the number of the martyrs.

Blandina was led out again with other faithful people who were to be tortured. After various torments, when their necks had finally been struck, Blandina herself was bound to a stake, stretched out in the form of a cross, and prepared as food for the beasts. Hanging upon the wood, she poured forth prayer to the Lord with a fearless and exceedingly joyful face. None of the beasts, however, dared touch her body. She was therefore taken down from the wood and recalled to prison, to be prepared for still other contests.

On another day Blandina was brought out again with Ponticus, a boy of about fifteen years. They were placed in the midst and commanded to swear by the gods. On the contrary, they said that those beings were no gods at all and reproached the gods of the Gentiles with other words.

The populace therefore became still more frenzied. They had compassion neither upon the boy's tender age nor upon the woman's sex, but led them as though in a circle through every kind of torment and allowed no punishment that cruelty had invented to be omitted.

Ponticus persevered in the confession of the faith and returned his unstained spirit to God. Blessed Blandina, last of all, hastened confidently to follow the children whom she, like the noble mother of them all, had sent ahead to the crown of martyrdom. She exulted and triumphed as though invited to the bridal chamber of her bridegroom and to the wedding banquet.

Thus she danced amid the blows, rejoiced while burned upon the griddles, and appeared as cheerful and joyful as though reclining at a royal feast. After this she was handed over to the beasts but remained untouched by them. Next she was exposed to a bull that had been fiercely provoked. Although it assailed her with countless blows and tossed her around the whole circuit of the arena, she was not harmed at all but remained joyful.

At last she was ordered to be killed by the sword. Even the impious stood astonished and said that there had never been a woman who could endure such great and such numerous things.

Many others also suffered through various kinds of punishment, including Maturus, Blandinus, the aforementioned deacon Sanctus, Alexander, and Attalus.

When Attalus was asked amid the torments, "What name does God have?" he answered: "Those who are many are distinguished by names and need names. He who is one does not need a name."

Among the brethren these martyrs were humble; among their persecutors, exalted. They were gentle toward their own and terrible to their adversaries, subject to Christ and raised up against the devil. They humbled themselves beneath the most powerful hand of the Lord, by which they are now exalted still higher.

§ VI: Saint Felicity and Her Seven Sons

In the time of Emperor Antoninus, the illustrious woman Felicity was tried together with her seven most Christian sons. Remaining a widow, she had vowed her chastity to God. Devoting herself to prayer by day and night, she provided great edification to chaste minds by her example.

The priests of the idols therefore accused her before Augustus, saying: "This widow and her sons insult your gods to the peril of your welfare. Unless she venerates them, let Your Piety know that the gods will become so angry that they can never be appeased."

The emperor then ordered Publius, prefect of the city, to compel her and her sons to mitigate the anger of his gods by sacrifices. Publius ordered her to be brought to him privately and urged her with gentle speech to sacrifice, threatening that she would die under punishment if she refused.

Felicity answered: "I can neither be bent by your flatteries nor broken by your terrors. For I possess the Holy Spirit, who will not permit me to be conquered by the devil. I am therefore certain that I shall overcome you while alive and, if I am killed, shall overcome you still better when dead."

[Running head: Chapter Six, Folio 225.]

Publius said to her: "Wretched woman, if it is sweet for you to die, at least cause your sons to live."

Felicity answered: "My sons will live if they do not sacrifice to the idols. But if they commit so great a crime, they will go into eternal fire."

On the next day he ordered her brought into the Forum of Mars and said to her: "Have pity upon your good sons, who flourish in the first bloom of youth."

Felicity answered: "Your mercy is impiety, and your exhortation is cruelty." Turning to her sons, she said: "Look, my sons, at heaven, and gaze upward. There Christ awaits us with his saints. Fight for your souls and show yourselves faithful in the love of Christ."

On hearing this, Publius ordered her struck with open hands, saying: "Have you dared in my presence to give these instructions to your sons, so that they should despise the ordinances of our gods?"

Publius then summoned the first son, Ianuarius [i.e., Januarius], promising him infinite present goods if he would consent and threatening him with innumerable evils if he scorned to sacrifice to the idols.

Ianuarius [i.e., Januarius] answered: "What you urge is foolish, for the wisdom of God preserves me and will cause me to overcome all these things." The prefect immediately ordered him beaten with rods and placed in prison.

He then addressed each of the others separately. Unable to turn them away from the faith of Christ, and receiving constant answers from them, Publius reported these things to Emperor Antoninus. The emperor ordered various judges to torture them in different ways.

One judge killed the first, Ianuarius [i.e., Januarius], with lead-weighted scourges. Another slew the second, named Felix, and the third, Philip, with clubs. He killed the fourth, named Siluanus [i.e., Silvanus], by casting him over a precipice. Another judge caused the other three--Alexander, Vitalis, and Marcialis [i.e., Martial]--to undergo capital punishment. He also caused their mother to be beheaded.

Saint Pontianus also suffered at Spoleto, a city of Tuscany, under Emperor Antoninus and the judge Fabianus. First he was beaten with rods so that his blood flowed like a river. Second, he walked barefoot over live coals, but, protected by the sign of the cross, was not harmed. He was then suspended upon the rack and torn with iron hooks, until the attendants failed at their task and were tormented with pain.

Afterward he was cast before two lions, but they prostrated themselves at his feet and became gentle. Seeing this with wonder, the people cried: “Great is the God of the Christians! Let the saint of God be released!”

Fearing a riot, the judge ordered Pontianus thrust back into prison, where he merited to be strengthened by angelic consolation. Finally, boiling lead was poured over him, but he was harmed in no way. Struck by the sword, the martyr ascended to heaven.

§ VII: Antoninus Pius

Antoninus Pius succeeded Hadrian. Hadrian had adopted him as his son and had him as his son-in-law. Antoninus was the thirteenth emperor of the Romans. He began to reign in the year of the Lord 140 [read: 138]. According to the shorter computation from the beginning of the world, which Vincent follows in the *Historical Mirror*, this was the year 4,103; according to the other, longer computation, which Bede and the Seventy translators follow, it was the year 5,339. He reigned for twenty years [read: twenty-three years].

As Hugh of Fleury says, Antoninus was a most skillful man, benevolent by nature, and so tranquil that he was deservedly called Pius. Foreign peoples sent ambassadors to him--the Indians, Bactrians, and Hyrcanians--because they had learned of the justice of so great an emperor. He was free from the appetite for glory and display.

He left a wealthy treasury, enlarged the commonwealth, and was called father of the fatherland. After death he was worshiped almost as Romulus had been. He is said to have declared, following the example of Scipio, “I prefer to save one citizen rather than destroy a thousand enemies.” Throughout his whole realm he retained the written securities but remitted the debts.

In this Antoninus’s time Apollonius, a Stoic of Calcidonicus [i.e., Chalcidonian] nationality, and Basilides of Scitopolitanus [i.e., Scythopolis] were regarded as illustrious philosophers. They were also the teachers of Verissimus Caesar. Thaurus Biretius [i.e., Taurus of Beirut], a philosopher of the Platonic school, was likewise renowned.

Helinand says that the governor of the province of Crete and his father are read to have come together to Athens to visit and become acquainted with Taurus. Taurus privately invited only the father to sit down first.

The father said concerning his son: “Let this man, who is a magistrate of the Roman people, sit first.”

“Without prejudice,” Taurus replied, “you sit meanwhile, until we have considered and inquired what befits you: whether you, who are the father, ought rather to sit, or the son, who holds the magistracy.”

When the father had sat down, another chair was placed for the son. Taurus then delivered an address about the matter to those who had gathered. Among other things he said:

“In public places and offices, the rights of fathers, when their sons have been placed in magistracies or power, ought to pause for a little while and even *convivere* [read: *conivere*, yield]. But when outside the commonwealth one sits and walks in domestic life and reclines at a familiar banquet, then it is equitable that public honors should cease between a son who is a magistrate and a father who is a private citizen, while natural and inborn honors are preserved.”

At this same time the celebrated physician Galien [i.e., Galen] flourished, as Eusebius writes in the *Chronicles*. He is found to have written a book on alchemy entitled *On the Branch of the Frozen Apple*, and very many books on medicine.

Jerome says of him in Book Two *Against Jovinian*: “Galien [i.e., Galen], the most learned interpreter of Ypocrates [i.e., Hippocrates], says in his *Exhortation to Medicine* that athletes, whose life and art consist in fattening, can neither live long nor be healthy, and that their souls are so enveloped in excessive blood and fat as though in mud that they have nothing refined, nothing heavenly, but always belch of meats and think about the gluttony of the belly.” This is found in *On Consecration*, Distinction 5, the canon “Nor Such Persons.”

Around those times Tholomeus [i.e., Ptolemy] the astrologer shone forth, a man marvelous in mathematics and especially in astrology. He wrote more in that art than all that had been written before him. He wrote the *Almagest* and the *Optics*, and, concerning judgments, the *Quadripartite Work* and the *Centiloquy*. In the latter he says, among other things, "The wise man, that is, the virtuous man, will rule the stars."

Tholomeus [i.e., Ptolemy] was raised at Alexandria. He was strong in anger, sparing in food, and fragrant in breath. He lived seventy-eight years and died in Panonia [i.e., Pannonia].

§ VIII: Marcus Antoninus and Lucius Aurelius Commodus

Antoninus Pius was succeeded in the empire by his two sons, namely Marcus Antoninus, who was also called Verus, and Lucius Aurelius Commodus, as Eusebius reports in the *Chronicles*. They were the first to administer the empire with equal right, since up to that time there had been only one Augustus at a time.

In their time the fourth persecution against the Church was stirred up, and many were crowned with martyrdom. A great plague followed that persecution, as Vincent reports in Book Eleven of the *Historical Mirror*. It devastated many provinces far and wide and especially afflicted Italy so greatly that everywhere villages and fields remained without cultivator or inhabitant.

[Running head: Seventh Title.]

Seventh Title: On the Reign of Vespasian

Chapter Six (continued)

§ VIII: Marcus Antoninus and Lucius Aurelius Commodus (continued)

In short, there was never any respite from arms. Wars raged throughout the whole East, Illyricum, Italy, and Gaul. Earthquakes accompanied by the destruction of cities and inundations of rivers also became frequent. Plagues likewise multiplied, and locusts infested the fields.

Eusebius says in the *Chronicles*: "The histories report that, in the time of Antoninus in which these events are related, Marcus Aurelius, his brother and Caesar, waged war against the Germans and Sarmatians. When his army was endangered by thirst, he was distressed and sought what must be done. He discovered in a certain legion some Christian soldiers who, according to our custom, bent their knees and prayed. God heard their supplications. Suddenly, contrary to everyone's expectation, most abundant rains poured down and quenched the thirst of the endangered army for which the Christians had prayed, while frequent thunderbolts and fires falling from heaven drove away the enemies who were already threatening them with destruction.

"This deed is indeed reported in the histories of the Gentiles, but they do not report that it was accomplished by the prayers of our people. Naturally, neither this nor the other miracles performed by our people receive credence among them. Of our writers, however, both Tertullian commemorates it and Appollinaris [i.e., Apollinaris] among the Greeks. Appollinaris [i.e., Apollinaris] also said that, because of the miracle of this extraordinary deed, the emperor changed the legion's name and called it the Thundering Legion." Thus Eusebius.

§ IX: Victor, Corona, Concordius, Marcellus, and Valerius

In their time Saint Victor, a man from Cicilia [i.e., Cilicia], declared in the presence of the judge Sebastian that he was a soldier of Christ and refused to sacrifice to the idols. The commander ordered Victor's fingers broken and his sinews pulled out until they came forth from his skin.

While Victor gave thanks and remained in the faith, the judge ordered him cast into a burning furnace. But while he prayed, neither the fire nor its smoke touched him, and after three days he was found alive.

The commander then had a deadly poison prepared and ordered a magician to give it to Victor to eat. Victor ate it and felt no harm from it. The magician then offered other, worse poisons. When Victor ate these and suffered no injury, the magician burned all his books, renounced his temporal possessions, and believed in Christ.

Victor was again admonished, and when he refused to sacrifice, the judge ordered the sinews pulled from his body. He then ordered boiling oil poured upon Victor's private parts. Once again Victor was suspended, burning lamps were applied to him, and they were placed against his sides. Victor felt no pain, however, but was comforted by God.

The enraged judge ordered vinegar and lime mixed together and given to him in his throat. After this he ordered Victor's eyes torn out. Victor said, "Do not spare me, for I am ready to endure all your torments." The judge therefore ordered him suspended head downward for three days, until blood dripped from his nostrils to the ground.

After three days soldiers came to see whether he was still alive. When they saw him they became blind, but through the saint's prayer for them they received their sight. They returned to the judge and related everything that had happened. The judge ordered Victor flayed.

Then Corona, the wife of a certain soldier and about sixteen years old, cried out in a loud voice: "Blessed are you, Victor, and blessed are your works. Your sacrifice has been accepted like Abel's sacrifice." After saying many other things, she added: "Behold, I see two crowns coming down from heaven, borne in the hands of angels. Of these, the larger will be given to you and the smaller to me. Yet although I am a weak vessel, I hope in Christ the King that I shall possess an inheritance with the strong."

When the judge heard this, he ordered her summoned and invited her to sacrifice. She answered him: "I am called Corona, and you seek to destroy my crown." When she refused to consent, the judge ordered his soldiers to bend two palm trees toward one another, bind blessed Corona between them by both sides of her body, and then release them suddenly. As soon as they released the trees, blessed Corona was torn into two parts. Thus she confidently fulfilled her martyrdom.

Finally, the judge caused Victor's head to be cut off, and milk instead of blood flowed from his neck. Because of these miracles many believed in Christ.

At that time Saint Concordius suffered in the city of Spoleto. His father, Concordianus, caused him, being noble by birth, to be instructed in the Holy Scriptures and ordained subdeacon by Saint Pope Pius. When Concordius became renowned for miracles, the count of Tuscany, who was then residing at Spoleto, caused him to be brought before him.

When the count invited him to sacrifice to their gods, Concordius answered: "You should instead sacrifice to the Lord Jesus Christ, so that you may escape torment. For if you do not, both you and your gods will burn forever." The count then ordered him beaten with clubs and thrust into prison.

Blessed Bishop Antonius, who was a friend of the count, together with blessed Eutyches, asked that Concordius be entrusted to them for a few days. When the count granted this, the bishop ordained Concordius a priest.

After a few days the count saw Concordius presented before him again and said, "What have you decided concerning your salvation?"

Concordius answered: "Christ is my salvation, and to him I offer a sacrifice of praise every day. But you and your gods will burn in hell."

The enraged count ordered him suspended upon the rack. Concordius glorified God with a cheerful countenance. When the count said, "Sacrifice to great Jupiter," he answered: "I do not sacrifice to a deaf and mute stone, because I have the Lord Jesus Christ, whom my soul serves."

The angry tyrant ordered him thrust into the depths of the prison, loaded with iron, and left without food or drink so that he would perish from hunger. But at midnight he was comforted by an angel of the Lord. Finally, because he refused to sacrifice and instead spat in Jupiter's face, the count commanded that he be beheaded.

While this same Antoninus was emperor, Saint Marcellus was crowned in the city of Chalon, under the governor Priscus, by an unheard-of martyrdom. The governor urged him to sacrifice to the almighty gods Jupiter, Saturn, and the others, as the emperors had decreed.

Marcellus answered that the images bearing those names had been mortal men polluted by crimes, long dead and buried in hell, and that whoever believed in them proceeded with them into eternal fire. He himself, however, believed in Christ and was a true Christian, believing in the Son of God and Creator of the world.

Priscus, raging with a persecutor's fury beyond any example of unheard-of cruelty, ordered Marcellus buried upright as far as his waist. Thus already half buried but wholly alive, and hastening to the kingdom of heaven, Marcellus did not flee the punishment. For three days he persevered, in speech and love, in the praises of Christ, his almighty Lord and God. Entrusting his earthly members meanwhile to the earth, he sent his spirit to heaven.

The same tyrant in the same place caused Saint Valerius, after other torments, to be beheaded. Looking toward heaven, Valerius saw Christ offering him the crown, for Christ had given him the victory of martyrdom.

[Running head: Chapter Six, Folio 226.]

§ X: Egisippus [i.e., Hegesippus] and Other Writers

At that time Egisippus [i.e., Hegesippus] was regarded as illustrious according to Eusebius, and he was most renowned among the bishops in Crete. Philip, Appollinaris [i.e., Apollinaris], Melito, Musanus, Modestus, and especially Hyreneus [i.e., Irenaeus] also flourished. Most illustrious monuments of the apostolic faith and sound doctrine have been handed down to us from all of them.

Jerome says in *On Illustrious Men*: "Egisippus [i.e., Hegesippus], who lived near the time of the apostles, composed five books in a simple style. In them he wove together a history of ecclesiastical events from the Passion of the Lord down to his own age, gathering from different places many things pertaining to the benefit of believers, so that his manner of speaking might express the character of those whose life he followed.

"He declares that he came to Rome under Anicetus, whom we say was bishop after Peter, and that he remained until Eleutherius was bishop of the same city, who had formerly been Anicetus's deacon. Moreover, when disputing against idols, he appended a history explaining from what first error they had grown."

Dionysius, bishop of the Corinthians, possessed such eloquence and diligence that he instructed by letters not only the peoples of his own city and province but those of other provinces and cities as well. Among these letters, one is to the Lacedaemonians, another to the Athenians, a third to the Nicomedians, and a fourth to the Cretans. He wrote several others to different places.

Theophilus, the sixth bishop of the church of Antioch, composed under Emperor Marcus Antoninus a book against Marcion the heretic, which remains to this day; three volumes to Antholicus [read: Autolycus]; one book against the heresy of Hermogenes; and commentaries on the Gospel and the Proverbs of Solomon.

Appollinaris [i.e., Apollinaris], bishop of the Asian city of Hierapolis, flourished under the same Antoninus. He also presented to the emperor an excellent volume on behalf of the Christian faith. Five other books of his against the Gentiles remain, two *On Truth*, and a work against the Cataphrygians.

§ XI: The Deaths of the Two Emperors

Aurelius Commodus, as Hugh of Fleury says, was riding in a carriage with his brother in the eleventh year of his reign when he was suffocated by an attack of the disease that the Greeks call apoplexy. After his death Marcus Antoninus alone governed the commonwealth for a few days.

He was a man of such severity that from infancy he altered his expression neither from joy nor from sorrow. When founding a city he named it Verona from his own name, because he was called Antoninus Verus. In his time a marble image seemed to move, and a bronze statue of Hercules sweated for many days.

He moderated the harsher laws by new enactments. He remitted taxes throughout all the provinces, and, after gathering together all the calumnious records of fiscal suits, he burned them in the forum. He, the fourteenth emperor from Augustus, died from a sudden illness while stationed in Pannonia. Temples, columns, and many other things are found to have been erected in his honor. He was succeeded by his son Lucius Aurelius Commodus.

In the times of Antoninus Verus flourished Theodocion [read: Theodotion], an interpreter of the divine law, namely from Hebrew into Latin, and Atticus, a Platonic philosopher.

Eusebius says that in the times of these emperors Fronto was considered an illustrious orator. He instructed Marcus Antoninus Verus in Latin letters.

The city of Seleucia, together with three hundred soldiers of men [read: three hundred thousand men], was captured by the Romans. At that time Smirna [i.e., Smyrna], a city of Asia, collapsed in an earthquake. For its restoration, a ten-year of taxes was granted [read: a ten-year exemption from taxes was granted]. So great a plague also spread throughout the whole world that the Roman army was almost destroyed to the point of annihilation.

Aurelius Commodus therefore succeeded his father and reigned for thirteen years. As Hugh of Fleury says, he was devoted to luxury and obscenity. He killed many senators, and especially those whom he perceived to excel in ability or nobility.

"In that season," Eusebius says in Book Five, "peace was extended to the churches throughout the whole earth, and the word of the Lord gathered souls from every class of people to the knowledge and worship of the supreme God. In Rome, finally, it joined to the faith many illustrious and exceedingly wealthy persons together with their children, wives, and whole households.

"But that ancient enemy of human salvation did not look upon this with an impartial eye. Hence in the city of Rome he dragged to trial a certain Apollonius, an illustrious man learned both in our faith and in every branch of philosophy, raising against him as an accuser a certain most wretched man who had despaired of salvation. Apollonius was urged to publish in writing the defense of his faith that he had delivered lucidly and splendidly before the senate and the whole people. After this he was punished by beheading in accordance with a decree of the senate. For a most unjust law promulgated by earlier rulers had so prescribed."

§ XII: Philip and Eugenia

Philip, a most illustrious Roman man, was sent by Emperor Commodus into Egypt to serve as prefect of Alexandria. He took with him his wife, his two sons, and one daughter named Eugenia. She was most perfectly educated in the liberal arts. Although she was very beautiful in body, she was still more beautiful in chastity. Though sought in marriage by many, she resisted them all, for even while living under pagan parents she had begun to be a Christian in spirit.

One day she was traveling through the suburbs outside the city of Alexandria with the eunuchs Protus and Hyacinthus, with whom she had been educated. Christians lived there, and she heard them singing psalms and saying the verse, "All the gods of the Gentiles are demons," and so forth.

Strengthening herself and sighing, she said to her eunuchs Protus and Hyacinthus: "With vain labor we have examined the syllogisms of the philosophers, Aristotle's arguments, Plato's ideas, everything the poet has sung, everything the orator has devised, and everything the philosopher has thought. All are excluded by this sentence that we heard the Christians sing exultantly: 'All the gods of the Gentiles are demons.'"

Considering very deeply the force of these verses, she said, "If we do not wish to perish, we must believe." As they discussed the true God with one another, agreement in faith was formed among them, and they sought an arrangement by which a holy flight might be established and the right faith maintained.

When they learned that a certain holy man named Helenus was bishop there, they resolved to approach him. Helenus had been a Christian from infancy and afterward had been raised in a monastery. He possessed such holiness that he carried burning coals in his cloak without injury.

Helenus, now made bishop of helipolis [i.e., Heliopolis], once confronted a magician named Zereas, who preached falsehoods to the people and said that he had been sent by Christ. Helenus disputed with him before the people to expose his falsehoods, but the magician now appeared superior to the people because of his words. Helenus therefore said before everyone: "Let a fire be kindled in the middle of the city, and let us enter it together. Let us believe that the one who is not burned has been sent by Christ." This proposal pleased everyone.

[Running head: Seventh Title.]

Seventh Title: On the Reign of Vespasian

Chapter Six (continued)

§ XII: Philip and Eugenia (continued)

A fire was therefore kindled, and Helenus entered it first at the magician's request. After he had remained in it for half an hour without being burned in either hair or clothing, he commanded Zereas to enter as well. When Zereas resisted, the people handed him over to the fire. As he began to burn, Saint Helenus rescued him half burned from the flame, but the people expelled him from that region.

The old man Helenus permitted no woman to approach his lodging so that she might hear and speak with him. Eugenia therefore assumed male clothing, cut her hair, and approached the bishop with the aforementioned eunuchs as though she were a young man. The Lord had revealed to him everything concerning their arrival.

They humbly requested holy baptism and admission to a monastery, saying that they were brothers from the city of Rome. Their desire was fulfilled. Although Helenus knew that she was a woman and they were her servants, and disclosed this to them, he nevertheless strengthened them, baptized them, and caused them to be received among the monks.

Because Eugenia did not return home, her father and the whole household caused a diligent search for her throughout that region. When she could not be found, they consulted demons through pythonesses and soothsayers. The answer was that the gods had taken her up into heaven and received her into the number of the goddesses. Because of this her father caused a golden image of her to be made for himself.

Eugenia herself remained in that monastery of men in male clothing and progressed so greatly in divine learning that before the end of her second year she retained nearly all the Scriptures of the Lord. Her spirit possessed such tranquility that everyone called her one of the company of angels. She was all things to all people: she comforted the sorrowful, rejoiced with the joyful, and calmed the angry.

She received such great grace from the Lord that, whoever might be in pain when she visited, all pain immediately withdrew and health arrived. In the third year, when the abbot of that monastery died, Eugenius was elected by everyone.

She then feared that, contrary to rule, she as a woman would be set over other men. Yet she also feared scorning all those who unanimously urged this upon her. She said: "Let us see what the Lord commands in this election of ours. 'If anyone,' he says, 'wishes to be first, let him be the last of all.' Behold, in obedience to your commands I have resolved to accept the primacy, and, obeying the Lord's vision, I make myself the least of your community."

Accordingly, in every respect she undertook every task of the monastery customarily performed by the lowest person: carrying water, cutting wood, and removing filth. She began to be so dear to God that she cast demons out of possessed bodies and opened the eyes of the blind.

A certain Alexandrian matron named Melancia, more eminent than the others, had been afflicted with quartan fever for a year and longer. Hearing of Eugenia's reputation, she came to her. When Eugenia anointed her with oil, Melancia immediately vomited an abundance of bile and was healed.

When Melancia sent her three cups filled with solidi, Eugenia sent them back, saying: "We abound and superabound, but I ask you to distribute them to the poor." Melancia came to her in sorrow and began to ask her to accept them. While she was making frequent visits over this matter, she did not discover that Eugenia was a woman. Deceived by the attractiveness of her youth, she fell into desire for her.

Thinking that Eugenius desired more money, Melancia offered boundless wealth. When she saw that Eugenius rejected everything, she began to address her privately in these words: "Why do you torment yourself with vain abstinence and waste the flower of your most pleasing youth, as though God loved the sorrowful, cherished those who spurn his delights, and delighted only in human torments? We seem to misuse his gifts. Therefore put an end to affliction and embrace more joyful times."

While Melancia said such things, Eugenia, wishing to rescue her soul from the devil's snares, showed her how wretched the desires of the world are, how they flee while people think they hold them, and how the pleasure of a single moment brings eternal losses.

But Melancia heard these things with a deaf ear and carefully considered how she might ensnare Eugenius. She feigned illness and caused Eugenius to be asked to visit her as a sick woman. When Eugenia had entered her chamber out of piety and sat down, the unhappy Melancia began to tempt her with obscene embraces and to urge her to sin with wanton words.

Eugenia said to her: "You are rightly called Melancia, for you are filled with the blackness of treachery and have prepared yourself as a great dwelling for the devil. Begone from the servants of God, deceitful seductress, for we wage war in another manner." Thus, reproaching the wretched woman and dismissing her, Eugenia departed.

Melancia could not bear the shame of her deception. Fearing that she herself would be exposed unless she first exposed Eugenia, she approached the prefect of Alexandria. She denounced a wicked young man who feigned the Christian religion, saying: "Because he was said to be skilled in the art of healing, he was summoned by me for treatment. During my illness he shamelessly dared speak to me and urge me to sin. Had I not raised my voice and been delivered by the help of my maidservant, he would have made me captive to his lust."

When the prefect heard these things, he became furious and immediately sent his servants to the monastery. He ordered Eugenius and her companions brought to him in chains, and, once they had been presented, commanded them to be shut in different prison cells. The shameless report spread throughout Egypt. Everyone believed it, everyone condemned them, and it seemed plausible to everyone that Melancia, an illustrious woman, could not lie.

On the appointed day, therefore, the neighboring cities assembled to see the corruptors handed over to the bites of beasts. Racks, scourges, flames, torturers, and the other things customarily employed to *occulpare* [read: *exsculpere*, draw out the hidden things of the heart] were prepared.

When Eugenia was brought forward, Philip the prefect said before all the people: "Speak, most wicked of Christians. Did your Jesus teach you these things, that you should devote yourself to the work of corruption and capture a matron's modesty by fraudulent cunning?"

Eugenia, her head lowered so that she could not be recognized, answered: "My God Jesus Christ, whom I serve, taught chastity and promises eternal life to those who preserve it. And so that you may turn the sentence against this false witness, we shall prove in due time that the charge she brings rebounds upon her."

She said to Melancia: "O Melancia, name of blackness and dark wickedness, order your maidservant to be brought forward so that the lies may be refuted from her own mouth." When the maidservant was brought in, she began, after being suborned by her mistress, to bear testimony against Eugenius, as did the others of her household.

The enraged prefect said: "What will you still say, ill-omened man, when all these witnesses wholly convict you?"

Eugenia answered: “It is time to speak, because the time for silence has passed. So great is the power of Christ’s name that even women who abide in fear of him attain manly dignity. I, therefore, though a woman, have played the man by acting courageously and by bravely embracing the virginity that is in Christ.”

[Running head: Chapter Six, Folio 227.]

Saying this, she tore from top to bottom the tunic in which she was clothed, and she appeared as a woman. She added: “You, according to the flesh, are my father; Claudia is my mother; and my brothers who sit with you are Avitus and Sergius. For the love of Christ I rejected the world with its delights. And behold Prothus [i.e., Protus] and Iacinctus [i.e., Hyacinthus], my eunuchs, with whom I entered the school of Christ.”

Her father, mother, brothers, and servants recognized her and fell upon her with tears and embraces in the sight of the people. Garments woven with gold were brought, and although unwilling, she was clothed in them. She was placed in a high position before the tribunal, and all the people acclaimed: “There is one true God, Christ, who is the true God of the Christians.”

So that proof of her chastity would not be lacking amid such great joy of the people, fire was seen descending from heaven. It so completely surrounded Melancia’s house that no trace of anything belonging to her remained. The people therefore rejoiced with the fear of God.

Philip the prefect, his wife Claudia, and their children were baptized. His whole household and an innumerable multitude of pagans were converted to Christ. The Christians received privileges, and the whole city of Alexandria became as though one church.

The whole Church agreed upon Philip for its bishop. Because he had embraced Christianity, Philip was deposed from the prefecture by the emperor, but he was elected and ordained bishop by the faithful. Devoting himself to fasts, prayers, and other holy works, he was finally crowned with martyrdom.

Eugenia, however, returned to Rome with her mother, brothers, Prothus [i.e., Protus], and Iacinctus [i.e., Hyacinthus]. By word and example she drew many to the faith. Among them was a certain most noble virgin betrothed to an illustrious man named Pompeius. The virgin was named Basilla.

One day Eugenia said to Basilla, “It has been revealed to me by God that a great reward of virginity awaits you.”

Basilla answered her: “And it has been revealed to me that you will receive a double crown of martyrdom: one that you acquired through your righteous labors at Alexandria, and the other that you will receive through the shedding of your blood.”

Eugenia then addressed the holy virgins who were present with many words about preserving chastity. Commending them to the Lord, she departed from them.

On that same day one of Basilla’s maidservants accused her before her betrothed, Pompeius. She said that his bride had become a Christian and did not wish to marry him, and that this had been accomplished through Prothus [i.e., Protus] and Iacinctus [i.e., Hyacinthus], teachers of magical art.

After Pompeius learned that his bride refused even to see him, asserting that she was preserving her body intact for Christ, he became furious. He prostrated himself before the emperor and said: “Most sacred princes, come to the aid of your Romans, and drive from this city the new gods that Eugenia brought with her from Egypt. Behold, the Christians separate the favor of marriage and take those who are betrothed as their own. They have discovered gods who forbid human beings to be born.”

The emperor then decreed that Basilla must either receive her bridegroom or be struck by the sword, while Eugenia must either sacrifice to the divine powers or perish cruelly.

Basilla refused to receive her bridegroom, saying that she had Christ, the Son of God and King of kings, as her bridegroom. Because she was of royal lineage and could not be tried publicly, she was pierced with a sword inside her house.

Prothus [i.e., Protus] and Iacinctus [i.e., Hyacinthus] were led to the temple of Jupiter and compelled to sacrifice to him. The image fell at his feet [read: at their feet] and was so completely shattered that it could not be seen where it had stood. The prefect Vicetius [read: Nicetius] attributed this not to the power of God but to magical art and caused them to be beheaded.

The same prefect summoned Eugenia and began to question her about the magical arts. She answered him steadfastly: “I confess to you that our art is greater than magical art. For our master has a father without a mother, a mother without a father, and a virgin wife who daily bears him children yet remains entirely steadfast in his love.”

When she was led to the temple of Diana to sacrifice, an earthquake occurred at her prayer, and the foundations of the temple were overthrown together with the idol. The Roman people then rushed together, and various opinions about her circulated: some declared her innocent and holy, others a magician.

When a report concerning these things was made by the prefect to the emperor, he ordered Eugenia bound to a stone and thrown into the Tiber. As soon as this was done, the stone broke apart, and Eugenia, sitting upon it, was carried over the river's water. It was apparent to everyone that he was with her in the river and would not permit her to be swallowed up who had been with Peter upon the sea and prevented him from sinking.

She was taken from there and cast into the furnaces of the baths, which were immediately extinguished. After this she was thrown into a dark prison and left there for twenty days without light or food, but every day an abundance of radiance filled the place. The Savior also appeared to her there, and from his hand she received bread of snowy whiteness as he comforted her.

On the day of the Lord's Nativity, an executioner was sent who struck her down and killed her in prison. Her body was buried not far from the city on her own estate, where she herself had buried many.

While her mother Claudia prayed with tears at her tomb, Eugenia appeared to her in a garment woven with gold amid a multitude of virgins. She comforted Claudia and said that her father--that is, Claudia's husband Philip--had been placed in the company of the patriarchs, and that Claudia herself would be received by the Lord in heaven on the following Sunday.

Claudia returned home, instructed her sons in the Lord, and on the appointed day yielded up her spirit. Her sons buried her beside Eugenia. Perfect in the fear of the Lord, after converting many pagans, they passed to the kingdom of heaven.

It should be noted that Eugenia pretended to be a man in order to be received as a monk and consented to be appointed abbot. This was permitted by the law of heaven, not by the law of the forum, for she was inspired to it by the Holy Spirit, whose law is not subject to human law, as stated in Cause 19, Question 2, "There Are Two Laws."

It is therefore not lawful to follow her example unless someone possesses a special inspiration for it from the Holy Spirit and is certain of it. Hence the rule of law in Book Six, *On Rules of Law*: "Things that depart from the common law are not to be drawn into precedent." Yet in that time the canons prohibiting these things had not yet been established.

§ XIII: Commodus's Birthday Persecution

While Commodus was raging in persecution against the Christians, his own birthday arrived. He issued an edict that the whole populace of the city of Rome should assemble in one place and acclaim Hercules and Jupiter with ceremonial cries of praise. This was done.

[Running head: Seventh Title.]

Seventh Title: On the Reign of Vespasian

Chapter Six (continued)

§ XIII: Commodus's Birthday Persecution (continued)

For when the emperor, publicly clothed in a royal garment with a miter, ascended his seat, he offered incense to a golden statue of Jupiter. All the people acclaimed: "May Hercules be the protector of the commonwealth and the defender of the boldness of Roman liberty!"

At that time certain worshipers of Christ were staying in a particular district. Among them were Eusebius, Vincentius, Peregrinus, and Potentianus, who had distributed all their possessions to the poor so that they might serve God more freely, desiring to die for him.

When these men heard Commodus's edict, they ran through the streets, preaching to everyone that they should withdraw from the worship of demons, do penance, believe in God three and one, and receive baptism.

A certain senator named Julius was moved by their teaching. He believed in Christ with his household and received baptism through the priest Rufinus. He became so fervent that he desired to die for Christ.

When Caesar heard this, he ordered Julius brought before him and said: "Julius, how have you become so mad that, abandoning Jupiter and Hercules, you follow some unknown and empty madness?"

Julius answered him courageously: "You will endure punishments together with your gods, whom in your empty error you rashly and falsely declare to be gods."

Confounded, Caesar committed the investigation of this case to a certain master of the infantry named Vitellius, ordering that Julius's property be taken away and that he be condemned to death if he refused to sacrifice to Hercules.

Vitellius, savage in spirit and beset by every vice, received Julius and thrust him into prison. After three days he caused him to be brought naked and chained before his tribunal. He urged Julius to sacrifice to their gods so that he might not perish and lose everything in which he trusted.

Julius answered: “My confidence is eternal life, and my hope is Christ, who will condemn you with your ruler forever.” Filled with fury at this, Vitellius ordered him beaten with clubs until he breathed out his spirit.

Eusebius and the others named above secretly took his body and buried it devoutly. When Vitellius heard this, he caused them to be seized. Brought before him, they confessed that they had buried Julius. They did not fear his threats but desired with all their hearts to suffer for Christ.

Vitellius ordered them suspended upon the rack and beaten with sinews and clubs. Eusebius said to him: “Your time for torturing us will fail before my spirit, persevering in Christ, fails.”

Vitellius said to those standing nearby: “Confident in their magical art, these men rejoice in their torments.”

Vincentius answered: “We rejoice and exult in the Lord Jesus Christ.”

Vitellius then ordered flames applied to their sides. Becoming joyful, they said: “Glory to you, Lord, who surround us with your visitation.”

One of the executioners, named Antoninus, gazed intently and saw a young man standing with a sponge, shining with an exceedingly great radiance and wiping their sides. Raising his voice with great joy, he began to cry: “There is one true God of the Christians, whom these men preach with the clearest reason. I see an angel of the Lord standing around them and protecting them from the pressure of the flames.”

The judge then began to roar like a lion, crying: “O magical art! O seducers, who have alienated from his own mind a man most distinguished in the commonwealth!”

Antoninus immediately vowed that he would believe in Christ. Approaching the priest Rufinus, he received baptism.

Vitellius then caused the martyrs to be taken down from the rack and said: “Why are you so cruel to yourselves? Why do you not put away your madness, adore those whom the rulers have commanded, and enjoy this life with us?”

Blessed Vincentius answered: “O most wretched of all men, you are cruel, for you do not spare yourself. We have already been established in glory, but you will perish in Gehenna with your ruler.”

Vitellius then commanded Saint Eusebius’s tongue to be cut out. Antoninus ran forward, crying: “O most wretched Vitellius, what business do you have with these righteous men? Why do you torture them?” Vitellius began to vomit blood from his mouth. Nevertheless, after his tongue had been cut out, Eusebius, the Lord’s athlete, offered praises to Christ in the highest.

At Vitellius’s order Antoninus was led away by the executioners and beheaded on the Aurelian Way.

Eusebius and his companions, after being wasted by torments, were thrust into prison. Saint Julius appeared to them there, comforted them, and foretold the conversion of the prison guard.

A priest of the Capitol named Lupulus, who was blind, approached them in prison so that the holy martyrs might instruct and baptize him. Instructed in the faith and having received baptism, he recovered his sight. When the prison guard saw this miracle, he too was baptized.

Finally, when these things were reported to Emperor Commodus, he ordered that, if they refused to worship the gods, they should be beaten with lead-weighted scourges until they breathed out their spirits. This was done, and they rested in the Lord.

Emperor Commodus, moreover, caused the head of the Colossus to be removed and the head of his own image to be placed upon it, as Eusebius says in the *Chronicles*. The same Commodus killed many nobles and provided the Roman people with remarkable spectacles.

When a fire broke out in Rome, the palace, the temple of the goddess Vesta, and a very great part of the city were leveled to the ground. “Thus,” Hugh of Fleury says, “the punishment of the city followed the crimes of Emperor Aurelius Commodus. For the Capitol was struck by lightning, and the resulting fire consumed the Roman library in a devouring whirlwind.”

At length Caesar Commodus, troublesome to everyone, was strangled to death in the Vestal house.

§ XIV: Heluis [i.e., Helvius] Pertinax, Julianus, and Severus

The aged Heluis [i.e., Helvius] Pertinax was made emperor by the senate. According to Eusebius, when the senate begged this emperor to call his wife Augusta and his son Caesar, he refused, declaring it sufficient that he himself reigned unwillingly. For he was more than seventy years old when he administered the prefecture of the city and was commanded by a decree of the senate to rule.

At last he was killed through the crime of the jurist Julianus, whom Severus afterward killed at miluum pontem [i.e., the Milvian Bridge]. Julianus, who usurped the Roman Empire for himself, reigned for seven months, Hugh says. Thus one year was consumed between Pertinax and Julianus, his successor in the empire.

Severus, therefore, an African by birth, attained the Roman Empire. From the name of the emperor whose murder he had avenged, he wished to be called Pertinax. According to Hugh, he reigned for eighteen years.

He was savage by nature and was provoked by many wars. He governed the commonwealth with the greatest courage, but also with the greatest toil. For he killed the man who had aspired to tyranny in Egypt and Syria; overcame the Jews and Samaritans when they attempted to rebel; restrained the Parthians and Arabs; and finally, after killing claudio albino [i.e., Clodius; Albinus] at lugduni [i.e., Lyon], where Albinus had made himself Caesar in Gaul, transferred the war into Britain.

After repeatedly waging great and serious wars there, he recovered the island. He fortified it from sea to sea with a rampart and frequent towers extending for 132 miles.

[Running head: Chapter Six, Folio 228.]

After Nero, Severus also exercised the fifth persecution against the Christians. During this persecution many saints are related to have suffered in different places and provinces. Among them was Leonides, the father of Origen. Beheaded for Christ, he left his son Origen still of tender age.

Origen, then in the seventeenth year of his life, procured what he needed by teaching grammar. For the property of his father Leonides, which had been very great, had been added to the imperial treasury through confiscation.

According to Eusebius in the *Chronicles*, Severus began to reign in the year of the Lord 194. This Severus was also keen in intellect, sufficiently instructed in both Greek and Latin letters, and persevering to the end in everything to which he directed himself. In whatever direction his goodwill inclined, it was marvelous and perpetual. He was diligent in acquiring, liberal in giving, and equally vehement toward friends and enemies.

At first he was an advocate. He was the first and last man from Africa to rule. His son Antoninus Caracalla succeeded him in the empire.

When Severus died at eborachum [i.e., York], he left two sons: Antoninus, who was also called Bassianus, and Geta. Geta died after being judged a public enemy, and Antoninus assumed the empire. He was surnamed Caracalla because of the kind of garment that he had distributed at Rome. Antoninus was succeeded in the empire by Alexander.

§ XV: Narcissus and Alexander, Bishops of Jerusalem

Concerning Narcissus and Alexander, bishops of Jerusalem, who lived around the times of Pope Victor and Emperor Severus: on the solemn day of the Easter vigil, oil was lacking for the lamps while Narcissus was bishop. When the ministers informed him of this, the people experienced great sorrow.

But Narcissus, trusting in faith, commanded the ministers to draw water and bring it to him. After praying, he blessed the water that had been brought and commanded it to be poured into the lamps. Then suddenly, by a marvelous kind of power unheard of through the ages, the nature of the water was changed into the richness of oil, and it made the light of the lamps shine even more brightly than usual.

Because Narcissus was an inflexible adherent of justice and righteousness, certain wicked little men, conscious of evil in themselves, feared that they could not escape punishment for their crimes if they were accused. Through their plots they anticipated vengeance and prepared to ensnare the man whose judgment they feared.

They therefore contrived against him a sufficiently infamous and criminal charge. The hearers came together and brought forward witnesses from among themselves, who confirmed under oath what was alleged. One witness swore that he would be consumed by fire if he did not testify truthfully; another, that he would be corrupted by jaundice; and the third, that he would be deprived of his eyes.

Although none of the faithful and God-fearing believed even their oaths, because Narcissus's manner of life and chastity were known to everyone, Narcissus himself could not endure the indignity and annoyance of the charges that had been raised. At the

same time, he had always desired to possess a secret and philosophical life. He therefore fled from the multitude of the Church and remained hidden for very many years in desert places and more secluded little fields.

Yet the great eye of divine providence did not rest for long. Rather, it prepared vengeance against the impious men for this very matter according to the curses they had established for themselves in their perjuries.

For the house of the first witness was ignited at night by a small spark of fire, and he was burned up in avenging flames together with his whole family and kindred. The second was suddenly filled, from the soles of his feet to the crown of his head, with the jaundice he had invoked, and he was consumed by it.

The third saw the fate of the first two and perceived that he had not escaped the divine eye. He came forward publicly and, in the hearing of everyone, disclosed in late repentance the whole course of their obstinate crime. He lamented the enormity of the offense they had committed with such great tears and continued weeping day and night so long that he lost his sight. Thus these men paid punishments of this kind for their own invention.

Narcissus, however, had gone into the desert and hidden himself in more secluded places, so that no one knew where he now lived. The bishops therefore judged it necessary to ordain another man in his place, whose name was Dius. When he had governed the Church for a short time, Germanus succeeded him, and Vigordius succeeded Germanus.

Then behold, Narcissus suddenly appeared, as though restored to life and returned from heaven, and the brethren again asked him to preside over the Church. But since he was now too old to suffice for the ministry of the pontificate, a certain Alexander, a Cappadocian by birth and already bishop of a distinguished city, hastened to Jerusalem to worship and visit the holy places.

The Lord showed plainly, not only to blessed Narcissus himself but also to very many others through revelations among the people, that they should retain Alexander as bishop in the holy place. Moreover, something more fearsome than all the rest occurred. On the day when Alexander was reported to have entered the city, a very great multitude of the brethren went outside the gates to meet him. A voice from heaven was manifestly heard by everyone, saying: “Receive the bishop whom God has appointed for you.”

When the event had thus been fulfilled as foretold, all the bishops of Palestine assembled in one place. With Narcissus himself especially consenting, Alexander undertook with him the governance of the Church of Jerusalem. Eusebius writes all these things in his *Ecclesiastical History*.

Jerome reports that this Alexander says at the end of a certain letter that he wrote to the antinoitas [i.e., Antinoites] concerning the peace of the Church: “Narcissus, who before me held the episcopal office here and who now governs the same place with me by his prayers, greets you. He has done so for about seventeen years [read: being about one hundred sixteen years old], and together with me he exhorts you to be of one mind.”

During the seventh persecution under Decius, in whose time Babillas [i.e., Babylas] suffered at Antioch, Alexander was led to Caesarea and shut in prison. Because of his confession of Christ, he was crowned with martyrdom.

§ XVI: Saint Cecilia

Cecilia, a most illustrious virgin sprung from a noble Roman family, was raised in the faith of Christ from her very cradle. She always bore the hidden Gospel of Christ in her breast, which I understand to mean in the breast of her mind and in the words of the Gospel.

Neither by day nor by night did she cease from divine conversation and prayer, and she begged the Lord to preserve her virginity.

She was betrothed to a certain young man named Valerian. When the appointed wedding day arrived, she wore a hair shirt next to her flesh and was covered above with golden garments. While instruments played, she sang to the Lord in her heart, saying: “Lord, let my heart and my body be immaculate, so that I may not be confounded.” First afflicting herself with fasts of two and three days, she commended her chastity to the Lord.

The night came in which she entered the secret silence of the bridal chamber with her husband. There she addressed him as follows.

[Running head: Seventh Title.]

Seventh Title: On the Reign of Vespasian

Chapter Six (continued)

§ XVI: Saint Cecilia (continued)

“O most beloved young man, there is a mystery that I will confess to you if you swear to me that you will preserve it.”

When he had sworn, she said: “I have an angel of God as a lover, and he guards my body with exceedingly great jealousy. If he perceives even slightly that you presume to violate my chastity or touch me with polluted love, he will immediately strike you in anger, and you will lose the flower of your most pleasing youth. But if he recognizes that you love me with sincere love, he will love you as he loves me and will show you his grace.”

Struck with fear at God’s prompting, Valerianus [i.e., Valerian] said: “If you wish me to believe you, show me the angel himself. If I truly prove that he is an angel, I shall do what you urge. But if you love another man, I shall strike both you and him with the sword.”

Cecilia said to him: “If you believe in the true God and receive baptism, you will be able to see the angel. Go, therefore, to the third milestone from the city on the road called the uia Appia [i.e., Appian; Way]. Say to the poor people whom you find there: ‘Cecilia has sent me to you so that you may show me the holy old man Urbanus [i.e., Urban], because I have secrets to deliver to him.’ When you see him, report my words to him. After he has purified you, you will return and see the angel himself.”

Valerianus [i.e., Valerian] therefore went there and found Saint Urbanus [i.e., Urban] hiding among the tombs of the martyrs. When he had related everything to him, Urbanus [i.e., Urban] gave thanks with tears and said: “Lord Jesus, sower of chaste counsel, receive the fruit of the seeds that you sowed in Cecilia. Lord Jesus, good shepherd, your servant Cecilia has served you like a resourceful ewe. For she received her bridegroom as though he were a fierce lion and has sent him to you as a most gentle lamb.”

Behold, an old man suddenly appeared, dressed in snow-white garments and holding an open book in his hands. In it these words were written in golden letters: “One God, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all and through all and in us all, blessed.”

Seeing him, Valerianus [i.e., Valerian] fell as though dead from his exceedingly great fear. The old man raised him and said: “Do you believe these things are so, or do you still doubt?”

Valerianus [i.e., Valerian] then cried: “There is nothing under heaven that can be believed more truly.” The old man immediately disappeared, and Valerianus [i.e., Valerian] received baptism from Saint Urbanus [i.e., Urban].

When Valerianus [i.e., Valerian] returned home, he found Cecilia speaking with an angel in the bridal chamber. The angel held two crowns of roses and lilies. He handed one to Cecilia and the other to Valerianus [i.e., Valerian], saying: “Guard these crowns with an immaculate heart and a pure body, because I have brought them to you from God’s paradise. They will never wither or lose their fragrance, nor can they be seen by any except those to whom chastity has been pleasing.

“You, Valerianus [i.e., Valerian], because you believed beneficial counsel, ask of God whatever you wish.”

Valerianus [i.e., Valerian] answered: “Nothing in this life has been sweeter to me than the affection of my only brother. I therefore ask that he too may recognize the truth with me.”

The angel said to him: “Your request pleases the Lord, and you will both come to me with the palm of martyrdom.”

After this Tyburcius [i.e., Tiburtius], Valerianus [i.e., Valerian]’s brother, entered the chamber. When he perceived the exceedingly strong fragrance of roses, he said: “I marvel whence this fragrance of roses and lilies breathes here at this season. Even if I held roses and lilies in my hands, they could not pour forth scents of such great sweetness. I confess to you that I am so refreshed that I think myself suddenly transformed entirely.”

Valerianus [i.e., Valerian] said to him: “We possess crowns made from flowers that your eyes cannot see. But just as, with one interceding, you perceived the fragrance [read: just as, at my intercession, you perceived the fragrance], so you will also be able to see them if you believe.”

Tyburcius [i.e., Tiburtius] said to him: “Do I hear these things in a dream or in truth?”

Valerianus [i.e., Valerian] answered: “Until now we have been in a dream, but now we remain in the truth.”

Tyburcius [i.e., Tiburtius] asked, “Who taught you these things?”

Valerianus [i.e., Valerian] answered: “An angel taught me. You will be able to see him if you are purified and renounce the idols.”

Cecilia then clearly showed him that all the idols were insensible and mute, so that Tyburcius [i.e., Tiburtius] said, “Whoever does not believe this is a beast.”

Immediately kissing his breast, Cecilia said: “Today I acknowledge you as my kinsman. For just as the love of God caused your brother to become my husband, so contempt for idols causes you to become my kinsman. Go, therefore, with your brother so that you may receive purification and be able to see angelic faces.”

When Valerianus [i.e., Valerian] wished to lead him away, Tyburcius [i.e., Tiburtius] said to him: “I beg you, my brother, to whom do you wish to lead me?”

He answered, “To Bishop Urbanus [i.e., Urban].”

Tyburcius [i.e., Tiburtius] said: “Do you speak of that Urbanus [i.e., Urban] who has so often been condemned and still remains in hiding? If he is found, he will be burned, and we shall be enveloped in his flames. While we seek a divinity hidden in heaven, we shall incur a burning fury on earth.”

Cecilia answered him: “If this were the only life, we would justly fear to lose it. There is another, better life that is never lost, which the Son of God disclosed to us.” She explained to him many things concerning the mystery of the Trinity, the Incarnation of the Son of God, and the Passion.

Moved by these things, Tyburcius [i.e., Tiburtius] said to Valerianus [i.e., Valerian]: “I beg you, my brother, lead me to the man of God so that I may receive purification.” Brought to Urbanus [i.e., Urban] and baptized, he saw the angels of God, and whatever he and Valerianus [i.e., Valerian] asked from God they received.

After this Almachius, prefect of the city, was persecuting the Christians and killing many. When he heard that Tyburcius [i.e., Tiburtius] and Valerianus [i.e., Valerian] buried them and devoted themselves to almsgiving, he caused them to be brought before him and asked why they buried Christians whom he had condemned for their crimes.

Tyburcius [i.e., Tiburtius] answered him: “Would that we were the servants of those whom you call condemned! They despised what seems to be and is not and found what seems not to be and is.”

The prefect asked him, “What is that?”

Tyburcius [i.e., Tiburtius] answered: “What seems to be and is not is everything in the world that leads a person into nonbeing, namely the abuse of the things of the world. What seems not to be and is, is the life of the righteous and the punishment of the wicked, because they are not sensibly seen.”

The prefect said: “I do not think you speak from your own mind.” He therefore ordered Valerianus [i.e., Valerian] to stand before him and said to him: “Because your brother is not of sound mind, you at least will be able to give a wise answer. It is clear that you err greatly, for you reject joys and desire everything inimical to joy.”

Valerianus [i.e., Valerian] then said that in the icy season he had seen idle men at play and mocking laboring farmers. But in summertime, when the glorious fruits of their labors had arrived, the laborers whom people had considered foolish rejoiced, while those who had seemed sophisticated began to weep.

“So we Christians, who endure disgrace and labor in the present, shall receive glory and an eternal reward in the future. But you, who now possess worldly joy, will encounter eternal destruction in the future.”

The prefect said to him: “Then shall we, the most invincible rulers, possess everlasting grief, while you, the vilest persons, possess perpetual joy?”

[Running head: Chapter Six, Folio 229.]

Valerianus [i.e., Valerian] answered him: “You are little men, not rulers, born in our time and soon destined to die, and you will have to render a greater account than everyone else.”

The prefect said: “Why do we linger in a circuit of words? Offer libations to the gods and depart unharmed.”

The saints answered: “We offer sacrifice to God every day.”

The prefect asked them, “What is his name?”

Valerianus [i.e., Valerian] answered him: “You will not be able to discover his name even if you fly with wings.”

The prefect said: “Then is Jupiter not the name of a god?”

Valerianus [i.e., Valerian] answered him: “It is the name of a murderer and a rapist.”

The prefect said: “Does the whole world therefore err, while you and your brother know the true God?”

Valerianus [i.e., Valerian] answered: “We are not alone, but an innumerable multitude has received this holiness.”

The saints were therefore handed over to the custody of Maximus. He said to them: “O purple flower of youth! O genuine affection of brotherhood! How do you hasten toward death as though to a feast?”

Valerianus [i.e., Valerian] told him that, if he promised to believe, he would see the glory of their souls after death.

Maximus answered him: “May I be consumed by fiery thunderbolts if I do not confess the one God whom you worship, if what you say comes to pass.”

Maximus himself, his whole household, and all the executioners believed and received baptism from Saint Urbanus [i.e., Urban], who came there secretly.

When dawn put an end to the night, Cecilia cried: “Come, soldiers of Christ! Cast away the works of darkness and put on the armor of light.”

The saints Tyburcius [i.e., Tiburtius] and Valerianus [i.e., Valerian] were then led to the statue of Jupiter at the fourth milestone from the city. When they refused to sacrifice, they were beheaded together.

Maximus then affirmed with an oath that at the hour of their suffering he had seen shining angels and the martyrs’ souls coming forth like virgins from a bridal chamber, and that the angels carried those souls into their bosom.

When Almachius heard that Maximus had become a Christian, he ordered him beaten with lead-weighted scourges until he returned his spirit to God. Cecilia ordered his body buried beside Tyburcius [i.e., Tiburtius] and Valerianus [i.e., Valerian].

Almachius then began to inquire into the property of the two men. He ordered Cecilia to stand before him as Valerianus [i.e., Valerian]’s wife, commanding her either to sacrifice to the idols or receive a sentence of death.

When her young kinsmen pressed her toward sacrifice with their persuasions and wept bitterly because so beautiful and noble a girl was willingly handing herself over to death, she said to them: “Good young men, this is not to destroy youth but to exchange it: to give mud and receive gold, to give a worthless dwelling and receive a precious one,” and so forth.

Concluding, she asked: “Do you believe these things that I say?”

They answered: “We believe that Christ is the true God, for he possesses such a servant.”

When Bishop Urbanus [i.e., Urban] had been summoned, four hundred and more were baptized.

Almachius caused Cecilia to be brought before him. When she answered his questions boldly and confounded the prefect, he said: “Do you not know how great my power is?”

Cecilia answered: “Your power is like a wineskin filled with wind. If a needle pricks it, all its stiffness at once grows pale, and whatever rigidity it seems to possess bends. But because we know God’s holy name, we can by no means deny it. It is better to die happily than to live unhappily.”

Almachius asked, “Why do you speak with such great pride?”

She answered, “It is not pride but constancy.”

Almachius said: “Now put away your madness and sacrifice to the gods.”

Cecilia answered him: “I do not know where you have put your eyes. For we see that those whom you call gods are mute stones. Put forth your hand and learn by touching what you are unable to see with your eyes.”

The enraged Almachius then ordered her returned to her house, where he commanded her to be burned for a whole day and night in a boiling bath. She remained as though in a cold place and did not feel even the least sweat.

When Almachius heard this, he ordered her beheaded in the bath itself. The executioner struck her neck with three blows but was unable to cut off her head. Because it had been decreed that a person being beheaded should not receive a fourth blow, the bloodied executioner left her half alive.

She survived for three days, distributed all her possessions to the poor, and commended to Bishop Urbanus [i.e., Urban] all those whom she had converted to the faith, saying: “I asked the Lord for a reprieve of three days so that I might commend these people to Your Blessedness and so that you might consecrate this house of mine as a church.”

Saint Urbanus [i.e., Urban] therefore buried her, crowned with martyrdom, among the bishops and consecrated her house as a church, as she had requested. She suffered around the year of the Lord 220, in the time of Emperor Alexander.

§ XVII: Saint Martina

In the time of the same Emperor Alexander, as Vincent reports in Book Twelve, Chapter Twenty-Seven of the *Historical Mirror*, there was a holy virgin named Martina. A noblewoman born at Rome from the splendid order of senators, she was instructed from infancy in the mysteries of Holy Scripture and adorned with every virtue. Possessing many estates and riches, she distributed them generously to the poor.

When she was brought as a believer before Emperor Alexander, who was persecuting the Christians, he saw that she was exceedingly beautiful and burned with love for her. He therefore invited her to worship the gods so that she might preside over the palace and become his partner in the empire.

Martina answered that she had offered herself to the true God, who delights in a pure heart and a chaste body.

When she was brought into the temple of Apollo, her prayer caused all Rome to be shaken by an earthquake. Apollo was shattered, and a falling quarter of the temple crushed a multitude of pagans with their priests.

Martina said to the emperor: “Help your god, who has been shattered.”

Then the demon, rolling himself in the idol’s dust, cried: “O Martina, virgin of God and servant of the great God, by casting me from the dwelling in which I have remained for ninety-eight years, you have displayed me in a hideous state. I had 472 spirits beneath me, who daily offered many souls to me, but now you hand me over to the *tardarico* [read: *tartarico*, Tartarean] fire.” When the demon himself departed, the air wherever he passed was exceedingly foul.

The virgin was then ordered beaten, but the eight executioners cried that she was tormenting them more. They asserted that they saw four most splendid men threatening them with blows.

The virgin therefore prayed to God for those same eight torturers and converted them to the faith when light poured from heaven over them together with this voice: “Because of the prayer of my servant, I spare you.”

Converted to Christ, they refused the emperor’s command to sacrifice to the idols. After being suspended on the rack and then lacerated over their whole bodies, they were beheaded for Christ.

On the following day the emperor caused Martina to be brought before him, stripped, and her flesh cut with swords. Yet she appeared white as snow, and a radiance proceeding from her body dazzled the eyes of those who looked upon her.

[Running head: Seventh Title.]

Seventh Title: On the Reign of Vespasian

Chapter Six (continued)

§ XVII: Saint Martina (continued)

Milk also flowed from her wounds instead of blood. Those who struck her said, complaining, that the angels struck them in return and that they were being burned as though by fire.

On the following morning Limineus, a relative of the emperor, was sent to bring her forth. He was filled with a most pleasant fragrance. Opening the prison, he saw her surrounded by an immense light. Falling to the ground from fear and scarcely rising again, he saw her seated upon a glorious throne and a multitude of white-clad men around her. She herself held in her hand a golden tablet on which was written: “How greatly magnified are your works, O Lord! You have made all things in wisdom.”

Limineus reported these things to the emperor, but they attributed them all to magical art, saying that the virgin’s magic had deceived Limineus.

The virgin was led out of prison and commanded to sacrifice to the god Archemides. When she entered the temple, the demon who inhabited the idol cried: “Woe is me, because fire pursues me through the four corners of the temple!” When the virgin commanded him to move and come out shrieking, thunder immediately sounded with lightning. Fire also fell from heaven, burned the priests of the idols, and reduced the idol to ashes.

The virgin was then ordered stretched out as a destroyer of the temple. Her limbs were cut with swords, and the area around her breasts was handled with hooks. Since amid all these things she stood steadfast and glorified God, she was ordered handed over to beasts so that she might be scattered and die torn apart.

A most savage lion, which had not eaten for three days so that it might devour her more quickly, was released against her. Coming forth, it roared over her, displaying not terror but compassion. Caressing her with its face, it walked up to her, bent down, and kissed her feet.

She said: “You shine in your powers, O God, for I behold angels on my right and left glorifying the divinity.”

Seeing this, the emperor commanded the lion to be led back into its cage. Making a rush, it killed Eumenius, a relative of the king. Enraged because of this, the emperor ordered Martina thrown into a kindled fire. But rain descending from heaven extinguished

the fire and dispersed its flame by the wind, while the flame burned many of the bystanders. Thinking that the power of her magical practices resided in her hair, the emperor caused the hair of her head to be shaved.

Emperor Alexander caused her to be shut in the temple of the god Zeus. When they opened it after three days, they found her shining, with splendid men--that is, angels--beside her, and the god Zeus fallen and reduced to dust.

Finally, the emperor commanded that she be cast outside the city and her head cut off with a sword. A voice came from heaven, saying: “Because you have contended for my name, Virgin Martina, enter with all the saints into the kingdom of heaven.” At that voice the terrified executioners died.

Her body was honorably buried by the clergy and people on the Kalends of January, that is, January 1. When a great earthquake occurred, 2,300 people believed in Christ.

Eusebius says in the *Chronicles* that Emperor Alexander was killed during a military riot at maguntiam [i.e., Mainz]. This Emperor Alexander prohibited himself from being called lord, although he retained the title of emperor. He enacted no law unless twenty most learned men had first written down their carefully considered judgments.

He resolved to build a temple for Christ and receive him among the gods. It is also said that Hadrian had thought of this, for he commanded temples to be built without images in every city. But those who guarded the sacred rites prohibited him, asserting that through this everyone would become Christian.

Alexander maintained that it was safer for the commonwealth to have a bad emperor than to have bad counselors, because one bad man is often corrected by many good men, but the reverse does not occur.

Glodius albinus [i.e., Clodius; Albinus] was an extraordinary Caesar. While fasting he ate five hundred dried figs, one hundred Campanian peaches, ten Hostian *Belones* [read: *melones*, melons], and four hundred *Obscreas* [read: *ostreas*, oysters]. He abhorred sexual intercourse. He was most learned in agriculture, as is read in a certain chronicle.

§ XVIII: Pope Callistus and His Companions

In the year of the Lord 222, in the time of Emperor Alexander, the more elevated part of the city of Rome was burned by a divine fire. In the temple of Jupiter his golden left hand was melted.

The priests of the idols then came to Alexander, asking that the angry gods be appeased with sacrifices. While they were sacrificing at Alexander’s command, four priests of the idols were suddenly struck by lightning together with Jupiter’s altar, under a clear sky on Thursday morning. The day was darkened so that the Roman people fled outside the walls.

When the consul Palmatius heard that Pope Callistus was hiding with his clerics trans tyberim [i.e., across the Tiber], he asked the emperor that the Christians, on whose account this sign had come, should be compelled to purify the city. Having received authority, Palmatius hastened there with soldiers. But *militibus excecatus* [read: *militibus excecatis*, the soldiers having been blinded], the terrified Palmatius quickly reported this to Alexander.

The emperor then ordered all the people to assemble and sacrifice to Mercury. While this was being done, a temple virgin named Juliana, seized by a demon, cried: “The God of Callistus is living and true, and he is angered by our pollutions.”

Hearing this, Palmatius ran to Saint Callistus trans tyberim [i.e., across the Tiber], in the city of the Rauennatium [i.e., Ravennatians]. Prostrating himself before him and professing the truth, he requested baptism. Immediately baptized with his entire household and family, forty-two in number, he distributed all his possessions to the poor over the course of forty days.

Because of this, Alexander caused Palmatius to be presented to him and handed him over to Senator Simplicius, so that by treating him gently he might convert him, since Palmatius was very necessary to the commonwealth.

While Palmatius continually wept and prayed, a certain man named Felix came to him and asked him to pray for his paralyzed wife, promising that he would believe if Palmatius healed her. When Palmatius prayed, she was healed. Felix was baptized with her by Pope Callistus, and the miracle he witnessed converted Senator Simplicius himself to the faith.

When Alexander heard all these things, he ordered everyone who had been baptized to be beheaded. He ordered the priest Calepodius beheaded and cast into the Tiber, and the heads of those who had been beheaded suspended at every gate of the city to terrify the Christians.

Pope Callistus then fled with his clerics and hid in the house of Pontianus. After seeking and finding Calepodius’s body, he buried it honorably in his own cemetery.

When the emperor heard this, he caused Callistus to be brought before him and kept him for five days without food or drink. Seeing him still more comforted, he ordered him scourged every day and prohibited everyone from entering to him.

Callistus, however, was comforted when Saint Calepodius appeared to him. A private soldier who came to him was beaten with lead-weighted scourges to the point of death. Callistus himself was thrown from a window, bound to a stone, cast into a well, and rubble was heaped upon him.

[Running head: Chapter Six, Folio 230.]

Asterius, however, together with his clerics, raised Callistus's body from the well at night and buried it. Therefore the aforementioned priest Asterius was thrown from a bridge six days later and completed his martyrdom in the city of Hostia [i.e., Ostia].

This notable saying of Callistus is found in Distinction 50: "Let each person weigh his words, and let him not say to another what he does not wish to have said to himself. For we need time so that we may act more maturely. Let us not rush our counsels and deeds, nor corrupt their order. But if anyone has in any way fallen, let us bear with him and correct him with brotherly affection."

And below, at the end: "Brethren, flee not only from holding but even from hearing a judgment that forbids mercy, because mercy is greater than all burnt offerings and sacrifices."

§ XIX: Pope Urban and His Companions

Urban, a Roman nobleman, was noble by birth but nobler in holiness. A Christian from infancy and adorned with the virtue of abstinence and chastity, he adhered to Saint Pope Callistus while the persecution of Christians still raged cruelly.

Adorning the office of this dignity with the best pursuits of virtue, he suffered the confiscation of his possessions and was condemned many times after he was made pontiff and driven from the city. Secretly brought back by the faithful to the third milestone from the city, he continually preached to the peoples who gathered around him.

Meanwhile Alexander, the son of Mammaea, whose mother Origen had converted, began to reign. Compelled by his mother's entreaties, the emperor became merciful and mild toward Christians and did not inflict persecution upon the innocent. He indeed consented to this, but did not decree it by edicts.

Consequently Almachius the prefect, an enemy of every good, laid secret snares and publicly punished those who came forth. After he had beheaded Cecilia with many others and had ordered Saint Urban sought everywhere, Carpasius, one of his ministers, entered a certain cave. Finding Saint Urban praying with three priests and three deacons, he immediately presented them to Almachius.

When they refused the order to sacrifice to Jupiter, they were immediately dragged before the tribunal as murderers, as burners of the city, and as seducers of the commonwealth. After despising the idol, they were thrust back into prison. They encouraged one another in prison, and Christians came to them.

When morning came they were presented to the judge and handled with dreadful blows. When they could not be overcome, they were again consigned to prison. Three magnificent men of tribunician rank who came to them, together with two priests, were excellently comforted by Saint Urban.

Hearing Urban's words, the jailer Anolinus was moved and immediately asked to be baptized. Thus they kept vigil throughout the entire night and, when morning came, secretly departed to their own places.

When it was learned that Anolinus was a Christian, he was presented to Almachius with the saints. Immediately refusing to sacrifice, he was beheaded.

On the following night Almachius addressed Urban and the saints, promising that if they placed incense before Jupiter, they would be released and recover their liberty and possessions.

When they were led to the image and compelled to place incense before it, Saint Urban prayed. The image immediately fell, part of the temple collapsed, and twelve of the priests who tended the fire were killed.

Overcome by fear and anxiety, Almachius then ordered the saints led away with insults and mangled with the most grievous blows. While they were being seized in a beastly manner, the deacon Lucian passed to the Lord under the hands of those beating him. At the prefect's order his body remained unburied throughout the day until the priest Fortunatus buried it at night.

When Urban, received again into prison, ceaselessly urged his companions to perseverance, he was led out on the third day and compelled to sacrifice. Spitting upon the idol together, they were beaten most cruelly with lead-weighted scourges. At last, as they all stretched out their necks, they were slaughtered, and their bodies were exposed to beasts and birds.

Divine vengeance immediately followed Carpasius. As he returned from the slaughter of the saints and sacrificed to the idol like a victor, he was seized by a demon. Blaspheming his own gods and unwillingly preaching the Christians, he was suffocated a little later.

Seeing this, his wife Marmenia and her daughter Lucina approached the priests Fortunatus and Justinus and were baptized. They honorably buried Saint Urban, who had been beheaded with his companions in the year of the Lord 230.

§ XX: Saints Quiricus and Julitta; Ypolitus [i.e., Hippolytus], Berillus [i.e., Beryllus], and Ulpian

The history of Saints Quiricus and his mother Julitta is placed among the apocryphal writings in Distinction 15, "The Holy Roman Church," and will therefore be abridged.

Julitta, the mother of Quiricus, was born at Yconio [i.e., Iconium]. Fleeing persecution, she went to Tharsum [i.e., Tarsus], where she was induced to sacrifice to the gods. Placed in the contest, she was sorrowful over her little son Quiricus. Finally, when his mother disclosed him, the little child Quiricus was presented to the governor.

Although the governor admonished him with threats and flatteries to deny Christ, Quiricus regarded the flatterer just as he regarded the man who threatened him. In eloquent speech he professed himself a Christian and could not be torn from this profession.

The governor said to him: "I wish you to disclose to me who has been your teacher in this doctrine."

Quiricus answered: "I marvel at your foolishness, governor. You see so very tender an age in me, and one less suited to learning knowledge, yet you ask who taught me divine wisdom."

Filled with fury at this, the governor ordered the little child beaten most severely. But with his eyes and hands raised to heaven, he gave thanks to God. He said to the executioners, "I am a Christian." As often as he uttered the voice of this pious confession, so often the strength of his body was restored. His mother also strengthened her son with pious affection.

After many torments they were shut in prison and converted many people, all of whom were beheaded. After them, the mother and son were also beheaded. Their bodies were cut limb from limb and scattered so that they could not be buried, but an angel gathered them and Christians buried them.

Jerome says in *On Illustrious Men* that Bishop Ypolitus [i.e., Hippolytus], who wrote an account of Easter and a canon of the times down to the first year of Emperor Alexander, devised a cycle of sixteen years and gave Eusebius the occasion to compose a nineteen-year cycle concerning the same Easter. He is regarded as illustrious. He wrote several commentaries on certain books of Holy Scripture.

Berillus [i.e., Beryllus], a bishop in Arabia, governed the Church for some time but at last fell into a heresy asserting that Christ had not existed before Mary, namely with respect to his divinity. Corrected by Origen through letters, he gave him thanks.

Ulpian the jurist, a counselor of Alexander, was also regarded as most illustrious according to Eusebius in the *Chronicles*.

[Running head: Seventh Title.]

Seventh Title: On the Reign of Vespasian

Chapter Six (continued)

§ XXI: Origene [read: Origen] and His Teaching

There were differing opinions among the ancient doctors concerning Origene [read: Origen], who lived in those times, and his teaching. Some said that he was a heretic, while others praised him and excused him from the errors found in his books, namely by saying that his rivals and falsifiers inserted them into the books and that he himself did not hold such opinions.

Jerome says of him as follows in *On Illustrious Men*: "Origen, who is also called Adamantius, was left poor at about seventeen years of age with six brothers and a widowed mother when, in the tenth year of Severus Pertinax, a persecution was stirred against the Christians and his father Leonides was crowned with martyrdom.

"Remaining at Alexandria when the Church was dispersed, he flourished there for many years and afterward taught at Caesarea and other places. He was held in the highest honor by Philip, who was the first Christian emperor.

"Learning the Hebrew language, he gathered the versions of the Old Testament made by the Seventy, Aquila of Pontus, Theodotion, and Symmachus, together with a fifth, sixth, and seventh version, and *comparuit* [read: *comparauit*, compared them] with the other versions.

“He learned dialectic, geometry, arithmetic, music, grammar, rhetoric, and the schools of all the philosophers, so that he might have the followers of secular letters as students and, under the occasion of secular literature, instruct them in the faith of Christ.

“He lived until Gallus Volusianus emperor [read: until Gallus and Volusianus, emperors] and died at Tyri [read: Tyre] in the sixty-ninth year of his life.” Thus Jerome.

It is said in Martin’s chronicle that after the apostles Origenes [read: Origen] flourished above everyone in the Church of God in knowledge, eloquence, and life. He had seven young men and the same number of young women who wrote down from his mouth material for various books. He wrote so much that blessed Jerome relates that he had read seven thousand volumes produced by him.

There was a proverb about him that as his life was, so was his teaching. He never lay upon a bed, never put on shoes, never ate meat, and never drank wine, as is read in the *Ecclesiastical History*.

As Eusebius relates, when Origen as a boy heard that his father was to be beheaded in martyrdom, he was so disposed by the fervor of faith that he wished to join his father and become a martyr with him. But so that his mother would not be deprived of him, she secretly took away his clothes during the night. In the morning, because he could not find them, he was held back.

So that he might be able to preach everywhere without suspicion of evil, even privately and among women, he caused himself to be made a eunuch. Some praised this deed, while others detested it.

Haymo, however, in the book called *The Memory of Ecclesiastical Matters*, as Vincent reports in the *Historical Mirror*, says as follows after many praises of Origen:

“I cannot sufficiently marvel that so illustrious a man, who so openly opposed heretics, fell into so notorious a heresy and error: namely, that he explained the seraph in Isaiah, Chapter Six, as the Holy Spirit; that in another place he wrote about the repentance of the devil; that he wrote about the absolution of the reprobate after a thousand years; and that he wrote many other things opposed to the orthodox faith, especially when he possessed a most abstinent and chaste life and so splendid a teaching.

“For my part, with the faith of the Fathers preserved, I would say of him that he did not write these things at all, but that heretics, in order maliciously to darken his splendid name, devised and wrote them and placed his name in their titles. Or, if he did write them, he did not establish them as his judgment but discussed them as an opinion.

“For, as he himself says, he learned the teachings of the philosophers and heretics so that he would not be less skilled in refuting them if he were ignorant of their doctrines. Perhaps, when in certain places he touched upon their errors in his writing, he was falsely accused of saying them on his own authority.

“Even if, as some hold, he wrote those heresies as his own judgment, one should feel great compassion for a man of so learned a mind, who supplied so great an abundance of learning. Of him the Fathers said: ‘Where he wrote well, no one wrote better.’

“I think that whatever Origen stated in error and wrote against the orthodox faith happened to him because in his excessive devotion to reading he embraced the philosophers. For he had touched upon and fully mastered the school of Plato and pittagore [read: Pythagoras], together with the volumes of the Stoic cheremonis [read: Chaeremon] and Cornutus and those of the other philosophers.

“Perhaps because he lingered too much among them and drank too long from Babilonis [read: Babylon’s] golden cup, he was in a certain way compelled to pour some of its dregs into Holy Scripture. Ecclesiastical men must therefore take great and diligent care not to devote themselves too much to philosophical studies, lest, when they have become drunk from their empty cups and swollen with proud ideas, they be recalled with greater difficulty to the humility of Christ after drawing back their foot, and assent more slowly to the faith once they have been taught contrary things.

“In saying this we do not condemn students of the arts or the arts themselves, for they are themselves read not without profit in order to unravel profound questions of theology and examine their arguments. Theology herself is mistress of the arts, and the others serve her as attendants.” Thus Haymo.

In the Decrees, Distinction 15, “The Holy Roman Church,” where Gelasius sets out the books approved by the Church, those rejected, and also those that are apocryphal, only those of Origen’s books that Jerome approves are approved. The others are condemned together with their author.

Eusebius is also reproved there in his *Ecclesiastical History* because he commended Origen too highly. In Cause 24, Question 3, the penultimate canon, where the heresies that arose in the Church are described, the heresy of Origen and his followers is included. They say that souls sinned at the beginning of the world, fell from heaven to earth according to the diversity of their sins, merited different bodies, and that the world was created for this reason.

Although a little book entitled *On Origen's Repentance*, sent by him to Fabian, bishop of the city, is found, in which he laments his errors, and which Vincent includes in Book Twelve, Chapter Fourteen of the *Historical Mirror*, that book is nevertheless placed among the apocryphal writings in the aforementioned canon "The Holy Roman Church"; that is, its truth is doubtful.

In Cause 24, Question 2, the canon "Certainly," it is said that Origen was anathematized after his death because of heresy. Jerome likewise says of him to pamachium [read: Pammachius]: "Origen held an evil opinion concerning the Son and a worse one concerning the Holy Spirit. He impiously advanced the fall of souls from heaven, denied the true resurrection of the flesh, and asserted that after many ages there would be one restoration of all things." Saint Epiphanius also declares him a heretic.

Concerning true repentance and the cause of its failure, Adamantius, who according to Jerome is Origen himself, says as follows upon Leviticus. This is also found in *On Penance*, Distinction 3, the canon "Among These, First":

"Not to sin belongs to God alone; to correct oneself belongs to the wise. But you will rarely find one who corrects himself. Confession of sin is rare, and repentance is rare. Nature and shame resist, because all flesh is liable to guilt.

"Whoever is ashamed to confess sin, while considering present things more than future things, Moses--who is a figure of God--wishes to find a soul empty of sin. But an irrational impulse comes first."

[Running head: Chapter Seven, Folio 231.]

"The flame of a most rapid movement feeds upon the soul and burns away its innocence. Present things outweigh future things: pleasant things outweigh serious things, joyful things outweigh sorrowful things, and hasty things outweigh slower things. Swift iniquity suggests an opportunity to do harm. Slow and delaying virtue judges what is honorable before it begins; iniquity rushes everything headlong.

"Repentance is therefore sluggish and ashamed, because it is restrained by the shame of the prudent. It attends only to future things, whose appearance is late and whose fruit comes more slowly. Meanwhile shamelessness runs ahead; repentance is excluded by hope in present things, and its disposition is burned and abolished."

And below: "Therefore, whoever wishes to be cleansed should remove strange fire. Strange fire is lust, avarice, and every depraved desire. This fire burns but does not cleanse.

"If those in whom it exists offer sacraments in the sight of the Lord, whether by ministering or receiving them, heavenly fire consumes them--that is, the vengeance and punishment of God--just as it consumed Nadab and abiū [read: Abihu], the sons of Aaron.

"But let the person who wishes to be cleansed offer himself to that fire which burns guilt, not the human being. This fire dried the flowing blood of the woman with the hemorrhage. This fire dried the guilt of the thief. For it is a consuming fire, namely one that heals those who confess simply and purely." Thus he speaks there.

Likewise, concerning avoiding and guarding against the company of women and preserving chastity, especially among clerics, he says as follows in a certain little book, as Vincent reports in Book Twelve of the *Historical Mirror*:

"Because some among us have fallen into disgrace through living with women, the Lord, reproving a wretched man [read: wretched me] with severity through a revelation because of your negligence, commanded that clerics should not dwell with women.

"Certainly, the man who strives to cross where he has seen another fall is exceedingly rash, and the man into whom fear is not struck when another perishes is exceedingly weak. But the person who becomes cautious because of the fall of others is prudent.

"That is an adverse confidence which knowingly entrusts its life to dangers, and that hope is slippery which hopes to be saved among the kindling of sin. It is impossible to be surrounded by flames and not burn. It is difficult for someone to drink poison and live, or to sleep upon a riverbank and not fall.

"In this matter it is expedient to fear well rather than to trust badly. It is more useful for a person to recognize himself as weak so that he may prove strong than to wish to appear strong outwardly and emerge weak.

"A person who does not see riches suffers fewer troubles from avarice. The person joined to a woman is subject to temptations, in whom there is nothing except what wounds the one who draws near. The form of a woman has become the sting of sin.

"How many and what great bishops, clerics, and laymen, after contests of victories, after great deeds, and after every marvelous sign they are known to have displayed, have suffered shipwreck with all these things when they wished to sail in a fragile ship! How many lions has delicate weakness subdued! Although she is worthless and wretched, she makes great men her prey.

"O how the disorderly proximity of a woman hurls! Sparks leap from coals; asps hiss diseases, and a moth proceeds from clothing.

“The person who guards the good of chastity inwardly with a laborious struggle but causes it to be defamed outwardly does so in vain. The one who does not fulfill before everyone what he professes brings blasphemy upon the religion he has adopted, lest Christianity be believed to be a deception.

“A woman’s glance, suddenly and unexpectedly encountered, casts arrows into another’s eyes. It is more tolerable to hear a basilisk hissing than a woman singing. Every unsuitable *odalitas* [read: *sodalitas*, companionship] with women is glue for sins and poisoned birdlime with which the devil hunts.

“As though to passing women, access should be offered in a somewhat fleeting manner [read: access to women should be offered in passing, in a somewhat fleeting manner]. But such is always the unbelief of human hardness that it does not believe, either by hearing these things or even by seeing, that others have perished unless it sees itself perish too.

“Why do we marvel if Adam was seduced through Eve? No examples of those who had died preceded him, but one command alone constrained him, whereas neither innumerable deaths nor infinite commands restrain us.

“Nevertheless, I tell you: chastity or virginity is the fortification of holiness, the conquest of infamy, the weakness of wantonness, the victory of the soul, the prey of the body, an abundance of glories, the captivity of crimes, the abolition of scandals, the peace of virtues, the overthrow of restless wars, the summit of purity, the prison of lust, the harbor of honor, the life of the spirit, the death of the flesh, the state of angelic quality, and the honeycomb of human substance.” Thus Origen.

As the same Vincent testifies in the place cited above, although Origen erred in many things, as has been said, because he nevertheless left many excellent and useful writings, the Church received certain of them--namely those that blessed Jerome does not reject, as is clear in Distinction 15, “The Holy Roman Church.”

He wrote many homilies on the Pentateuch; very many homilies on Joshua and the Book of Judges according to the moral sense; three books on the beginning of Job; many homilies on Psalms 36, 37, and 38; three books and two homilies on the beginning of the Song of Songs; nine homilies on the prophet Isaiah; fourteen homilies on Jeremiah; fourteen homilies on Ezekiel; twenty-six books on Matthew; thirty-eight homilies on Luke; one treatise on the beginning of John; and ten books on the Epistle to the Romans.

He also wrote the books *per hyarchon* [read: *Peri Archon*], in which his heresies are especially found. As Epiphanius says: “If many heresies have been cast out of the Church because of one or two words contrary to the faith, how much more will Origen be regarded among the heretics, who devised so many perversities against the faith of God and proved an enemy of the Church?”

Chapter Seven

Returning to the history of the Roman Empire: Maximinus invaded the Roman Empire by fraud. He was the first man from the military body to be elected emperor by the army without the senate’s authority. According to Eusebius in the *Chronicles*, he began to reign in the year of the Lord 237 [read: 235] and reigned for three years. He stirred up a persecution against the Christians.

According to Hugh of Fleury, he had three names: Maximinus, Maximus, and Julius. He was killed at Aquileia by the tyrant Pupeianus [read: Pupienus], thus bringing both his persecution and his life to an end.

Pupeianus [read: Pupienus] and Balbinus soon *usurpauit* [read: *usurpauerunt*, usurped] the Roman Empire for themselves, but they were immediately killed in the palace. Gordian succeeded them in the year of the Lord 240 [read: 238], according to Eusebius in the *Chronicles*, and reigned for six years.

When Gordian was killed through the treachery of Philip the praetorian, Philip himself succeeded to the empire with his son Philip. He was the first Christian among the emperors, and according to Eusebius in the *Chronicles*, they reigned for seven years.

James of Colonna, however, writes more broadly about these men in his history.

[Running head: Seventh Title.]

Seventh Title: On the Reign of Vespasian

Chapter Seven (continued)

Concerning Maximinus, who killed Alexander, James of Colonna says that he was born of barbarian parents. As a young man he came to Rome, and, being found conspicuous in arms, he began to gain a name among the soldiers. He was conspicuous in bodily form, renowned for courage, manly and handsome, but savage and harsh in character. He was often exceedingly greedy for food, desirous of wine, and a very great drinker.

After he had served for some time under Emperor Alexander, Alexander placed him over the entire army. But Maximinus, as a most ungrateful man, procured the death of the one who had promoted him to this dignity. He also made his son, likewise named Maximinus, a partner with him in the empire.

Entering Germany beyond the Rhine, he devastated everything with slaughter and fire, took great spoils from the barbarians, and penetrated by slaughter as far as the extremities of Germany, killing a great number of them.

After Germany had been pacified, he came to *Smirmum* [read: *Sirmium*] and determined to make war upon the Sarmatians. He fought many battles with the Sarmatian nation and always emerged victorious.

Yet amid these military virtues, for which he seemed deservedly commendable, he was so cruel and inhuman that he defiled his military glory with savagery and cruelty. For he was firmly persuaded that he could neither hold nor secure the empire for himself except through cruelty.

He killed some men by driving them upon crosses. He ordered others enclosed alive inside newly killed animals and consumed by worms. He exposed others to be torn apart by beasts, and killed others with clubs until they breathed out their souls, doing all these things without regard for rank. There was no crueler animal upon the earth.

He killed friends who, from compassion, had contributed something to him during the time when he was poor. Moreover, to conceal his cruelty, he destroyed everyone of his family who knew about it. He allowed no nobleman around him, and therefore killed all Alexander's ministers with various torments. Next, without distinction, he removed consular men and commanders by various deaths. Finally, he left undone nothing that seemed to serve cruelty.

When reports of his savagery and cruel deeds reached Rome, the people became so afraid that public vows were made in the temples that he might never return to Rome. The senate and Roman people likewise agreed to drive so savage a beast from their necks. Sending different messengers through the provinces, they prepared not only a revolt but armies against him.

In Africa the armies stationed there, by the common wish of everyone, proclaimed emperor a certain Gordian, one of the Roman commanders. He was a most noble man but already advanced in age, and governed Africa with proconsular authority. They did this although he resisted.

He immediately wrote to the senate concerning his rule, indicating that he wished nothing in the matter except insofar as it pleased them. The senate gladly received these letters and called him emperor and Augustus, while judging Maximinus and his son enemies of the empire. They wrote throughout the provinces that the people should favor Gordian as prince of the Roman commonwealth and act against Maximinus.

At Rome and throughout Italy, all the friends, commanders, and officials of Maximinus were killed by common consent. Moreover, the boy Gordian, who was at Rome and was the grandson of Gordian through his daughter, was called Caesar by the senate and people.

When Maximinus, still stationed in Germany, heard these things, his naturally savage disposition became so inflamed that he seemed not a human being but a beast. Consumed by anger, he threw himself against the walls and sometimes cast himself to the ground. He shouted incoherently, repeatedly seized his sword as though he could kill the senate, tore his own clothing, and struck those who met him with blows and fists.

Finally, after holding counsel with his men and giving his soldiers an enormous stipend, he hastened with a great army, full of fury, against the Romans.

While Maximinus was transporting his army into Italy, a certain Capellianus, who governed Mauretania with proconsular authority, gathered a multitude of Moors and Africans together with the garrisons of the Italians. He advanced toward Carthage against the Gordians, the father and son.

When the elder Gordian, who had already prepared to transport his army into Italy, heard this, he determined to try the fortune of war. He therefore sent the forces he had with him against Capellianus. When battle was joined, the younger Gordian was defeated and killed while fleeing from his pursuers, and a great part of his army was captured or slain.

When the elder Gordian, namely the father of the aforementioned man, learned this, and could hope for no protection among the Africans, he wrung his life from himself with a noose. Capellianus, victorious, killed or proscribed all the forces of the Gordians in Africa. When Maximinus heard of Capellianus's victory, he conceived hope of retaining the empire even against the senate's will.

At Rome, however, when the death of the two Gordians was heard, the whole senate, terrified by overwhelming fear, assembled in the temple of Concord and began to deliberate about various matters, and especially whom they should oppose to the approaching Maximinus.

After they had spent a long time on this, one of the senators, whose was the right of speaking first, burst forth in these words: "Since Maximinus, whom you previously declared an enemy with me, threatens our necks, and since the two Gordians, who

afforded us some protection, have been killed, after whose death we now have no aid by which we may draw breath, act therefore, Conscript Fathers, and name a prince. Why do you delay?"

After he finished speaking, *Becius* [read: *Vectius*] Sabinus, of the family of the *vulpiorum* [read: *Ulpiorum*], delivered this speech in the senate:

"I know, Conscript Fathers, that in revolutionary circumstances this disposition is accustomed to be present: counsels must be seized, not sought, and, when circumstances press, one must abstain from many opinions.

"Let each person look to his own neck, and think of his wife and children and of his ancestral and paternal fortunes, over all of which Maximinus threatens. Furious by nature, savage and monstrous, with a cause that seems sufficiently just to him, he marches toward the city in a square formation, while you waste the day sitting in deliberation.

"There is no need of a long speech. An emperor must be made--indeed, princes must be made: one to care for domestic affairs in the city and remain there, the other to go with an army to meet Maximinus.

"I shall name the princes; you approve them if it pleases you, or, if not, present better men. I name Maximus Pupienus and Balbinus princes of the commonwealth. One is so great in military affairs that the splendor of his courage compensates for the nobility of birth; the other is so distinguished by nobility of birth, gentleness of character, and holiness of life that he seems to have been given to us by God for the preservation of our commonwealth. You have our judgment, Conscript Fathers."

When this had been said, everyone acclaimed with one consent: "Maximus and Balbinus, Augusti, may the gods preserve you!"

[Running head: Chapter Two, Folio 232.]

After this, at the people's demand, the boy Gordian was called emperor and Caesar by them.

The father of this Maximus, as some say, practiced the blacksmith's art. Maximus himself, however, devoted his whole life to military service and zealously pursued severity. Afterward, when his merits commended him, he attained the prefecture of the city. He exercised this office both prudently and with the greatest severity, and finally, as has been said, came to the empire.

In character he was indeed savage, yet just. Although some regarded him as severe, he was never inhuman in the outcomes of affairs. When asked, he always pardoned and did not become angry when anger was unfitting. Nevertheless, he was so stern that he received the surname "the Gloomy," and he was always exceedingly grave in countenance. He was greedy for food but most sparing of wine. He was greatly loved by the senate and people, but he was also feared by the populace, for everyone knew his censorial prefecture.

Balbinus, the other emperor, had been consul and governed various provinces with proconsular dignity--namely Africa, Asia, Pontus, the Gauls, and others. He governed all of them with marvelous gentleness and the love of everyone, but was weaker in military affairs. He also possessed a venerable countenance, was renowned for eloquence, and was an outstanding poet.

When these two had attained the empire by the senate's consent, Maximus, as the man more suited to this war, set out to fight Maximinus. The senate sent messengers to every province, ordering them to bring him aid against Maximinus and, conversely, to regard as an enemy anyone who assisted Maximinus in any way.

When Maximinus heard this, he entered Italy still more fiercely because of the senate's hatred for him. But as the soldiers ranged about, they found no provisions, for these had been safeguarded and stored in more strongly fortified places. The army of Maximinus began to be driven by hunger, and no small murmuring arose because the soldiers had believed that the army would be refreshed in Italy after crossing the Alps.

Nevertheless, Maximinus besieged Aquileia, the first of the cities of Italy to meet him. The inhabitants defended themselves with all their strength, though they remained doubtful about the outcome. Maximinus sent envoys into the city urging surrender, and the people had now almost consented. But *Monophilus* [read: *Menophilus*], a man of consular rank who had undertaken to govern the city by the senate's command, opposed them. He said that the god *Bellenum* [read: *Belenum*] had answered him through soothsayers that Maximinus must be defeated.

Induced by this hope, the citizens prepared to resist and devoted even their lives to the safety of their homeland.

When Maximinus saw that the siege was being prolonged, he killed many of his own men, attributing the delay to their sluggishness. By this deed he strongly stirred many of his soldiers against him. A sedition and tumult arose, and they killed Maximinus and his son as they remained in their tent.

They cut off their heads, fixed them upon lances, and showed them to the people of Aquileia. Although the people had at first doubted, once made certain of the event they opened the gates to the army. Entering, the soldiers, according to Roman custom, swore allegiance to the emperors and adored their images.

Maximus, who was preparing for war near Ravenna, hastened toward Rome without interruption when he learned of the death of Maximinus and his son. But a messenger sent by the people of Aquileia preceded him, hastening with such speed by changing animals that he reached Rome on the fourth day.

Since it was a day of public games, the letters were read in public. When the games had been dismissed because of this event, the senate decreed supplications throughout the whole city and in every temple.

Two days later Emperor Maximus arrived with the praetorian army. Balbinus, himself also emperor, received him together with the boy Gordian and the whole senate with great rejoicing.

The two princes Maximus and Balbinus therefore governed the people with great moderation, enacted excellent laws, showed the greatest deference to the senate, and arranged military affairs most prudently.

But when they were now preparing to make war upon the Parthians, Maximus was to be sent for this purpose by a decree of the senate, and Balbinus against the Germans who were said to be harassing the Gauls. Yet serious disagreements arose between them, though silently, so that they were understood rather than seen. Maximus despised Balbinus as *in bellum* [read: *imbellem*, unwarlike], lax, and occupied only with pleasures, while Balbinus looked down upon Maximus as a man of low birth.

The soldiers hated them because they had been elected emperors not by the army but by the senate. Seizing an opportunity from their disagreement, they killed them in the palace.

These emperors, excellent in their character and deeds, met this unworthy end. In that age no one was braver than Maximus Pupienus and no one kinder than Balbinus, but their disagreement was no small cause [supplied: of their ruin]. They reigned for one year.

Other chroniclers relate their history briefly. They did little or nothing notable, and therefore nothing more is said of them.

According to Hugh of Fleury, Julius Africanus, a man most renowned among ecclesiastical writers, flourished at that time, as did Theopompus the historian, whose histories Justin the Martyr [read: Justin the historian] abridged; Victor the sophist at Athens; and Porphyry the philosopher. I do not know whether this last man was the one who composed the *Predicables* or that Porphyry who, in the time of Constantine, apostatized from the faith and became an enemy of the Christians.

§ I: Gordian

After Maximinus and his son had been killed at Aquileia and the emperors Maximus and Balbinus at Rome, the young Gordian, who had previously been called Caesar, was, with everyone's favor, made Augustus and emperor by the senate's judgment. He reigned for six years.

He was a joyful, handsome, lovable young man, pleasing to everyone and, considering his age, most learned in letters, so that nothing at all except age was lacking for his rule. He was loved by the senate, the soldiers, and the people. After he alone obtained the empire, peace between the soldiers and the people was strengthened. A little earlier there had been so great a sedition between them that they came to internal and civil war, and a great part of the city was burned.

While Gordian thus reigned peacefully at Rome with everyone's approval, certain men in Africa, despising him and his age, attempted under the leadership of Sabinianus to take away his empire. Gordian immediately compelled Sabinianus to die after having him besieged through the governor of Mauretania.

When this conspiracy had been suppressed, Gordian married the daughter of Misicheus, a most illustrious man. Misicheus was most learned in every branch of literature, renowned for eloquence, conspicuous in prudence, and venerable to everyone.

As soon as Gordian married his daughter, he appointed Misicheus prefect of the praetorian guard. Once this was done, the empire no longer seemed childish, for by obeying the excellent counsels of his father-in-law, Emperor Gordian could not go astray.

[Running head: Seventh Title.]

Seventh Title: On the Reign of Vespasian

Chapter Seven (continued)

§ I: Gordian (continued)

Previously, because he was a gentle boy, Gordian was easily deceived in governing by castrated men and eunuchs. Flattering the boy, these men sold every office and promoted unworthy men to them. But after Gordian began to assent to the words of that excellent man Misicheus, all public and private affairs were changed for the better, as is clearly apparent from their letters.

Misicheus is found to have written to him as follows:

“To the lord and son Gordian Augustus, Misicheus, father-in-law and prefect, sends greetings.

“We have escaped the grievous stain upon our times that came through those castrated men who seemed to be friends but were vehement enemies, who sold everything for pleasure. Thus it is sufficiently clear that, if any faults existed, they were not yours, my son.

“No one could bear the superintendencies, prefectures, governorships, consulships, and other offices of the Roman commonwealth that were granted through the eunuchs’ support. Moreover, at their suggestion rewards were denied to labors, and men who should not have been were either killed or freed through lust and payment.

“The treasury was emptied by those who approached you most treacherously in order to deceive you, and they suggested that you drive away good men and retain the wicked. Thanks therefore be to God that by his will the commonwealth has been corrected.”

Gordian answered him as follows:

“Gordian, emperor and Augustus, to Misicheus, father and prefect, sends greetings.

“Unless the almighty gods protected the Roman Empire, even now we would be sold through purchased eunuchs, as though placed beneath the auction spear. Finally, only now, to confess the truth, do I recognize that many things I did ought not to have been done.

“But let us give thanks to the gods that, through your instruction--you who sell nothing and report to us those things that, shut in by the castrated men, I could not know.

“My father, I wish you to hear the truth: wretched is the emperor from whom true things are concealed. Since he himself cannot walk about in public, he must hear reports or confirm what he hears after it has been corroborated by several people.”

So powerful were the gravity and holiness of Misicheus that he made the boy Gordian an illustrious prince, rendered him lovable to his own people, and made him formidable to his enemies.

Meanwhile Gordian, now powerful in counsel and military preparation, declared war on the Persians and Parthians and set out for the East with great preparations for war. He led so great forces of Romans, Italians, and others--forces-- that, in the first conflict fought between *trachiam* [read: Thrace] and *mesiam* [read: Moesia], he destroyed, routed, and drove away every enemy there.

From there he came by ship into Syria and besieged Antioch, which was held under Parthian occupation. While he remained there, fighting frequent and serious battles, he defeated and put to flight Sapor, king of the Persians, who had come with innumerable forces to lift the siege.

Not long afterward, when Gordian had recovered Antioch, he crossed the Euphrates with his victorious army and invaded the Parthians within their kingdoms. After storming many of their fortifications, he fought a most difficult battle with their king *artharxerse* [read: Artaxerxes], defeated him, and put him to flight.

Possessing these victories, Gordian struck such fear into the Parthians, Persians, and the other eastern nations that they voluntarily withdrew their garrisons from all the cities they had occupied, returned all the plunder they had taken from the Romans, and were pursued by him into the innermost parts of Parthia.

But this happiness could not endure long, for Misicheus, by Philip’s contrivances--or, as others hold, from natural disease--died. He had possessed such reverence that he was both loved and feared by all the commanders, tribunes, centurions, and soldiers.

In the place of this one, the man having died [perhaps read: After his death], a certain Philip, an Arab by nationality, born from a humble family and proud in character, was made prefect of the praetorian guard. Immediately ungrateful to his lord, who had advanced him to that office, he began to plot against him and consider how he might take the empire from him.

Being a deceitful and cunning man, Philip accomplished through his arts that the ships carrying provisions from Egypt and Italy should seek another place instead of the port at which they were supposed to land near the army. He then led the army into places where the soldiers could not be provisioned.

For this reason sedition and clamor began to arise in the army, although the soldiers did not understand that Philip had deceived Gordian. Philip then began, through certain commanders whom he had won to himself with gifts, to spread throughout the army

that Gordian was a young man less fit to govern the empire. They should seek another man who both could and knew how to assist soldiers already suffering from hunger in so great a crisis.

It came to pass that Philip was now openly called to the empire. Although the friends and supporters of Gordian sometimes resisted this, in the end, under the compulsion of want, the army entrusted the empire to Philip. It was commanded that, as Gordian's guardian, he should rule together with him as his equal.

After Philip undertook the care of the empire, he began to act with the greatest arrogance toward Gordian. Gordian knew that he himself had been born from a most noble family and could no longer endure the pride of an ignoble man. Hoping to cast Philip down from the empire, he summoned part of the army and complained about Philip's pride, but the soldiers wished Philip to be preferred over him.

After a few days, seeing that Philip had surrounded him and perceiving that he lacked the strength to resist, Gordian asked at least that they should possess equal rule. He did not obtain it. Next, he asked to be regarded at least in the position of Caesar, but did not secure this either. Finally, he asked to exercise the office of prefect, and this was denied.

At last he asked to hold the position of commander in the army and to be permitted to live. Philip had almost consented to this, but, reconsidering the senate's and people's affection for Gordian and fearing that the empire might be restored to himself [read: to Gordian], he suddenly ordered his men to seize Gordian and kill him secretly. He usurped the empire for himself alone.

§ II: Maximinus's Persecution and the Roman Pontiffs

Maximinus, who succeeded Alexander, as Hugh of Fleury says, stirred up a persecution against the clerics and priests because of the Christian household of Alexander, whom he had succeeded, and of Alexander's mother Mammaea. Hence at Rome Pope Pontian, who had succeeded Urban, was crowned with martyrdom.

Vincent says in the *Historical Mirror*, however, that it is read in the deeds of the Roman pontiffs that Pope Pontian died on the same island after being afflicted, wasted away, and beaten with clubs. Antheros was ordained in his place. Blessed Fabian afterward brought him [read: Pontian's body] with the clergy by ship to the city and buried him in the cemetery of *calixti* [read: Callistus].

Nothing is said concerning the aforementioned Pope Cyriacus, who is mentioned in the legend of blessed Ursula and who, according to Martin's chronicle, is said to have lived between Antheros and Pontian. He is also said to have suffered martyrdom with those eleven thousand virgins near Cologne at the hands of unbelievers, joining them with other bishops.

[Running head: Chapter Seven, Folio 233.]

Antheros was a Greek by nationality, held the chair for twelve years, and was crowned with martyrdom. The statement in that legend that Cyriacus substituted Antheros for himself in the papacy seems to mean that, when he himself renounced it, he advised those to whom the election belonged to elect Antheros as a holy man. This was done.

It should be noted that, although the Church solemnly celebrates the martyrdom of Saint Ursula with eleven thousand virgins and very many of their bodies are held at Cologne, it is not clearly established when they suffered martyrdom or under which emperor.

Some say that it was in these times, namely around the year of the Lord 237. They are moved by the fact that Antheros, who is said to have succeeded Pope Cyriacus when Cyriacus went to Cologne with those virgins and was martyred there with them, lived in that time. But it is remarkable that nothing is said about Cyriacus in the catalogue of pontiffs.

Others are moved by the fact that the Huns, by whom the virgins are said to have suffered, were persecuting Christians around those times, namely in the year of the Lord 370 or thereabouts. But nothing is said of a Pope Cyriacus as living in those times. Their martyrdom must nevertheless be believed without doubt, and the rest left to God.

§ III: The Two Philips

Philip, the twenty-fourth emperor of the Romans, therefore reigned and made his son Philip a partner in the empire. They were both Christians and were the first Christian emperors.

During their rule the first thousandth year from the founding of the city was completed. Rome began to be built by Romulus in the time of Ahaz or Hezekiah, kings of Judah, according to Augustine's *City of God*. Because of this solemnity the Gentiles offered many sacrifices to the gods, and many theatrical games were held for three days and nights.

When Emperor Philip, now a Christian, wished to attend the vigils of Easter and receive communion, Pope Fabian resisted him, as Haymo says, and did not permit him to do so until he confessed his sins and stood among the penitents.

The two Philips began to reign in the year of the Lord 246 [read: 244] and ruled together for seven years, as has been said. After becoming Christians, they determined to do many good things for Christians, but, being overtaken by a violent death, did not carry them out. Nevertheless, during their reign no persecution was inflicted upon the Christians.

What Philip deceitfully did to Gordian by procuring his death, he himself justly received by the Lord's judgment from Decius, commander of his own army, by whom he was treacherously killed, as will be related.

§ IV: Saint Pontius

These emperors, as is contained in the history of blessed Pontius, which Vincent reports in Book Twelve, Chapter Thirty-Four of the *Historical Mirror*, were converted to the faith of Christ through the teaching of Pontius.

This Pontius was the son of a certain senator of the city named Marcus; his mother was Julia. While pregnant, she once traveled around the temples of the idols with her husband, carrying offerings, and came to the temple of Jupiter.

As she entered it, a priest happened to be standing at the altar with his head veiled and an infula upon it. Seized by a demon, he grasped both the veil and the infula and began to tear them into small pieces. Wailing with a marvelous voice, he filled the whole temple with cries, saying: "This woman bears in her womb the one who will overturn this great temple from its foundations."

When he repeated these words again and again, Marcus and Julia heard them and fled lifeless with fear into a nearby house. Seizing a stone and beating her belly and sides, Julia said: "Would that I had not conceived the one through whom this great temple and its divine powers will be overthrown. It is better that I myself should perish with him."

When the day of delivery came, she gave birth to a handsome boy without any blemish, though they had believed he would be born dead after being mangled by such blows.

Julia, the boy's mother, attempted to kill him. His father Marcus said to her: "Leave him; do not kill him. If Jupiter wishes, let him avenge himself upon his own enemy. Let us not begin by laying our hands upon him." Thus the little child was preserved, and they named him Pontius after one of their own family.

It happened from that time that he was never taken into the temples of the idols. When he reached boyhood, however, he was instructed by great teachers and excelled in the literature of nearly all the philosophers and of the various arts. He retained everything in his memory.

One day, rising at dawn as he went to his teacher, he heard Christians over whom Saint Pontian presided singing the psalm: "Our God is in heaven; whatsoever he has willed he has done in heaven and on earth. The idols of the Gentiles are silver and gold," and so forth.

Hearing this, the boy sighed, was moved by the Holy Spirit, and began to weep. Raising his hands to heaven, he said: "God whose praise these people sing, show me knowledge of yourself." He began to knock at the door where they were singing psalms.

Then the holy pope, to whom this had been revealed by the Holy Spirit, said: "Open the door and permit the boy to enter, for of such is the kingdom of heaven."

Leaving his tutors in the street, the boy Pontius entered with a young man named Valerius who studied with him. After he had inquired into the truth of the song he had heard them sing, Saint Pontian soundly instructed him in the faith together with his companion.

They departed joyfully and returned each day to the man of God, hearing the word of salvation. When Pontius returned to his father and was asked whether he had learned anything from his teachers, he said: "I have never heard anything better from my teachers than I heard today or yesterday."

At last he showed his own father that the idols were nothing. Bringing Saint Pontian to him, he converted him to the faith. Marcus himself, together with Saint Pontian and his son, broke all his idols with his own hands and received baptism with his son and his entire household.

Not long after his father died, the boy Pontius was seized by soldiers and led into the senate house. Unwilling and resisting, he was established there in his father's place. The Lord granted him such grace that everyone throughout the senate house and palace loved him.

In those days Saint Pope Pontian passed to the Lord by a glorious death. Antheros and then Fabian succeeded him in the papacy. Fabian loved Pontius as a father loves a son.

Saint Pontius, now perfected in God, took all his possessions and handed them to blessed Fabian, who distributed them to the poor.

Pontius was a friend of the two emperors Philip, the father and son. One day, when it was the thousandth year from the founding of the city, they said to him: "Let us go and appease for ourselves the great gods, who have brought us to this cycle of the thousandth anniversary of Rome's birth."

When they saw blessed Pontius attempting to avoid them through various excuses, they compelled him, as their friend, to sacrifice. Seeing that the Lord had given him an opportunity, he said:

“Most excellent emperors, since you have been ordained by God as princes of human beings, why do you not bend your necks to the one who has provided you this honor and offer to him alone sacrifices of praise?”

Emperor Philip said: “For this reason I desire to offer sacrifice to the great god Jupiter, who gave me this power.”

Pontius then smiled and said: “Do not err, emperor. There is a true God in heaven, who established all things by his Word, and the Holy Spirit gave them life.”

Why say more? Believing through these and other words, the emperors received baptism from Saint Fabian. Fabian and Pontius destroyed all the idols of the great temple and overthrew the temple itself from its foundations. Many people, hastening to knowledge of the Lord, joyfully received baptism.

As time passed, when Valerian and Gallienus were emperors and persecuted the Christians, blessed Pontius, after the death of the emperors Philip, father and son, crossed the borders of Italy and sought a city situated far away beneath the yoke of the Alps.

A certain governor named Claudius presided in those regions. Hearing of Pontius, he ordered him brought before his tribunal and said: “Are you Pontius, who disturbed the city of Rome through some unknown sedition and, moreover, alienated the minds of the pious princes?”

Pontius answered him: “I disturbed no one and overthrew no one, but converted them from the error of demons to the true God.”

When he could not be induced to sacrifice, the governor said: “Let him be stretched upon the rack so that every torment may run through his limbs. Then let us see whether his God will deliver him from our hands.”

As he was being fitted upon the rack, blessed Pontius said: “Although your unbelief declares our God powerless to deliver me, I nevertheless believe in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ that your punishments will be reduced to nothing and will inflict no pain upon my body.”

When he was stretched upon the rack, it broke with a great sound. It was so completely reduced to dust that it could no longer be seen, and the ministers were suddenly rendered lifeless by *fulgore* [read: *fragore*, a crash].

Saint Pontius, joyful and fearless, said: “At least now, *credule* [read: *incredule*, unbeliever], learn that our God has the power to rescue the pious from temptation and to consign you wicked men to perpetual fire on the day of judgment.”

When the governor was disturbed, his assessor Anabius advised him to send two great bears against Pontius in the arena so that they might devour him. When this was done, the bears emerged from their cages and tore apart and consumed the hunters who provoked them, but did not touch Saint Pontius.

The governor then caused a most abundant fire to be kindled around him there in the arena before the people, but it did not damage even his clothing in any way.

When the governor told him to sacrifice to the god *appollini* [read: Apollo] so that he might escape other torments, Pontius answered: “I sacrifice my body to the Lord Jesus Christ. Divine vengeance will soon overtake you and your rulers, because you unjustly persecute the servants of Christ.”

Seventh Title: On the Reign of Vespasian

Chapter Seven (continued)

Finally the tyrant ordered Pontius to be beheaded. When this had been done, at that same hour Claudius chewed his own tongue and was suffocated by the devil, as was his assessor. Emperor Valerian was captured in battle by Sapor, king of the Persians, and was miserably treated, while Gallienus was pierced with swords by soldiers at Milan.

§ V: Decius and Saint Agatha

Decius, the twenty-fifth emperor of the Romans, reigned for two years and six months, as Eusebius testifies in the *Chronicles*. He began to reign in the year of the Lord 253 [read: 249]. He was born in Pannonia among the lower Dalmatians.

When Emperor Philip came from the city to Verona to meet Decius as he returned victorious from war and to honor him, Decius treacherously killed him. Usurping the empire for himself, he came to the city and, so that he might seem to have killed his lord out of zeal for the worship of the gods because Philip was a Christian, stirred up a dire persecution against the Christians. He killed very many, and among them Philip, the son of the aforementioned Emperor Philip.

During Decius's persecution blessed Agatha suffered at Catania, a city of Sicily. She was a virgin noble in birth, beautiful in body, and more beautiful in faith.

When a certain Quintianus governed that province, he heard the report of her nobility, beauty, and riches and ordered her to be presented to him. Hearing from her that she was Christ's handmaid and was unwilling to sacrifice to the gods, he handed her over to be guarded and induced to worship the gods by a most shameful woman named Aphrodisia. This woman had seven daughters devoted to shameful conduct, just as she herself was.

For thirty days Aphrodisia and her daughters endeavored to persuade Agatha, sometimes with flatteries and sometimes with threats, to assent to the governor. When they labored in vain, Aphrodisia said to the tyrant: "Stones could be softened more easily than this girl's mind could be moved from its Christian purpose."

Agatha was therefore brought before *Quintilianum* [read: *Quintianum*]. The governor said: "Choose one of two things: either sacrifice to our gods or perish under various torments."

Saint Agatha answered him: "If you promise me beasts, they will grow gentle when they hear Christ's name. If you apply fire, saving dew from heaven will minister to me. If you inflict blows and scourges, I have the Holy Spirit, through whom I shall despise every torment."

Because she confounded him in their exchanges, he ordered her thrust into prison. She went to prison joyfully and with glory, and, as though invited to a banquet, commended her contest to the Lord.

The following day he commanded that she be brought before him and said to her: "What have you considered concerning your salvation?"

She answered: "My salvation is Christ."

He said: "Do you still dare to name Christ?"

She replied: "I call upon him, and as long as I live I shall not cease calling upon him."

When she was being tortured upon the rack at the tyrant's command, she said: "I take such delight in these sufferings as does one who hears good news or one who sees something long desired. For wheat must be beaten before it is placed in the granary."

Quintianus, enraged, ordered her to be tortured upon her breasts [read: upon one breast] and, after she had been tortured for a very long time, ordered them cut off [read: it cut off].

The saint said to him: "Impious, cruel, and savage tyrant, are you not ashamed to cut from a woman what you yourself sucked from your mother? I have my breasts whole in my soul--namely, understanding and will--which I consecrated to the Lord from infancy."

[Running head: Chapter Seven, Folio 234.]

After this Quintianus ordered her returned to prison, forbidding physicians to enter or anyone to minister either bread or water to her.

Around midnight, however, a certain old man appeared to her in the form of a physician, carrying medicines with him. He was the apostle Peter, preceded by a young man--that is, an angel who bore a light. He said to her: "Daughter, I was there when you endured those torments, and I have now come to you so that you may receive health through me."

Agatha answered: "I have never applied carnal medicine to my body, but I have the Lord Jesus Christ, who restores all things by his word alone. If he wishes, he can cure me."

When she refused the medicine, the old man smiled and said: "The Lord Jesus Christ sent me to you, for I am his apostle. Know that in his name you have been healed."

When he suddenly disappeared, Agatha gave thanks to God for the visitation and her healing. Because an immense light appeared in the prison, the terrified guards fled and left the prison open. Some therefore urged the virgin to depart, but she said: "Far be it from me to flee, lose the crown of patience, and surrender my guards to punishment."

After four days Quintianus said to her as she stood before him that she should worship the gods lest she endure further torments.

She answered him: "Wretched man without understanding or sense, how do you wish me to worship images of wood and stone and abandon the God of heaven who healed me?"

Quintianus asked: "Who healed you?"

Agatha replied: "The Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God."

He said: "Now we shall see whether Christ will heal you."

The tyrant therefore commanded broken potsherds to be scattered, glowing coals to be placed beneath them, and Agatha to be rolled naked upon them. When this was done, a great earthquake occurred. It shook the entire city so violently that part of the wall beside which they stood collapsed and crushed two of Quintianus's counselors.

The people ran together, crying out that these things were happening because of the unjust torment of Agatha. Quintianus, terrified and afraid of a popular uprising, ordered her returned to prison. Entering it, she prayed to the Lord and rendered her immaculate spirit to him.

When the faithful heard this, they placed her body with spices in a *sartophago* [read: *sarcophago*, sarcophagus]. Suddenly an angel in the form of a young man clothed in white brought a marble tablet and placed it at her head. These words were carved upon it: "She had a holy mind; she offered herself voluntarily; she gave honor to God; and she brought liberation to her homeland."

When they heard of this miracle, many Jews and Gentiles began to venerate her tomb.

Quintianus, meanwhile, went to seek out her possessions so that he might seize them. While he was in a boat, two kicking horses threw him into the river, and he could never be found.

When a year had passed after her martyrdom, the very great mountain beside that city emitted fire. Descending from the mountain like a torrent, it burned stones and earth and was approaching the city. A multitude of pagans therefore ran to blessed Agatha's tomb, took the cloth with which it was covered, and held it before the fire. The cloth immediately stopped it.

§ VI: The Seven Sleepers

At that time Emperor Decius, persecuting the Christians, came to Ephesus. He commanded temples to be built in the middle of the city so that everyone might join him in sacrifices to the idols.

When he had caused all Christians to be sought out and compelled those who were found either to sacrifice or to die, so great a terror of the punishments seized everyone that friend denied friend, father denied son, and son denied father.

Seven nobles were then found in that city: Maximus, Marcus, Martinianus, Dionysius, Seraphion, Johannes, and Constantinus. Seeing these things, they grieved exceedingly. Because they were among the foremost men in the palace, they hid themselves in their own house, spurned the sacrifices of the idols, and occupied themselves there with fasts and prayers.

Accused and therefore placed before Decius, they were proved to be Christians in truth. They were released after being given until Decius's return as a period in which to reconsider. Meanwhile they distributed their patrimony to the poor. After taking counsel together, they withdrew to Mount Celion and resolved to hide there more secretly until Decius returned.

While they remained hidden there for a long time, one of them ministered to the others. Whenever he entered the city, he presented himself in the appearance and clothing of a beggar.

Decius returned and caused them to be sought for sacrifice. Marcus, who had entered the city for necessities, heard this, returned in terror to his companions, and made the emperor's fury known to them. Although they were gravely terrified, Marcus nevertheless offered the bread he had brought so that, strengthened by food, they might be rendered stronger for the contest.

After supper, while they sat conversing in grief and encouraging one another, they suddenly fell asleep, as God willed.

When morning came and they could not be found by Decius, it was at last reported to him that they had bestowed their goods upon the poor and were hiding on Mount Celion while persisting in their Christian purpose. Decius therefore ordered the mouth of the cave on that mountain blocked with stones so that, shut inside and unable to leave, they might die there from hunger and thirst.

When this had been done, two Christians cautiously placed among the stones a written account describing their martyrdom. How they were raised after many years in the reign of Theodosius will be related below.

§ VII: Peter, Dionysia, Trifon, and *Raparata* [read: *Reparata*]

During the reign of the same Decius, Peter was seized at the city of *Lamosacum* [read: *Lampsacum*] and presented to the proconsul as a Christian. When he steadfastly professed that he was a Christian, the proconsul ordered that handsome young man stretched upon wheels. He caused his whole body to be bound with iron bonds to timbers set around them, and when the apparatus was twisted, his bones were broken little by little. Yet the more he was tortured, the stronger he appeared; mocking the tyrant's folly, he gave thanks to Christ. Seeing his perseverance, the proconsul ordered him struck with the sword.

When the proconsul proceeded to the city of Troas, three other worshipers of Christ--Andrew, Paul, and Nicomachus--were presented to him. When they freely professed themselves Christians, the proconsul ordered Nicomachus tortured. As he was tortured excessively and was already near to breathing out his spirit, he cried out that he had never been a Christian but would sacrifice to the demons. He was then ordered taken down. When he had sacrificed, a demon seized him, dashed him to the ground, and he died while biting his own tongue with his teeth.

A certain girl named Dionysia, seventeen years old, cried out: “O most unhappy of men! For the respite of a single hour you have acquired perpetual and indescribable punishment.”

When questioned, she confessed that she was a Christian and that she lamented that unhappy man because he had not endured a little longer in order to find perpetual rest. The proconsul ordered her handed over to two young men to be violated and ordered Andrew and Paul confined.

When the young men had taken the virgin to their lodging, they struggled until night to inflict the violence of shame upon her, but their lust withered away. A radiant young man appeared to them by night, illuminating the whole house. Struck with fear, they fell at the virgin’s feet and asked her to intercede for them lest any evil befall them.

Seeing that he could not overcome the constancy of Paul and Andrew, the proconsul had them beaten with scourges and handed them over to the people. The people dragged them by the feet outside the city to stone them.

Hearing this, Dionysia escaped from the hands of her guards, ran to them, and threw herself upon their bodies, saying: “May I too be cut down with you, blessed servants of God, and may I not be found a stranger to your struggle.”

When the proconsul heard this, he ordered her killed with the sword. Paul and Andrew were overwhelmed with stones. Vincent relates this in Book Twelve, Chapter Forty-Six of the *Historical Mirror*.

The same Vincent, reporting in Chapter Forty-Seven from Trifon’s deeds, says that Saint Trifon suffered under Decius. From his infancy he was renowned for many miracles in the city of Sansaduconia. He was chastely reared by his mother and taught by the Holy Spirit and angels.

A certain blind, half-withered woman beset by demons came to him. The frightened boy placed his hands upon her head and prayed for her. The demons cried through the woman: “By a child of seven years we are sent into Gehenna.”

When Saint Trifon pressed them to leave, the demon cried out: “I must go to Rome because of Trifon, so that there he may be summoned to come to me.” Shaking the woman and foaming at the mouth, the devil departed at his prayer, and the woman was healed.

The demon therefore went to Rome and began gravely tormenting the wife of a certain proconsul and senator. On the third day it called for Saint Trifon. Men were then sent to inquire for this Trifon throughout cities and fortresses. He was at last found tending sheep in the pastures, placed upon a horse, and brought to Rome. While there he freed the woman from the demon’s torment. When this had been done, angels returned him to his homeland of Sansaduconia.

Jurgianus, a great man who had an only daughter at Rome, saw a devil enter and begin to torment her, repeatedly crying out for Trifon Antharius. Jurgianus was exceedingly saddened by his daughter’s torment. His friends urged him to have this Trifon sought out, for the devil, by repeatedly naming him, showed that it feared him.

Many messengers were therefore sent here and there through different places to find him. Many who bore that name were brought in case one of them might be the man for whom the girl called, but she could not be healed by the presence of any of them.

After much searching to obtain him, they at last found the boy Trifon in Sansaduconia, lying beside the bank of a lake and tending geese. Asked whether he was the man, he answered that he was. Receiving him with honor, they led him toward the city.

As he approached it, the devil began to cry through the possessed girl: “I can no longer live here, because in three days that Trifon who has received power against us will come here.” Thus the devil left her. When Trifon arrived on the third day, he found her freed.

The girl’s father asked the boy, if she had been perfectly healed, to show him the demon that had tormented her. When Trifon had fasted and prayed for this, the devil appeared in the form of an exceedingly black and hideous dog with a great tail hanging downward. Seeing it, the girl’s father was terrified and asked that it be removed from his sight. Trifon did so, and angels returned him to his homeland, where he was renowned for many wonders.

Afterward, in the time of Decius, soldiers seized him and brought him into the city of Nicaea before the prefect Aquilinus. When he publicly confessed that he was a Christian, he was asked of what condition he was.

Trifon answered: “Fortune has no place among Christians and never did. But if you wish to know, I am of freeborn condition, and, what is greatest and most excellent, I am a Christian.”

The prefect ordered him suspended and torn with claws. Trifon promptly removed his garment and cast it upon the ground, and with joyful eagerness surrendered himself to be suspended upon the wood. As he was torn, no sound came from him, but his thought remained immovable in the faith of Christ.

After this the prefect ordered him bound to horses and dragged through the fields while the winter was harsh with very heavy snows. Trifon cried out: “Lord God, do not permit this iniquity to rule over me,” and he was immediately freed.

The prefect next ordered him girded and beaten with clubs and burning torches applied to his sides. While they tortured him, they saw a light standing around him from the splendor of the sun and a crown adorned with various stones descending over his head. Falling down in fear, they lay upon the ground. Finally the prefect caused him to be killed with the sword.

At Caesarea in Palestine, under Emperor Decius--who had commanded that all worshipers of Christ, wherever found, be compelled through various torments to sacrifice to idols--a most beautiful virgin of noble birth named *Raparata* [read: *Reparata*] was presented before him under a charge of Christianity. She was twelve years old.

Taught by the Holy Spirit, the virgin confounded the emperor in their disputation. She showed that Christ Jesus had suffered and died for human salvation not in his divinity but in the humanity he had assumed, and that by the power of his divinity, because God and man are one person, he rose from the dead. Thus it was not proved from this that God had suffered, as Decius asserted.

When he threatened her with grievous punishments of various kinds if she would not worship his gods, she answered that she would not abandon Christ because of any torments whatsoever.

The tyrant, inflamed with fury, ordered molten lead from a boiling pot poured upon her. It was changed into a most pleasant liquid and did not injure her at all. He next ordered burning torches applied to her breast and then commanded that she be cast into a blazing furnace. The fire did not grieve her; rather, she joyfully sang psalms. Finally she was beheaded on the eighth day of October.

When Emperor Decius had conquered Babylon and other provinces, he brought Christians found in various places to Córdoba and killed them with various torments.

[Running head: Chapter Seven, Folio 235.]

Seventh Title: On the Reign of Vespasian

Chapter Seven (continued)

Their bodies were buried by two petty kings, Abdon and *Sennes* [read: *Sennen*], who were most devout Christians.

Among the others found in Babylon was a bishop named *Policronius* [read: *Polychronius*]. Because he refused to sacrifice, he was shut in prison with his clergy. When he was presented before Decius with other clerics, Decius said: “You are *Policronius* [read: *Polychronius*] the sacrilegious man, who does not worship the gods and despises the commands of the princes.”

When he remained silent, Decius said to his clerics: “Your prince has become mute.”

The priest *Permenius* [read: *Parmenius*] answered him: “Our father has not become mute, but observes the Lord’s command, which says, ‘Do not cast pearls before swine.’ Does it seem just to you that his holy mouth, which has been purified, should be polluted with dung?”

Decius angrily replied: “Are we dung, then?” He ordered *Permenius* [read: *Parmenius*]’s tongue cut out. After it was cut out, *Permenius* [read: *Parmenius*] cried aloud, saying: “Blessed *Policronius* [read: *Polychronius*], pray for me, for I see the Holy Spirit reigning in you and sealing your mouth, and dripping a honeycomb of honey into my mouth.”

When *Policronius* [read: *Polychronius*], admonished again to sacrifice, did not answer, Decius ordered his mouth beaten with stones. Thus he breathed out his spirit.

When *Permenius* [read: *Parmenius*] and the other clerics were being led to Córdoba bound in chains, they were found to be free of them. Finally Decius, attributing this to magical art, caused them to be beheaded after many torments, and Abdon and *Sennes* [read: *Sennen*] buried them.

Hearing this, Decius had Abdon and *Sennes* [read: *Sennen*] captured, bound in chains, and brought to Rome. Brought before the senate, they were ordered either to sacrifice to the gods and enjoy the liberty of their possessions or to be devoured by the bites of beasts.

They despised and spat upon the image and were brought to the theater. As the people watched, two lions and four bears were released to devour them. The beasts did not touch them in any way but instead guarded them. Their captors then killed them with swords, and their bodies were cast before the image of the sun. After three days, however, they were buried by Quirinus.

§ IX: Secundianus, Marcellianus, and Verianus

Under Decius also, as Vincent relates, Secundianus, a man of the toga who held the prefecture together with Verianus, raged against the Christians. This Secundianus began silently to consider within himself why the Christians, fragrant with so great a love, preferred to die harshly for Christ's name rather than live delicately and assent to the princes' flattering persuasions.

Because he was most eloquent and most skilled in every branch of knowledge, he invited Marcellianus--who was himself exceedingly wise and a persecutor of Christians--to his house and discussed with him various branches of learning.

At last, when they turned the conversation to the grammatical art, they came to a passage of Virgil. Speaking there about the interpretation of the new age--as though the world were renewed by the Lord's appearance in the flesh--Virgil describes his books in the time of Octavian for Octavian's praise, saying that golden ages are born in this manner:

"The great order of the ages is born anew.

"Now the Virgin returns; the reigns of Saturn return.

"Now a new offspring is sent down from high heaven.

"You, now, to the boy being born, through whom the race of iron will first cease and a race of gold arise throughout the world--"

When they inquired of whom Virgil said these things, Secundianus began to speak of the Christians, who burned with so great a love that they preferred to die for Christ's name rather than worship idols.

"For they say," he continued, "that there will be a resurrection and judgment after death, and that the life they expect after this one will be perpetual and immortal. There will be no pain or groaning there, but peace and everlasting joy. Christ, their God, utterly abominates the idols that we worship."

Marveling at these things, Marcellianus asked: "What is Christ?"

Secundianus answered: "Christ means 'anointed.' Have you not read what his historians say--namely, that he raised the dead, cleansed lepers, and gave sight to the blind? Giving faith to these signs, Christians desire to be crowned because of their burning love for him. Therefore I too believe that he is God and the Son of God, who, after being crucified and dying, was raised on the third day and ascended into heaven. For when and from whom has it been heard that our gods did such things? We know that they always lived most shamefully."

By these and other words Marcellianus gave his assent. Verianus, a third friend of them both, did likewise. The priest Timothy therefore baptized these three, and Saint Sixtus the pope confirmed them.

After this Secundianus, having been summoned by the prefect Valerian, entered before him, and his countenance was suddenly changed into something like the face of an angel. Valerian, astonished at the brilliance of so great a light, questioned him. When Secundianus remained firm in his Christian purpose, Valerian ordered him taken into custody.

As soldiers seized him and led him to prison, Marcellianus and Verianus cried out: "Why do you thrust an innocent man into custody? If he suffers this because he confesses Christ's name, hear it from us: we too are Christians, and for Christ's love we follow him to martyrdom."

Valerian, angered, ordered them placed in custody with Secundianus and informed Caesar that Secundianus had become a Christian. Caesar could scarcely believe this. He caused Secundianus to be brought before him and said: "O Secundianus, why has your countenance changed?"

Secundianus answered: "My countenance is now brighter and more joyful than usual because I already stand in mental contemplation in the sight of the eternal king, who has brought me from darkness into the light of his vision."

Finally, by Decius's command, the saints were handed over to Quartus Promotus, the consular governor of Tuscany. When they refused to sacrifice at his command, they were stripped and ordered beaten. When they spat upon the image, the image itself fell and was broken.

Promotus then ordered them suspended upon the rack and their sides scraped with claws. As they gave thanks to God amid these things, he caused flames to be applied to their sides.

While they were *asserentur* [read: *assarentur*, roasted] for a long time, one of the ministers who had applied himself more fiercely to their torture died. Others, seized by demons, began to cry: "O saints of God, why do you torment us with your prayers? These torments, which we unjustly inflict upon you, torture us beyond remedy, but do no harm to you."

Seeing this, Promotus ordered them beheaded and their bodies cast into the sea. By God's providence the bodies reached the shore, and Adeodatus buried them.

Likewise, as is contained in the martyrology, during Decius's persecution at Arezzo, a city of Tuscany, the feast of the holy martyrs Pergentinus and Laurentinus, brothers, is celebrated on June 3, the third day before the Nones of June. Though they were boys, they were killed with the sword after enduring dire torments and displaying many miracles.

At Alexandria during the same tempest, Hiero, Arsenius, Isidore, and the boy *Dioschorus* [read: *Dioscorus*] were seized for the faith of Christ. They were torn apart by various torments. When the judge saw them armed with equal constancy of faith, they were handed over to the fire. *Dioschorus* [read: *Dioscorus*], however, after being scourged in many ways, was released by divine will for the consolation of the faithful.

[Running head: Seventh Title.]

At Rome also, during the Decian persecution, the virgin Victoria had been betrothed to a certain pagan. Because she would neither marry nor sacrifice, after many miracles and holy works--among which she had joined very many virgins to God--she was struck with a sword by an executioner at her betrothed's request.

As the martyrology records, very many others were crowned with martyrdom in different parts of the world during this persecution of Decius. Hugh also says that we cannot recount how great were the multitudes consumed, while the fire of this persecution raged, by hunger, thirst, cold, infirmity, robbers, and beasts as they hid in deserts and mountains.

§ X: Gallus, Volusianus, and the Rebaptism Controversy

Decius, before he had administered the empire for three full years, was killed with his son, whom he had appointed Caesar, in the midst of a host of barbarians. He lost his kingdom together with his life.

After him Gallus Hostilianus gained the kingdom with his son Volusianus [read: Trebonianus Gallus and Hostilian gained the kingdom with Gallus's son Volusianus] and reigned for scarcely two years. He began in the year of the Lord 254 [read: 251].

At the beginning his reign flourished and everything yielded according to his desire. Yet, as Hugh of Fleury says, he began to persecute the holy men who were supplicating the Lord for the peace and prosperity of his kingdom. Together with them, he drove away his own prosperity and peace.

When persecution arose, vengeance also arose for the violation of the Christian name. As far as the edicts for afflicting the churches spread, so far did a plague of unbelievable diseases extend. There was scarcely any Roman province, city, or house that was not seized and emptied by that general pestilence.

Distinguished by this destruction alone, Gallus and Volusianus were killed while undertaking a civil war against Aemilianus, who was striving after revolution. Aemilianus also died in the third month of his usurped tyranny.

During the same time, Haymo says, a question arose in parts of Africa about whether heretics should be rebaptized. Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, held that they ought to be rebaptized. But Cornelius [read: Stephen I] the pope and the other western bishops maintained instead the opinion that, after rejection of their depraved doctrine, they should be purified by the imposition of hands alone. Thus Haymo.

Notice that this latter is the true opinion, confirmed by the Church and therefore to be held: not only baptism but also the other sacraments that are performed and conferred by heretics in the Church's form are true sacraments as regards their essence. They nevertheless lack their final effect--namely, grace--with respect to those who knowingly receive them from such persons, except for baptism in a case of extreme necessity. This is because of the Church's prohibition, as is clear in Distinction 32, § "But," and more fully in Cause 1, Question 1, "Certain Persons," with the following section.

Cyprian, however, asserted that all the sacraments of heretics were empty and null, and that their conferrals resembled the actions of apes, which mimic human actions although they perform them not truly but only in appearance, as is clear in Cause 1, Question 1, "If Anyone Says."

He is nevertheless excused by the doctors from sin in this error because this truth had not yet been determined by the Church. The gloss on the said chapter "If Anyone Says" also excuses Cyprian in several ways.

§ XI: Pope Cornelius and the Schism of Novatus [read: Novatian]

When Pope Fabian had been crowned through martyrdom, Cornelius succeeded him during the reigns of Gallus and Volusianus, according to Vincent in the *Historical Mirror*. Jerome says the same. The *Book of the Roman Pontiffs*, however, testifies that Cornelius suffered under Decius. It is established that Decius reigned before Gallus and Volusianus, but Helinand says that Gallus was also called Decius. On this account he would have had two names and the aforesaid contradictory statements would agree.

In the time of Cornelius a schism arose. A certain man named Novatus [read: Novatian], made pope--or rather antipope--by some who adhered to him, conducted himself as the Roman pontiff. But he and his accomplices were cast down. Moreover, because he

devised a depraved doctrine against Catholic truth, asserting that after baptism there was no place for pardon for those who had fallen, however great their repentance--or at least for those who relapsed after doing penance for a first fall after baptism--he was condemned as a heretic by Pope Cornelius in a council.

Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, therefore says concerning them: "Novatus [read: Novatian], a priest of the Roman Church, swollen with a certain pride, completely took away from them the hope of salvation even if they had worthily repented. From him arose the chief of the Novatian heresy. Separated from the Church, the Novatians proudly called themselves Cathars, that is, 'the pure.'"

For this reason a most celebrated council of priests was held in the city of Rome. Pope Cornelius there decreed that Novatus [read: Novatian] and his followers were strangers to the Church, but that those who had fallen in the contest should be healed with brotherly compassion and treated with the medicines of penance.

Cyprian also published a book about these matters, in which he decreed both that the fallen should be exhorted to penance and that those who contradicted this were strangers to the inward parts of Christ. Augustine also rejects as heretical this proposition--namely, that there is no place for pardon for those who relapse after baptism--in *On Penance*, Distinction 3, "They Still Insist."

Cyprian declares how Cornelius was canonically assumed into the papacy, saying in his letter to Antonianus:

"Our dearest Cornelius, while often forewarned [read: having often merited the Lord's favor in divine administrations], ascended through every grade of religion to the sublime summit of the priesthood. He then neither sought nor desired the episcopate. Because of the modesty of his virginal continence and the humility of the modesty born in him and guarded by him, he did not, as a certain man did, use force so that he might become bishop; rather, he himself suffered force so that he was compelled to receive the episcopate when Fabian's place--that is, Peter's place and the priestly chair--was vacant."

The same Cyprian says in Cause 7, Question 1:

"Cornelius was made bishop by the judgment of God and his Christ, by the testimony of almost all the clergy, by the vote of the people then present, and by the consent of the ancient priests and good men. This occurred when no one had been appointed before him, when Fabian's place--that is, Peter's place and the rank of the chair--was vacant.

"Once this had been received by God's will and confirmed by the consent of us all, whoever should now wish to become bishop must necessarily be outside. The one who does not hold the Church's unity does not possess ecclesiastical ordination. Whoever he may be, although boasting much of himself, he is profane, a stranger, and outside.

"Since there cannot be a second after the first, whoever is made after the one who alone ought to be bishop is now not second, but no one." Thus there.

In the following chapter he adds: "Novatian is not bishop. Cornelius was made bishop in the Church by sixteen fellow bishops; Novatian, an adulterous and alien bishop, endeavors to be made bishop by deserters through ambition," and so forth. In the chapter "Finally" of the same question, he shows that the crime of schism is detestable.

Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, of whom we spoke above, also wrote a letter to Novatus [read: Novatian] in these words:

[Running head: Chapter Seven, Folio 236.]

Seventh Title: On the Reign of Vespasian

Chapter Seven (continued)

Dionysius to his brother Novatus, greetings.

"If, as you say, you came into this unwillingly, you will show it if you willingly desist. Indeed, you ought to have suffered everything rather than allow the Church of God to be torn apart.

"The glory of enduring martyrdom so that the Church is not torn apart will be no less than that of enduring it so that one does not sacrifice to idols. Indeed, in my judgment I consider the former martyrdom greater. In the latter, each person endures martyrdom only for his own soul; in the former, he endures it for the whole Church.

"But now, if you can either persuade or even compel the brothers to return to concord, the merit of your correction will be greater than the fault you committed, for the fault will not be imputed to you and the correction will even be regarded as worthy of praise. If they remain in *incrudelitate* [read: *in incredulitate*, unbelief], however, you will nevertheless save your own soul. Farewell, desiring the peace that I pray may be yours."

Pope Cornelius also says in one of his letters: “This Novatus fell into all these evils through the desire for the episcopate that he secretly bore within himself. He was especially elated because, at the very beginning of this error, he had taken to himself certain excellent men from among the confessors. These men had even been confessors of the faith of Christ a second time and had overcome every kind of torment for Christ’s faith.

“But when, by God’s mercy, they examined everything more diligently and perceived that Novatus did all things through frauds, lies, and perjuries, and that he only feigned goodness in order to deceive the ignorant, they returned to the Church with great execration of him.”

Jerome says as follows concerning this Pope Cornelius in his book *On Illustrious Men*: “Eight letters of Cyprian to Cornelius, bishop of the city of Rome, survive. Cornelius himself also wrote certain letters, among which survive a letter about the Roman and African synod, another about the acts of the synod, and another concerning Novatian. He governed the Church under Gallus and Volusianus for two years and was crowned with martyrdom.”

His martyrdom is related from his deeds as follows. When Caesar Decius heard that Cornelius was converting many people to Christ, he commanded that Christians, wherever they were found, should be punished without a hearing.

Cornelius was therefore seized with his clerics and sent into exile. There he was strengthened through letters by Saint Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, and many others. He was afterward brought back and presented to Decius. When he remained immovable, he was beaten with leaded scourges and whips and led to the temple of Mars, where he was ordered either to sacrifice or to be beheaded.

As he was being led to the place, a soldier named Cerealis asked him to turn aside to his house and pray for his wife Salustia, who had been paralyzed for five years. When this was done, the twenty-one men who were with him saw her arise in health. he himself [read: they themselves], with the said Cerealis and his wife, were baptized. They were all led by the emperor’s command to the temple of Mars, and when they spat upon the idol, they were beheaded.

§ XII: Popes Lucius and Stephen; Saint Mellonus

Lucius I, a Roman by nationality, succeeded Cornelius in the pontificate. He sat for three years. At first he was sent into exile, but afterward, by God’s will, he was recalled to his Church. He was beheaded by Emperor Valerian on May 5 [read: March 5], the third day before the Nones of May [read: March], as is contained in the deeds of the pontiffs.

He ordained that two priests and three deacons should never abandon a bishop in any place, for the sake of ecclesiastical testimony. As he went to his passion, he gave authority over the whole Church to Stephen his archdeacon.

After Lucius was crowned with martyrdom, Stephen, a Roman by nationality, was placed in Peter’s chair. He decreed that priests and Levites should not use consecrated garments in daily use, but only in the church. He sat for seven years and was crowned with martyrdom.

As is contained in his deeds, after he had converted many Gentiles by word and example and buried very many bodies of holy martyrs, Valerian and Gallienus, persecutors of the Christian name, caused him to be sought with the greatest diligence so that they might either compel him and his clerics to sacrifice or kill them with various torments. They issued an edict that whoever betrayed them would obtain their riches.

Consequently ten of Stephen’s clerics were seized and beheaded without a hearing. On the following day Pope Stephen was seized with a multitude of clerics. He alone entered before the judge’s tribunal and, remaining immovable, was led to the temple of Mars to worship the god or immediately suffer capital punishment.

When he arrived there, he prayed that God would destroy the temple, and immediately a very large part of it collapsed. While the soldiers fled in fear, Stephen alone went with other Christians to the cemetery of Saint Lucia.

When Valerian heard that Stephen was encouraging the Christians gathered there to endurance for the faith of Christ, he sent more soldiers than before. Arriving, they found him celebrating Mass. He stood fearless and completed what he had begun; thus they *decollocaverunt* [read: *decollaverunt*, beheaded] him in his own chair. Sixtus succeeded him in the pontificate of the city.

In the time of this Pope Stephen, while Valerian was emperor, a certain Mellonus, born in Greater Britain, came to Rome to pay the tribute of his homeland, as Vincent relates in the *Historical Mirror* from Mellonus’s deeds, and to serve the emperor.

According to custom, he was led with his companions to the temple of Mars to sacrifice. Hearing that Pope Stephen was preaching Christ’s Gospel to a few Christians, he went there. Devoutly hearing his words, he was converted to the faith and received baptism.

Instructed by Stephen, he sold everything he had and distributed the price to the poor. The aforementioned pope kept him close and promoted him through every grade as far as the priesthood.

As Mellonus persisted in fasts and vigils, one day, while he was celebrating Mass, he and the pope saw an angel of God standing at the right side of the altar. When Mass was completed, the angel gave Mellonus the pastoral staff he held in his hand and said: "Receive the staff beneath which you will rule the people of the city of Rouen in the borders of Faustria. A place has been prepared for you there by God. Although the labor of an unknown road will be burdensome to you, you must not fear, because the Lord Jesus Christ will protect you under the shadow of his wings."

Having received a blessing, Mellonus then undertook the journey. When he came to Auxerre holding the staff he had received from the angel, he encountered a man who had been wounded with a two-edged axe and whose foot was divided into two parts. After praying, he immediately healed him.

Remaining there, faithfully fulfilling his ministry, and renowned for many virtues and miracles, Mellonus rested in peace.

Chapter Eight

After the killing of Gallus and his son Volusianus, who had reigned for two years, and of Aemilianus, who after them had tyrannically invaded the empire and reigned for three months, Valerian and his son Gallienus assumed the empire.

[Running head: Seventh Title.]

Valerian was called Augustus by the army in Greece [read: in Raetia], while Gallienus was called Caesar at Rome by the senate. According to Eusebius in the *Chronicles*, they began to reign in the year of the Lord 256 [read: 253].

According to Eusebius in Book Seven of the *Ecclesiastical History*, Valerian was marvelously humane and kind toward the servants of God beyond all those who had preceded him. At the beginning he seemed far more kindly toward them even than men who were called Christians at least in name. He so greatly revered God's servants that his whole household was a church of God.

In a certain chronicle it is also read concerning his earlier goodness that his life was praiseworthy among the Romans. So much was this so that, by Decius's decree and everyone's desire, he was made censor in order to reform the fallen morals of the commonwealth for the better. This dignity had been used at Rome in ancient times and was never imposed except upon holy and grave men.

When Emperor Decius imposed this office upon Valerian, then a noble citizen, he used these words:

"Happy Valerian, by the judgment of the whole senate, receive the *censam* [read: *censuram*, censorship] of the entire Roman world, which the Roman commonwealth confers upon you. Today you alone among mortals are commanded to judge the morals of all.

"You will judge who ought to remain in the senate house or the palace. You will also restore the equestrian order to its ancient state. You will set limits upon assessments and arrange the revenues. Authority to write laws is given to you. You must judge the ranks of soldiers. You will inspect arms. You will judge concerning our palace, the judges, and the most eminent prefects, except the prefect of the city of Rome, the ordinary consuls, the king of sacred rites, and the chief virgin of the Vestals, if she has remained uncorrupted. Yet even those whom you cannot judge will labor to please you."

Valerian, declining the burden of so great a dignity, answered the emperor:

"I beg you, most holy emperor, do not bind me to this dignity so that I must judge the Roman people, the senate, the soldiers, and the judges of the whole world. These are matters that belong to the name of Augustus.

"Among us [read: among you], emperor, the censorship has ceased; a private man cannot after this [read: cannot] fulfill it. I therefore ask pardon from this title [read: that honor], for my life is unequal to it, my confidence is unequal to it, and the times themselves resist it, since human nature cannot bear [read: does not seek] a censorship of humankind."

When they heard this, the emperor and senate said with one voice: "Valerian's life is a censorship. Let him judge everyone, for he is better than everyone, has no crime, and can have nothing objected against him by others. From boyhood he was always grave, prudent, modest, and a friend of good men. He is foremost in birth, improved in life, illustrious in learning, and singular in character."

On account of this reputation and the character that preceded him, Valerian was afterward made emperor. As was said above, at the beginning of his reign he was exceedingly kind toward the worshipers of Christ. At last, however, he was corrupted and cast down from the truth by a certain most wicked teacher, the master and teacher of the Egyptian magicians. He then ordered just and holy men persecuted and killed as though they opposed the magical arts to which Valerian himself had submitted.

He came to such madness and cruelty that he first expelled from the palace those who were defenders of Christ's name. Then at Rome and throughout the whole world, as the eighth persecutor from Nero, he stirred up an exceedingly grievous persecution against Christ's Church. In this persecution Pope Stephen received martyrdom at Rome. Sixtus II succeeded him, as has been said.

§ I: The Several Men Called Decius

It must be carefully considered here who suffered under Decius, for there were several men named Decius.

The first was the emperor who followed Philip after killing him and was called by no other name. Some say that Pope Sixtus suffered with Lawrence his archdeacon under this man. They were asked for the Church's treasures--that is, those of Emperor Philip. After his father was killed by Decius, Philip's son feared for himself and entrusted the treasure to blessed Sixtus, who presided over the Roman Church, to be distributed to the poor.

This assertion is contradicted, however, because that Decius reigned, as appears above, for a year and a half, and Pope Fabian suffered under him. Between Fabian and Sixtus there were several years and several pontiffs--namely, Cornelius, Lucius, Stephen, and afterward Sixtus. From this it appears that Sixtus and Lawrence did not suffer under that first Decius.

There was another Decius, an emperor who was more commonly called Gallienus, under which name he is placed here in the number of emperors. He was the son of Valerian, of whom the present account speaks. For he was called both Gallienus and Decius [read: Gallienus and Decius were distinct rulers], and it seems more likely that Sixtus and Lawrence suffered under him.

Nor does the inquiry concerning Philip's treasures present an obstacle. Because they were great and were known to have been entrusted to the pontiff of the Christians, it could be supposed that they had passed through his predecessors to Sixtus and thus were sought from him.

In another chronicle, however, I found that this Decius under whom Sixtus and Lawrence suffered was not the emperor but merely the prefect of the city or a Caesar. By the command of the aforementioned Emperor Valerian, he caused the aforesaid martyrs Sixtus and Lawrence to suffer.

Helinand says that Emperor Gallus, who preceded Valerian, was also called Decius because he had two names [read: Trebonianus Gallus and Decius were distinct rulers]. Vincent says in the *Historical Mirror* that the histories disagree marvelously concerning the martyrs who suffered under Decius. Pope Cornelius is said to have suffered under him, and the virgin Eugenia, who lived in Cornelius's time, is read to have suffered under Valerian and Gallienus, who reigned after Decius and even after Volusianus and Gallus.

But if it is considered that there were several men called Decius--two or three, although only the first was styled emperor under that name--it will be easy to reconcile the accounts. For these two, Valerian and his son Gallienus, were also called Decius [read: Valerian, Gallienus, and Decius were distinct rulers]; or another prefect or Caesar was so called. By their command a dire and lengthy persecution was stirred up throughout the world against the Christians. They held the empire for fifteen years and both were ill-fated.

When Sapor, king of the Persians, was warring against the Roman provinces of Syria, Cilicia, and Cappadocia, Emperor Valerian heard of it, gathered innumerable thousands of armed men from every side, and came to Antioch. Arranging war there against the Persians, he crossed the Euphrates and arrived in Mesopotamia.

After he had fought minor battles there with sufficient success, a battle was finally joined in that place by the ordering of divine counsel, in which neither military strength nor discipline was of any use. Defeated and put to flight, he lost nearly his whole army. At last Valerian himself, fleeing while the Persians pursued him, was captured and handed over to the king of the Persians, who *eum ignominiosa consenuit servitute* [read: in his power he grew old in such ignominious slavery].

As long as Valerian, emperor and ruler of the Roman Empire, lived, he endured this punishment of an infamous office: *huni* [read: *humi*, on the ground], bending down, he carried King Sapor upon his shoulders whenever the king was about to mount his horse.

[Running head: Chapter Eight, Folio 237.]

Seventh Title: On the Reign of Vespasian

Chapter Eight (continued)

As Orosius says, by God's just judgment the author of so nefarious a crime against the saints--namely, the persecution of Christ's worshipers--was punished with a shameful death.

When Valerian had been captured, the surrounding nations were suddenly released on almost every side by God's permission. Loosening their reins, they invaded all the territories of the Romans. First the Germans penetrated the Alps, burst into Italy, and advanced as far as Ravenna. The Alemanni roamed through the Gauls and plundered everything with slaughter, flame, and rapine. Macedonia, Pontus, and Asia were devastated by an inundation of Goths. The Sarmatians depopulated the Pannonias. The Germans, after ravaging Further Spain, gained possession of it.

Moreover, tyrants arose by an internal conspiracy, and civil wars broke out. Roman blood was poured out everywhere--the blood of those who had poured out the innocent blood of Christians--as Romans and barbarians alike raged.

§ II: Gallienus and the Captivity of Valerian

Gallienus, the son of Valerian, was also called Decius according to some. After he alone obtained the direction of affairs when his father was captured, he was terrified by God's clear judgment and moved by the example of his father and colleague. He began to act more mildly and gently toward the Christians. Issuing decrees, he ordered the punishments stopped and the persecutions ended, and with anxious amends restored peace to the churches.

While a Persian prison held Emperor Valerian confined, many kings and princes who had brought aid to King Sapor against the Romans in the war advised him to return Valerian to the Romans and use so great a victory prudently.

Among the others, Vesonius, a most powerful king, wrote in these words:

"Vesonius to Sapor, king of the Persians.

"If I knew that the Romans could be completely conquered, I would rejoice in so great a victory as the gods have given you. But because that nation cannot be conquered either by deeds [read: by fate] or by courage, take care lest the fact that you defeated and captured an old emperor should in the future turn to evil for you and yours.

"Consider what nations the Romans made tributary after those nations, as enemies, had defeated them in war: the Gauls, the Carthaginians, and King Mithridates. Therefore use the opportunity for peace and return Valerian to the Romans."

Finally, foreign nations--namely, the Bactrians, Iberians, Albanians, and commanders of other peoples--wrote to Gallienus and the Romans, promising aid so that Valerian might be freed from captivity.

Gallienus, Valerian's son, was by nature a rather wanton man. When he learned of his father's captivity, he rejoiced and joked, although there was immense grief among everyone because the prince of the Romans was held in Persian captivity and his son was leaving him unavenged.

His heart stupefied by pleasures, he was not moved by his father's miseries or so great a disgrace to the Roman Empire. Instead he asked those around him: "What do we have for dinner today, and what pleasures have been prepared for us?" As though secure, he occupied himself with luxury, although in contempt for him many men in different provinces had called themselves emperors.

Meanwhile Macrinus [read: Macrianus]--or, as others write, Macianus [read: Macrianus]--governed the Syrian armies. After Valerian's misfortune, when the leading men of the orders asked what needed to be done, a certain Ballista, one of the legates, said in the assembly of all:

"Fellow soldiers, I seek a good prince who may restore the falling commonwealth. But who, I ask, can fill Valerian's place except Macrinus [read: Macrianus]? The most ample order of the senate and Emperor Valerian entrusted Egypt and Syria, a great part of the Roman Empire, to him. He is brave, steadfast, and upright, and--what pertains still more to imperial power--rich."

Turning to Macrinus [read: Macrianus], he then said: "Receive the position owed to your merits, Macrinus [read: Macrianus], and conduct yourself so that the Roman people may rejoice that you have been made prince."

Macrinus [read: Macrianus] answered him: "It is exceedingly blameworthy to desire imperial power solely in order to rule. It should instead be sought so that a man may be useful not only to himself and his children but also to the commonwealth. I receive the empire with the intention of aiding the Roman commonwealth and removing that plague of the human race, Gallienus, from the helm."

As the historians hold, no one at that time was more suited to governing the commonwealth. Added to this was the fact that his two sons, Macrinus [read: Macrianus] the Younger and Quietus, were exceedingly brave men and rushed into battle with their whole minds, so that they were examples to the legions.

§ III: Macrinus [read: Macrianus], Aureolus, Obdenachus [read: Odaenathus], and Zenobia

Macrinus [read: Macrianus] therefore, having assumed the empire, sought aid from every side. After assembling a very large and most valiant army, he undertook the march against Gallienus.

When this was heard, Aureolus, who governed the Illyrian armies, was compelled by his soldiers to assume the empire himself in contempt for Gallienus. He met the approaching Macrinus [read: Macrianus] with very great forces. When battle was joined, after grievous slaughter in both armies, Macrinus [read: Macrianus] was finally defeated, captured in flight, and killed.

Aureolus, having gained the victory, took possession of the entire surviving army of Macrinus [read: Macrianus]. Powerful in military strength, he ruled in Illyricum and compelled the whole surrounding region to obey him.

Obolenachus [read: Odaenathus] the Palmyrene, who governed the eastern armies on behalf of the Romans, hoped to join to himself the legions that Macrinus [read: Macrianus] had left with his son to defend Syria. Gathering the eastern forces, he crossed into Syria and defeated and besieged Quietus, Macrinus [read: Macrianus]'s son.

When the soldiers with Quietus had for some time been tormented by exceedingly powerful hunger, they killed the young man at Ballista's instigation, cast his body over the wall, and all surrendered themselves to Obdenachus [read: Odaenathus].

After this victory Obdenachus [read: Odaenathus] therefore obtained almost the entire East. Thus at that time Obdenachus [read: Odaenathus] held the East, Aureolus Illyricum, and Gallienus Italy.

After obtaining the East, Obdenachus [read: Odaenathus] saw himself made strong by so many legions and resolved to wage war against the Persians in order to free Valerian. Gathering auxiliaries from almost the whole East, he advanced against the Persians in battle, defeated them, besieged and captured the most noble cities Nisibis and Carrhae, and recovered all Mesopotamia, which they had occupied.

Finally, engaging the king of the Persians himself in a most difficult battle, he routed and defeated him. In this battle he captured the king's treasures. Thus Obdenachus [read: Odaenathus] restored Roman affairs in the East to their former condition.

Because he did nothing except labor to free Valerian, he burned with zeal every day and, on foreign soil amid the difficulties of the places, labored most faithfully for the commonwealth as an excellent emperor.

When Gallienus learned this, he shared the imperial power with Obdenachus [read: Odaenathus] and called him Augustus. The senate and Roman people gratefully accepted what had been done.

At last Obdenachus [read: Odaenathus], after successfully conducting affairs in the East and winning many wars, was killed with his son Herodes by his cousin Maeonius, who also aspired to the empire. This was a great loss to the empire.

Obdenachus [read: Odaenathus] was, as cannot be denied, a man singular in strength of hand, eloquence, and prudence, and most skillful and fortunate in military affairs. In his youth he was also greatly devoted to hunting. He killed lions, leopards, and bears after engaging them in combat.

The wife of this Obdenachus [read: Odaenathus] was Zenobia, a marvelous woman who is said to have been braver than her husband. She was chaste, sober, and prudent. Her voice was clear and her severity manly. Where necessity demanded, she possessed the severity of tyrants; where piety required, the clemency of good princes. She had a firm command of histories, especially eastern ones, so much so that she is said to have abridged them. Moreover, she was most skilled in every language.

When her husband died, she did not occupy herself with weeping, as women are accustomed to do. With a manly spirit she pursued and killed her husband's murderers. After they had been killed, she came helmeted to the assembly, wearing a purple veil with gems hanging from it.

In this assembly, detesting the luxury of Gallienus, she caused the armies to swear allegiance to her sons Timolaus and Terremanius [read: Herennianus]. Because they were boys, she herself held the rule of the East against Gallienus.

Gallienus, occupied at Rome with luxury and feasting, heard that Obdenachus [read: Odaenathus] had been killed and resolved to make war upon the Persians, seeking vengeance for his father far too late. He gathered forces and entrusted the conduct of the war against the Persians to a certain Heraclianus, one of his commanders.

When Zenobia heard that he had come into those regions, she feared that, after defeating the Persians, he would take the empire of the East away from her sons. She met him in battle and either killed or captured his entire army. Hearing this, Gallienus abandoned his plan.

§ IV: Aemilianus and the Usurpers in the Provinces

During the same time Aemilianus assumed the empire in Egypt. He was exceedingly experienced in war. Eastern commanders who had survived the wars or were in the provincial garrisons compelled him, because of their hatred of Gallienus, to accept the empire.

Immediately, although unwilling, he assumed the empire and traversed the Thebaid and Egypt. With great military courage he moved the nations of barbarians that had poured themselves through the Roman provinces.

Moreover, by seizing the granaries where a great quantity of grain was kept for the city's support, he afflicted the city of Rome with a dreadful famine. Theodorus [read: Theodotus], one of Gallienus's commanders, afterward captured this Aemilianus after fighting a most bloody battle with him and sent him to Gallienus at the city bound in chains.

After him a certain Alexander named himself emperor in Egypt. He was captured and killed by the same Theodorus [read: Theodotus].

While such varied events occurred in the East, men in whom the desire for ever-new dominions was innate saw Gallienus persist in the depravity of luxury and called a certain Postumius, one of the Roman commanders, to the empire.

This man was exceedingly brave in war, exceedingly steadfast in peace, and most grave in all his actions. So true was this that Gallienus entrusted his son Salenius [read: Saloninus] to Postumius for upbringing, as though to a guardian of his life and an instructor of his character and imperial conduct.

As some report, Postumius broke faith, killed Salenius [read: Saloninus], and assumed the empire. Others relate that the Gauls called him emperor and killed Gallienus's son through soldiers they sent.

When Gallienus afterward perceived these things, he made peace with Aureolus, who had made himself emperor in Illyricum, in his zeal to oppose Postumius, who governed Gaul after it had been occupied by barbarians and then freed from them.

As Aureolus and Postumius waged war against one another, they acted sometimes successfully and sometimes unsuccessfully. Finally, after Gallienus had been expelled from the empire, Postumius--who had previously been greatly loved--conducted himself with excessive harshness and severity. He was killed by a certain commander named Lollianus with the consent of a great part of the army.

After Postumius's death, Lollianus was substituted in his place and assumed the empire offered to him by the Gallic armies. He defeated and expelled the Germans who had poured into Gaul and restored it to peace. While he remained in this peace, however, he was treacherously killed by Victorinus, the son of Victoria.

Victorinus therefore assumed the empire in the Gauls. He was exceedingly brave in war and, apart from his lust, an excellent emperor. Lust and pleasure in women so completely destroyed him, however, that none of the ancient writers dared to commit his life to letters, for it is established by everyone's judgment that he deserved punishment for his unbridled lust. Not long after assuming the empire, he was suddenly pierced with a sword and died at the hand of a man whose wife he had violated.

After Victorinus was killed in the Gauls, the Gallic armies wavered for some time concerning the election of an emperor. At last a certain Marius was made emperor in a military tumult. Although he was the son of a blacksmith, he was called to several dignities and finally to the imperial dignity because of his enormous bodily strength. He was killed by a certain soldier who had once been his servant in a blacksmith's workshop.

A certain Roman commander named Ingenuus, who governed the army in Pannonia, was also made emperor by the Moesian legions. Because of his singular courage of mind and body, Gallienus had always regarded him with suspicion, especially because he was exceedingly acceptable to the soldiers.

When Gallienus heard this, although ruined by luxury, he was nevertheless energetic, swift, and brave whenever necessity threatened. Gathering an army from Italy, he advanced against Ingenuus. After fighting a most difficult battle with him, Gallienus defeated, routed, and killed him.

In this appeared the cruelty and bestial rage of Gallienus. He ordered all the soldiers captured in that war killed and, raging against the cities that had favored Ingenuus, left them empty of the male sex.

Nor were the Africans lacking. When they heard that Gallienus was disputing among taverns and baths with pimps, they too proclaimed emperor a certain proconsul named Celsus. On the seventh day of his rule he was killed by Galliena, Gallienus's cousin.

Amid the many military disasters that arose under Gallienus, there was also an exceedingly severe earthquake. Many towns and cities in the East collapsed, crushing their inhabitants. For many days exceedingly dense darkness covered the earth. A very great thunder was heard, not from the thundering sky but from the bellowing earth, and many people died from terror at it. Rome itself was also shaken by a violent movement.

Moreover, the sea burst beyond its limits and boundaries and submerged many cities. The pestilence that had begun under Volusianus and Gallus so wearied Rome that five thousand people perished from the same disease in a single day.

The most noble city of the Byzantines in *Trahie* [read: *Thraciae*, of Thrace], most renowned for naval wars, was so devastated by Gallienus's soldiers that absolutely none of its citizens survived except for a few dispersed throughout the world. It was nevertheless afterward restored by Constantine the Great.

Wearied and battered by such great evils, the commonwealth could not endure that most depraved plague, Gallienus. Although he was a most renowned poet and exceedingly gifted in every art, luxury corrupted everything. He always turned his nature toward the worse and, being prone to cruelty, killed many citizens for the aforesaid reason.

[Running head: Chapter Eight, Folio 238.]

Seventh Title: On the Reign of Vespasian

Chapter Eight (continued)

When Gallienus had now become hateful to the senate and the Roman people, they considered summoning Aureolus, who ruled in Illyricum, to the city so that he might assume the empire and remove Gallienus. To accomplish this, Aureolus entered Italy with his armies. When Gallienus learned of it, he met him with his forces near Milan so that they might wage war against one another. But there Gallienus himself was killed by certain of his own commanders.

§ V: Cyprian

While the aforesaid Valerian and Gallienus ruled, many people in various places were crowned with martyrdom. For after Valerian, who had already possessed the empire for seven years, was captured by the king of the Persians, as has been said, his son Gallienus afterward ruled alone for eight years; he was also called Decius.

Among the others, the distinguished doctor Cyprian was crowned with martyrdom in his time. It must be observed that this Cyprian is not the man who, after having once been a magician, was later converted to the faith, eventually became a bishop, and suffered martyrdom with Saint Justina. For that man lived in the time of Diocletian, as is stated below; this one lived in the time of this Gallienus, who was also called Decius.

Jerome therefore says as follows about him in his *Book of Illustrious Men*:

“Cyprian the African, bishop of Carthage, at first taught rhetoric with distinction. Then, through the persuasion of the presbyter Caecilius--from whom he also received his surname--he became a Christian, distributed his entire substance to the poor, and, not long afterward, was chosen as a presbyter and also appointed bishop of Carthage. It is superfluous to compose a judgment [read: draw up a catalogue] of his genius, since his works are clearer than the sun.

“He suffered under the persecution of the princes Valerian and Gallienus, the eighth persecution, on the same day as Cornelius but not in the same year. For while, as is contained in his Acts, he devoted himself to preaching at Carthage, he was presented to the proconsul Patrinus [read: Aspasius Paternus]. Because he could not be moved from the faith, he was sent into a long exile. But at the command of the proconsul Astasius [read: Galerius Maximus], who succeeded Patrinus [read: Aspasius Paternus] in office, he was recalled from exile and beheaded by him. When the sentence of condemnation against him had been read, he said, ‘Thanks be to God,’ and ordered his people to give a fixed sum of money to the executioner.”

He wrote many short works arranged in a most eloquent style and approved by the Church, Distinction 15, *Sancta Romana*. He wrote one book *On the Twelve Abuses of the World*; one book to Donatus, *On the Grace of God*; one book *On the Lapsed*; one book *On Gamblers*; one book *On the Unity of the Catholic Church*; one book *On the Lord’s Prayer*; one book *On Mortality*; one book *On Work and Almsgiving*; one book *On the Good of Patience*; one book *On Jealousy and Envy*; one book to Demetrius; one to Fortunatus; one to Quirinus; one to Antonianus; one to Julianus; one to Caecilius; one to Cornelius; three books *On the Praise of Martyrdom*; one *On the Sacred Chalice*; one *On the Two Mountains*; and many letters to various persons.

In the book entitled *On the Grace of God and the Abundance of the World’s Malice*, he says among other things:

“The Spirit, flowing forth abundantly, is confined by no boundaries and restrained by no fixed limits. He flows continually and overflows copiously. Only let our breast thirst and lie open: as much capacious faith as we bring there, so much of the flood of grace do we draw.

“Imagine for a little while that you have been withdrawn to the higher summit of a lofty mountain. From there look upon the faces of the things lying beneath you and, with your eyes extended in different directions, yourself free from earthly contacts, behold the whirlwinds of the wavering world. You will now pity the world itself, and, mindful of yourself, more grateful to God and with greater joy, you will rejoice that you have escaped.

“Alas [read: Now], among the innocent [read: among the guilty] it is a crime to be harmless. Whoever does not imitate the evil gives offense. The laws have consented to sins, and what is forbidden [read: what is publicly practiced] has begun to be lawful. For what shame concerning affairs, what integrity can exist there, where those who would condemn the wicked are absent and only those who are condemned present themselves?

“Moreover, those whom you imagine rich are themselves anxious amid their riches, and the solicitude of uncertain thought tears them apart: lest a robber lay waste their goods, lest an assailant attack them, or lest the hostile envy of someone richer disturb them with calumnious lawsuits. Neither food nor sleep comes securely. *gemat. licet bibat in convivio suspirat* [read: he sighs at the banquet, though he drinks from a gemmed cup]; and when a softer bed has enclosed in its deep hollow his body languid from feasts, he lies awake upon the featherbed. The wretched man does not understand that these splendid things are punishments to him, that he is held bound to gold and possessed, and more to possess riches [read: to be possessed rather than to possess riches].

“O detestable blindness of minds and deep darkness of mad greed! Although a man could unburden and relieve himself of his weights, he goes on reclining all the more upon the fortunes that oppress him and clinging to his penal heaps. There is no

generosity toward dependents, no sharing with the needy. They call that money their own which, as though it belonged to another, they guard shut up at home with anxious labor. From it nothing is imparted to friends, to children, or finally to themselves; they possess it only so that another may not be permitted to possess it.

“Or do you think at least those men secure in stable firmness amid the insignia of honors or abundant resources--those who, shining with the splendor of the royal court, are surrounded by the protection of watchful arms? Their fear is greater than that of others, for they are compelled to fear as much as they are feared. Exalted rank likewise exacts punishments from the more powerful man.

“There is therefore one placid and faithful tranquility, one solid and firm security: if a man, drawn away from these whirlwinds of a disquieting world, takes his station in the refuge of the saving harbor, raises his eyes from earth to heaven, and, admitted to the gift of God and already near to his God in mind, glories that whatever among others appears lofty and great in human affairs lies beneath his own conscience. He who is greater than the world can no longer seek anything from the world.”

The same man says in the book *On Gamblers*:

“If the sheep sin and the shepherds pardon those who sin, do they not burden themselves with the weight of those who sin? Why, I ask, faithful ones, does the hand which has been purified from human injuries and admitted to the Lord’s sacrifice, which rises in the oratory to praise the Lord, and which marks upon the forehead the sign of Christ by which it is protected--why, I say, does it, by practicing the game of dice, again entangle itself in the snares of the devil from which it was freed?

“For gaming is the devil’s hunting snare and an incurable wound of sin. There the devil is at hand, crouching to seize; there are treachery, false testimony, fury of mind, and perjury for sale; there is serpentine speech; there are raging friendship and discordant brotherhood; there are insults and savage audacity, fierce impatience, and the loss of possessions.

“O idle wickedness of gamblers! O cruel hand, armed to its own peril, which squanders with shameful zeal paternal goods and resources acquired by the sweat of others!

[Running head: Seventh Title.]

“Gaming is a channel of evil and the supplanting of a friend. It brings no profit [variant: grief], but consumes everything. From this men finally become poor; here, when all their possessions have been consumed, they overwhelm themselves with borrowed money; from this they lose a patrimony without receiving any market money [read: without any legal claim in court].

“Indeed, the man who first invented this game, filled by the devil’s prompting with his arts, established that his imitators should worship and sacrifice to him, so that anyone who wished to adhere to his pursuit should not first extend his hand to the gaming board unless he first sacrificed to its author. But whoever you are, Christian, who plays at the gaming board: although you do not sacrifice, you nevertheless share in the law of this crime, and certainly you are not a Christian.

“O what madness of gamblers, who rage, swear falsely, curse, and, blinded by the devil’s darkness, lay hands upon one another, devote one another to destruction, and dishonor their parents’ origin in the presence of the crowds! A man who has already been defeated repeatedly is again incited by the devil’s persuasion toward the harmful pursuit. It is an art hostile to its students and a lustful pursuit that supplies not riches but nakedness and want.” Thus he speaks.

The same Cyprian says in a certain book to Julianus [read: Pope Nicholas I writes to Emperor Michael III, adapting Gelasius I]:

“The one mediator of God and men, the man Christ Jesus, thus distinguished by his own acts and dignities the offices of each power. He wished his own people to be lifted upward by medicinal humility, not to be submerged again into the infernal regions by human pride, so that Christian emperors should need pontiffs for eternal life, while pontiffs should use imperial laws only for the course of temporal affairs. Thus spiritual action would stand apart from carnal incursions; a man serving God would by no means entangle himself in secular business; and, conversely, one who was entangled in secular business would not appear to preside over divine things.” Thus he speaks, Distinction 10, *Quoniam*.

There the gloss says that the papacy and the empire have one principle, namely Christ, who was pontiff and King of Kings, and that those dignities are distinct. Nevertheless, the pope possesses both swords and sometimes uses each of them. Therefore, although they are distinct, in their exercise they are nevertheless subordinated, so that the imperial dignity is subject to the papal as an inferior to a superior, Distinction 96, *Duo sunt*. Just as there is one prince in the universe, God, so in the Church there is one monarch, namely the pope, to whom the Lord of both the earthly and the heavenly empire granted their rights, as is stated in Distinction 22, chapter 1.

§ VI: Dionysius of Alexandria

Under this same Decius Gallienus, Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, also suffered exile in various places. For, as Eusebius writes in Book Seven of the *Ecclesiastical History*, while Valerian and Gallienus persecuted the saints, this Dionysius declared that the one God who made heaven and earth alone must be adored, while the others were neither gods nor to be adored. He was sent into exile in a certain encampment in the desert called Cetro [read: Cefro (Cephro)]. It was chosen especially because the inhabitants of the place were gentiles and greatly devoted to the superstitions of idols.

Although they at first received Dionysius with a hostile spirit and a very adverse mind, afterward, when by God's grace he gradually began to sow the word of the Lord among them, the greater part of that savage and barbarous people abandoned the idols, was converted to the true God, and was subjected to Christ.

When this was discovered, they transferred him again to another place near Alexandria but deserted by its inhabitants and almost empty of residents. Yet there, because of its proximity to the city, crowds of our people frequented him, and the flock, as though receiving the fragrance of its shepherd, was made more joyful and constant in its contests.

Again, soldiers sent with a centurion bound Dionysius himself, and with him Gaius and Peter, in chains, afflicted them with various torments, and dragged them into a certain desert of Libya, a most squalid place, parched and deprived of every use of human kindness. There they left them bound in fetters.

Finally, he is reported to have answered certain men who were pursuing him: "Why do you weary yourselves by pursuing me? Take my head, for whose sake you labor so greatly, severed from my shoulders, and carry a great gift to the tyrant."

Jerome says of him in his *Book of Illustrious Men*:

"Dionysius, bishop of the city of Alexandria, as a presbyter, directed the catechetical school under Heraclas and was a most distinguished pupil of Origen. Agreeing with the doctrine of Cyprian and the African synod on baptizing heretics, he sent very many letters to various people, which survive to the present day. To Fabian, bishop of the city of Antioch, he writes on penance, and another letter to the Romans through Hippolytus; two letters to Pope Sixtus, who had succeeded Stephen; and two to Philemon and Dionysius, presbyters of the Roman Church. He also wrote to the same Dionysius, afterward bishop of the Roman Church, on Easter; two books against Bishop Nepos, who had asserted in his writings a corporeal kingdom of a thousand years, in which books he discusses the Apocalypse of John most diligently; and four books to Dionysius, bishop of the city of Rome."

This Dionysius also says of himself in the third book *On Baptism*, which he wrote to Philemon:

"I both read the treatises of heretics and investigate their traditions, even if for an hour I seem to be polluted by their words. Yet this very thing is of much benefit to me, because from their words I can refute them. Finally, when one of my fellow-presbyter brothers forbade me to be polluted by heretical reading as though by the stench of some *sceni* [read: *coeni*, mud or filth], a certain vision was shown to me by God to strengthen me, and a word came to me: 'Read everything whatsoever comes into your hands, for you are able to test and discern each thing, since from the beginning this was the cause of your believing.'" Thus he speaks.

At last he rested in peace in the twelfth year of Gallienus.

§ VII: Gregory of Neocaesarea

Jerome says as follows about Gregory, bishop of Neocaesarea, in his *Book of Illustrious Men*:

"Theodorus, who was afterward called Gregory, bishop of Neocaesarea in Pontus, while still a very young man passed from Cappadocia to Birritum [read: Berytus] and from there to Caesarea in Palestine for the study of Greek and Latin letters, accompanied by his brother Theodorus [read: his brother Athenodorus]. When Origen saw their excellent natural ability, he exhorted them to philosophy. By gradually introducing the faith of Christ into it, he also made them his followers.

"After being instructed by him for five years, they were sent back to their mother. Of these, Theodorus, when departing, wrote a panegyric of thanksgiving to Origen and, after a great multitude had been summoned, recited it in Origen's own presence. It survives to this day. He wrote a paraphrase of Ecclesiastes, brief indeed but very useful, and other letters of this kind are commonly attributed to him. Above all, however, are the signs and miracles which, when he was already bishop, he performed to the great glory of the churches."

Hence Eusebius says of him as follows. A certain lake situated in the regions of Pontus was rich in fish, from whose catch very rich revenues were rendered to its owners. This possession had fallen by hereditary lot to two brothers.

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Seventh Title: On the Reign of Vespasian

Chapter Eight (continued)

But greed for money, which overcomes the hearts of almost all mortals, also violated the reciprocal bond of brotherhood. At fishing time the property was occupied by the brothers, not so much to catch fish as to ensnare men. Slayings of men stirred up wars; human blood was poured out for fish.

At length, however, God's providence supplied aid. When Gregory arrived, he saw battles and the deaths of men. He asked the brothers, who were brothers by birth, what cause existed for which brothers would be inflamed to the destruction of themselves and their people. He found nothing but the catch of fish.

Then, after both parties had fallen silent for a little while out of respect for him, he said: "My little sons, do not violate rational souls for the sake of mute animals, dissolve fraternal peace by greed for gain, and violate together the laws of God and of nature. But come with me to the shore of the death-dealing lake. Through the Lord's power I shall now absolve you from every contest of bloody strife."

When he had said this, in the sight of everyone he fixed the staff that he held in his hand at the edge of the shore's waters. Bending his knees, he extended his hands to heaven and supplicated the exalted God. As soon as he finished praying, the water immediately withdrew itself and, fleeing with swifter *ausu* [read: *cursu*, course] from sight above, returned, commanded from above to *discere* [read: *discedere*, withdraw] from sight, to its abysses. It left a dry field to the brothers, who were now in concord. Even to the present day the soil that had formerly been rich in boats is said to be rich in crops.

Another deed, more illustrious and divine, is also recalled as having been done by him. In a certain narrow rural place, when circumstances required a church to be built, a rock from a neighboring mountain obstructed the site on the eastern side, while on the other side a river flowing past denied as much space as would suffice for the church. Since there was no other place at all and everyone was sorrowful that they had no ground on which to build a church, he is said, full of faith, *pernoctatione* [read: *pernoctasse*, to have spent the night] in prayer. He faithfully reminded the Lord Jesus of his promise: "If you have faith like a grain of mustard seed, you will say to this mountain, 'Take yourself away and *mittere* [read: *mitte te*, cast yourself] into the sea,' and it will surely happen." When he sought this with devotion full of faith, at daylight, when the people assembled, the obstructing rock was found to have withdrawn by precisely as much space as was required for founding the church. Very many other deeds are also attributed to him.

Haymo says as follows about the same man. When this Gregory was once crossing the Alps, compelled by the necessity of the snow, he turned aside to a shrine of Apollo and spent the night there. When he departed in the morning, the demon also departed. It was asked to give responses as before, but it remained mute. When the priest consulted it, Gregory's arrival was given as the reason.

The priest immediately occupied the road, came to Gregory, stated his complaint about the expelled divinity, and lamented his lost gain. Gregory wrote a letter in these words: "Gregory to Apollo. I permit you to return to your place and do what you were accustomed to do." The priest carried this letter to the shrine and placed it beside the image. The demon was present again and again gave responses.

Then the priest, turning within himself, said: "How is Gregory not much better than this Apollo, who obeys his commands?" Descending in the same hour to Gregory, he returned the letter, disclosed the sequence of events, and asked to offer himself to God. Then, abandoning paganism, he was made a catechumen by Gregory. When he had committed himself to a most chaste and abstinent life, he also received baptism. He advanced so far in the power of faith that he became Blessed Gregory's successor in the episcopate.

§ VIII: Sixtus and Lawrence

Thus, during the rule of Decius--not the first, who ruled for two years and six months, as some say, because Sixtus was not pope at that time; nor the second, Gallus, who ruled with Volusianus and was called Decius through him according to Helinand, for the same reason; but under the third Decius, who by the more customary name was called Gallienus and ruled with his father Valerian for fifteen years [read: fifteen years in all--seven with his father and eight alone], in whose time Sixtus was made pope; or, as certain others hold, under another, a fourth Decius, who was not emperor but was made Caesar by Gallienus, and with Valerian, not the aforesaid Gallienus's father but then prefect of the city--Pope Sixtus and his archdeacon Lawrence suffered.

This Sixtus, born at Athens and devoted to studies, was a philosopher. When Decius Caesar heard that many people were being converted or confirmed in the faith of Christ through Pope Sixtus, he ordered Sixtus to be presented to him. When Sixtus was led before him with his deacons Felicissimus and Agapitus and he could not be moved from his holy purpose by any blandishments, Decius commanded that he be led to the temple so that he might either sacrifice to the gods or be thrust into prison.

As Sixtus was being dragged to prison because he scorned to sacrifice, Lawrence heard of it and approached him, saying: "Where are you going without your son, father? Where are you hastening, holy priest, without your minister? You were never accustomed

to offer sacrifice without a minister. What, therefore, in me has displeased your fatherhood? Have you found me degenerate, I to whom you entrusted the dispensing of the Lord's blood?"

Sixtus answered him: "I do not abandon or forsake you, son, but greater contests are owed to you. We indeed, like old men, receive the course of a lighter battle, but a more glorious triumph over the tyrant awaits you as a young man. After three days, you, the Levite, will follow me, the priest."

He therefore entrusted to him the distribution to the poor of the treasures of the Church--namely, whatever remained either from the offerings of Emperor Philip or from other rich men converted to the faith. Lawrence did so, seeking out needy Christians who were in hiding and dispensing alms to them. Entering the house of a widow in which many of the faithful remained hidden, he gave alms and cured her of a headache that had afflicted her for a long time; in the house of another worshiper of Christ he gave sight to a blind man.

Sixtus was again presented to Decius. When he would not assent to him, the prefect Valerian decreed that he be led to the temple of Mars and, if he would not offer sacrifice there, be punished by beheading. While Sixtus was being led away, Lawrence, stirred by the fervor of the Spirit, began to cry after him: "Do not forsake me, holy father, for I have already spent the treasures that you handed to me."

When the soldiers heard treasures mentioned, they seized Lawrence and brought him to Decius. Sixtus, however, was beheaded with Agapitus and Felicissimus.

Lawrence was therefore presented to Decius, who handed him over to the prefect Valerian so that he might demand the Church's treasures from him and, if he refused to sacrifice, kill him with various torments. Valerian handed him over to the jailer Hippolytus for custody.

Entering the prison, Lawrence found there a certain man named Lucillus who had lost his sight through excessive weeping. Lawrence promised to restore his sight if he believed in Christ. Thus, after Lucillus was converted to the faith and baptized, Lawrence suddenly gave him sight.

[Running head: Seventh Title.]

He also restored sight to many other blind people who came to him. Seeing this, Hippolytus said, "Show me the treasures." Lawrence said to him: "Hippolytus, I shall not only show you a treasure, but, if you believe in Christ, I promise you eternal life."

Hippolytus believed and was baptized. He said, "I saw the souls of the innocent rejoicing in gladness." Hippolytus therefore had his entire household baptized.

After this Valerian commanded Hippolytus to present Lawrence. When Lawrence was brought before him and questioned about the treasures, he asked for a delay of three days in order to reveal them. Departing from his presence, within the three days he gathered all the poor whom he found throughout the world [read: throughout the city] and to whom he had given alms, and brought them together before Valerian in the palace, saying: "Behold the eternal treasures that never fail. For the hands of the poor have carried the treasures you seek into the heavenly treasuries."

When Decius Caesar questioned him and he blasphemed the gods, Decius ordered him beaten with scorpion scourges and every kind of instrument of torture brought before him. When Decius ordered him to sacrifice to his gods in order to escape those things, Lawrence answered: "Wretched man, I have always desired these feasts." Decius said to him: "If you glory in this, tell us where your companions are hidden, so that they too may feast with you." He answered, "He is not worthy [read: You are not worthy] to be presented to their sight."

Then Decius, angered, ordered him beaten for a very long time with leaded scourges. Blessed Lawrence prayed, saying, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." Immediately a voice came from heaven, saying: "Many contests for Christ are still owed to you."

Hearing this, Decius said: "Men of Rome, you have heard the demons comforting this sacrilegious man, who rejects the gods and despises the commands of princes." Again he had Lawrence severely beaten with scorpion scourges.

One of the soldiers standing by, named Romanus, while Lawrence was being beaten, cried out, converted to the faith: "I see a most beautiful young man standing before you and wiping your limbs with a linen cloth. Therefore I adjure you by the Lord who sent his angel: do not forsake me."

Decius, troubled by this, ordered Lawrence taken down and returned to custody, saying, "I think that we have now been defeated by magic art." Romanus approached Lawrence with a pitcher of water and had himself baptized by him. When Decius heard this concerning Romanus, he had him led before him after a beating. When Romanus cried, "I am a Christian," Decius ordered him beheaded.

That same night Decius and Valerian said to Lawrence, who had been brought before them: "Sacrifice to the gods; otherwise this night will be spent in your torments." Lawrence said to them: "My night has no darkness, but all things shine brightly in the light."

After they had cruelly struck his mouth with a stone, they stripped him and had him stretched upon an iron gridiron beneath which were coals of fire, and they had his body pressed down with iron forks. While he was roasted there for a long time, as the attendants supplied coals beneath the gridiron, he gave thanks to God. With so joyful a face that he seemed to feel no pain, he turned to Decius and said: “Behold, wretch, you have roasted one side. Turn the other and eat. I now see what I have long desired.”

Then, raising his eyes to heaven, he said: “I give thanks to you, Lord Jesus Christ, because I have merited to enter your gates.” Thus he breathed forth his spirit.

Decius and Valerian, confounded, departed, leaving his body burned upon the gridiron. Hippolytus and Justin, however, received Lawrence’s body and buried it honorably.

§ IX: Hippolytus and His Household

On the third day after Lawrence’s passion, Decius heard that Hippolytus had buried his body and ordered him summoned. He said to him: “Have you too become a magician, because you carried away Lawrence’s body?” Hippolytus replied: “I did this not as a magician but as a Christian.”

Filled with fury, Decius ordered him stripped, beaten with clubs, and also torn with iron combs. At this Hippolytus cried all the more that he was a Christian. When he was clothed in military dress and admonished to acknowledge the military service and friendship of Decius, he answered that in good military service he followed Christ.

Decius commanded the prefect Valerian to seize his possessions and kill him with various tortures. When Valerian heard that Hippolytus’s whole household was Christian, he had them all led before him with Concordia, his nurse. He told them to worship the gods lest they perish by an evil death with their master. Concordia answered on behalf of all: “We prefer to die chastely with our master Hippolytus rather than live unchastely.”

Valerian had her beaten with leaded scourges until she breathed forth her spirit. Hippolytus gave thanks to God that he had sent his nurse before him, and he strengthened his household in the Lord. Seeing their constancy, Valerian had them all beheaded in Hippolytus’s sight. Afterward he had Hippolytus bound by the feet to the necks of untamed horses and dragged through thorns and briars. Giving thanks to God, he rendered his unconquered spirit to the Lord.

Concordia’s body had been cast into a sewer. Irenaeus, a sewer worker and a Christian in secret, drew it out at the request of a certain soldier named Porphyrius, because the soldier thought that gold and gems were kept in her clothing. Finding nothing of that sort in her garments, however, he and the Christian Abundius carried the body to the presbyter Justin, and it was buried beside the bodies of the others. Irenaeus and Abundius were crowned with martyrdom for this.

Decius and Valerian themselves, when they wished to enter the theater to torture the faithful, were seized by demons and cried publicly. Decius cried: “O Hippolytus, bound with harsh chains, you drag me!” Valerian cried: “O Lawrence, you drag me with fiery chains!” Valerian breathed his last in Decius’s presence. Decius himself, tormented for three days, finally failed, and his soul descended into hell.

Triphonia, the wife of Decius, terrified by these things, had herself and her daughter Cyrilla baptized by Justin. While engaged in prayer, she migrated to the Lord. When the soldiers heard of the conversion of Triphonia and Cyrilla, they too, with their wives, received baptism from Dionysius, the successor of Pope Sixtus. Claudius, the successor of Gallienus in the empire, ordered all of them beheaded together with Cyrilla, the daughter of Decius, because she would neither marry nor sacrifice.

Among the faithful, however, the martyr Lawrence is held in great veneration above the other martyrs after Stephen, and his feast is solemnly celebrated by the Church: both because he suffered in the city of Rome while others *dominante* [read: *dominantibus*, ruled]; because he was the supreme pontiff’s archdeacon--the first and the last--about whose martyrdom Pope Sixtus himself also prophesied; because he faithfully distributed the treasures of the Church to the poor; and because after many most bitter torments he ended his life with the greatest fervor, most joyfully enduring everything.

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Seventh Title: On the Reign of Vespasian

Chapter Eight (continued)

Hence the ancient doctors--Augustine, Pope Leo, Ambrose, and Maximus--also commend Lawrence greatly in their sermons. By the threefold fire that lay hidden within him, namely, the greatness of faith, the fervor of love, and the irradiation of God, he extinguished every evil fire: the material flame of Gehenna, carnal desire, worldly greed, and tyrannical anger. He possessed refreshment from the heavenly consolation of the reward obtained, from meditation on God's law, and from the sincerity of conscience.

Hence Maximus, or Ambrose, says: "Blessed Lawrence could not feel the torments of the fires in his entrails, because in his senses he possessed the refreshment of paradise." The same author says: "While he considers Christ's commandments, everything he suffers becomes cold to him." The same author says: "The most valiant martyr assuredly burns with all his entrails and is scorched, but, contemplating the kingdom of heaven, he exults as victor in the refreshment of conscience." Thus he speaks.

He is therefore worthily turned into an exceptional memorial among men, for, crowned with glory and honor, he attained the joys of the angels. While dwelling on earth, he was made wondrous by God not only in giving sight to the blind and relieving the poor; after being taken up into heaven, he did not cease to furnish his patronage to those invoking him, and by a trembling he showed that he was to be venerated.

For, as Gregory of Tours relates, when a certain poor priest decided to repair a church dedicated in Lawrence's honor that had collapsed from age, one of the beams brought to repair the roof was found to be too short and therefore unfit for the work. But after the priest directed a prayer to Saint Lawrence that he would aid his poverty, it was lengthened so much that it had to be shortened. The part cut away as superfluous was divided into pieces and, by contact with it, brought a remedy of health to many.

Gregory the Great also relates in his *Dialogue* that, when workers hired by Sanctulus for the restoration of Saint Lawrence's church lacked food, he poured out prayers to the martyr for aid. Bread sent from heaven was found in an oven near the church, and it refreshed the laborers for many days.

When a deacon was carrying a most beautiful crystal chalice to the altar and it fell to the ground and was broken into little pieces, the distinguished martyr restored it through a prayer directed by him in a church near Milan.

When Emperor Henry migrated from this world, and his good and evil deeds were being weighed before the judge above, the evil outweighed the good. Lawrence suddenly cast into the scale or balance of the good deeds a golden chalice of wondrous size that Henry had offered to the church of Merseburg in honor of Saint Lawrence. From this the good deeds outweighed the evil, and Henry was judged unto salvation.

As Gregory says, when a certain predecessor of his had determined to make improvements at Saint Lawrence's tomb, many men dug in the pavement to find the body itself, since its location was unknown. It was unexpectedly revealed. The workmen were terrified by this, and all of them died within ten days, so that none of those who saw the body survived. Thus the work was abandoned.

The body of Stephen, the protomartyr and first Levite, brought from Constantinople, is said to rest with him in the same mausoleum.

The report spread among little women that Blessed Lawrence frees certain souls from purgatory every Wednesday, or even that anyone who visits the threshold of any church constructed in Saint Lawrence's honor every Wednesday for an entire year frees the soul of some deceased person from the punishments of purgatory. This is rejected by the very facility with which it is claimed. Neither history teaches it nor reason commends it. Indeed, it appears superstitious that suffrages on Wednesday should benefit the dead more than on another day, or that Blessed Lawrence should accomplish liberation on that day more than on another.

It is piously granted concerning Christ that, ascending from limbo at the Resurrection, he brought forth from purgatory, on that single occasion, some souls that had few or easily expiable faults. But the servant is not greater than his lord. We therefore do not reprehend visits to churches of Saint Lawrence or prayers to him for the living or the dead, but we do not accept the observance of days and unknown fables.

§ X: The Persecution of Decius

Decius, therefore, as Jerome says--the persecutor of martyrs, according to the testimony of Cyprian, who suffered under him--would not permit those wishing to die to be killed. Thus, when a certain martyr persevered in the faith and remained victorious between the rack and the metal plates, Decius ordered him smeared with honey and laid on his back beneath the most burning sun, his hands bound behind him, so that he might yield to the stings of flies after having overcome fiery braziers.

He ordered another man, flourishing in youthful age, to be led into most pleasant gardens. There, amid shining lilies and red roses, with a stream creeping nearby with a gentle murmur and the wind raising the leaves of the trees with a soft whisper, he had the

young man laid on his back upon a bed built up with feathers. He left him so entangled in the soft bonds of garlands that he could not shake himself free.

When everyone had withdrawn, a beautiful prostitute came. She began to bind his neck in delicate embraces and--what is a crime even to say--to handle his genitals with her hands, so that, when his body had been moved to lust, the shameless prostitute might throw herself upon him. What was Christ's soldier to do? He did not know where to turn. Pleasure was overcoming the man whom torments had not conquered. At last, inspired from heaven, he bit off his tongue and spat it into the face of the woman kissing him. Thus the greatness of the pain that was kindled [read: the ensuing magnitude of pain] crushed the sensation of lust.

At that time Paul, the first hermit, while avoiding the storm of persecution and fearing that he would be unable to endure such horrible tortures, entered the desert in the sixteenth year of his age. But more concerning him below.

As Eusebius attests in Book Six of the *Ecclesiastical History*, so dreadful was the persecution against Christians under Decius that not even the smallest path was open to the faithful, and passage through no street was permitted; neither by day nor by night was there free opportunity to proceed. For whenever any Christian appeared in public, an outcry and riot of the populace immediately arose, so that the person who had been seen would either be dragged by the feet or burned with fire.

Almost everyone was terrified by this. Some of the nobles immediately and voluntarily thrust themselves into these very acts. Others merely came when summoned, and some were betrayed by members of their own households; they hastened to the execrable sacrifices and unclean victims. Some of them were pale and trembling, so that they seemed rather to be sacrificed than themselves to sacrifice to the idol. Thus they were mocked by the watching crowd because they appeared equally fearful both of dying and of sacrificing. Others leapt so shamelessly to the altars that they strove to assert that they had never been Christians.

Those, however, who were made blessed stood like most steadfast columns. Confirmed by the gifts of the Spirit himself, through the power received from the Lord according to the merit of their faith, they offered to God and the angels the wondrous spectacles of their martyrdom.

The first of these was a certain Julian, who was constrained by gout and could neither walk nor stand. He was presented to the judge with the men who carried him in a small chair. One of them immediately denied the faith; the other persevered in the faith with Julian and was made a martyr.

How great were the multitudes who wandered through desert mountains and were consumed by hunger, thirst, cold, sickness, robbers, and wild beasts! All of them were crowned with the glory of martyrdom. Many, seeing some people fail amid the torments, also tried to raise and comfort them by nods, gestures, or words. When they were revealed to be Christians, they too obtained the crown of martyrdom.

Dionysius of Alexandria also relates that among the other faithful tortured at Alexandria for the faith of Christ was a certain consecrated virgin of advanced age, Apollonia. Because she refused to sacrifice to the idols, they first knocked out all her teeth. Then, gathering wood, they built a pyre around her and threatened to burn her alive unless she agreed with them in blaspheming God. When she saw the pyre, she deliberated for a short time within herself, then suddenly tore herself from the hands of the impious men and leapt voluntarily into the fire. Thus even the authors of the cruelty were terrified, because the woman was found readier for death than the persecutor for punishments.

Eusebius relates in Book Seven of the *Ecclesiastical History* that at that time [read: during the persecution under Valerian] in Caesarea of Palestine three admirable young men--Priscus, Malchus, and Alexander--were kindled by the divine ardor of faith. They began to reproach themselves for cowardice and sluggishness, because, while heavenly crowns of martyrdom were being offered in the city, they did not desire them and did not seize them, although the Savior says, "The kingdom of heaven suffers violence."

Inciting themselves by these mutual speeches, they sought the city. Before the savage judge they accused him of why he raged so greatly against the blood of the pious. He immediately rewarded the noble spirits of the young men with fitting words: "Let those who are displeased that the blood of the pious is shed be raised up to be devoured by beasts." A certain woman is also said to have followed the example of the audacity and magnanimity of the aforesaid young men and to have obtained almost the same end.

§ XI: Marinus and Asterius

Marinus was a military man, a citizen of Jerusalem, distinguished in honor and riches. When in the said city a certain military honor corresponding to the order of his rank fell to him among his colleagues, as was customary, envy suddenly seized the colleague following him. The colleague cried out that Marinus could not obtain the higher rank because he was a Christian.

When questioned on this matter, Marinus did not deny it. The judge gave him a space of three hours in which to choose either to sacrifice to the gods and obtain that honor or to be killed with the Christians.

As he left the tribunal, Theoticinus [read: Theotecnus], bishop of the place, led him into the church. After exhorting him beforehand to constancy in the faith, the bishop showed him before the altar both the sword with which Marinus was girded and the Holy Gospel, asking which of these two he preferred to receive. With most ready faith Marinus took up the book of the Gospels.

The bishop encouraged him, saying: “Excellent, my son. What you have read, holding [read: Pursue what you have chosen], despise the present life, hope for the eternal, go forward confidently, and receive the crown prepared for you by God.” Marinus immediately returned to the judge’s tribunal and asserted that one ought to obey God rather than men. For that answer he was immediately beheaded.

Among them, however, Asterius is remembered as clearer than all in merit and distinguished above the others in faith. He was a senator and patrician of the city of Rome, sufficiently renowned for nobility, resources, even royal kinship, and the reputation of every good quality. When he attended the final rites of the aforesaid martyr, he received upon his shoulders the corpse that had been beheaded, placing his own garment beneath it after removing the clothing he wore. He immediately attained for himself the honor that he had rendered to the martyr.

He is also said to have shone in the faith of Christ through many other illustrious deeds, especially at Caesarea Philippi beneath the foot of the mountain from which the first waters of the River Jordan spring forth. There it was the custom of gentile error on a certain solemn day to sacrifice a victim which, when placed there, appeared nowhere through the art of a demon.

When Asterius was once present and observed the error, everyone marveled as though the victim had been taken by God into heaven. But when he prayed with tears that the demon’s deception might be uncovered, it happened that the offered victim, which was thought to have been invisibly taken up, was seen to be carried upon the waters and was restored to everyone’s sight. Thus such superstition and error were taken away from them.

When Decius, established upon a journey, remained at Florence for several days, as a most bitter persecutor of Christians he had inquiry made whether anyone under that name served Christ. When he was informed about a certain noble young man named Miniate, he had him brought before him. Unable to recall him from constancy in the Christian faith either by blandishments or threats, Decius sent a leopard to kill him, but the leopard suddenly died of itself.

Then Miniate was cast into a burning furnace but, comforted by an angel, emerged unharmed. He was exposed to a lion to be devoured, but the roaring lion itself expired. Stretched upon the rack, he was made stronger while giving thanks to God. Molten lead was poured through his ears, but he remained unharmed. Awls or sharp reeds were driven into his fingers between the nails and the flesh, but he was strengthened by God’s power. Finally he was condemned to be beheaded. His body is said to rest in the major church of Florence.

§ XII: Claudius

Claudius, the twenty-eighth emperor of the Romans, reigned for almost two years according to Eusebius in the *Chronicle*. He began to reign in the year of the Lord 271 [read: 268] and in the year of the world 5,470. He overcame the Goths, who had been devastating Illyricum and Macedonia for sixteen years, and destroyed them with incredible slaughter. Therefore a golden shield and an equestrian statue were decreed to him by the senate. After the Alemanni were defeated, he died.

According to some he was a Dardanian, according to others a Dalmatian. He was a good man--except, nevertheless, for the killing of the saints--dear to everyone, a lover of the laws, most acceptable to the senate and the Roman people, sparing of wine, and especially distinguished in military affairs.

Aureolus, who had made himself emperor in Illyricum and had already entered Italy to fight against Gallienus, heard of Gallienus’s death and Claudius’s succession to the empire. Fearing Claudius, he sent envoys to him, negotiating peace with a share in the imperial power. Claudius refused. When they fought one another, Claudius emerged victorious after Aureolus was killed, and the surviving army of Aureolus surrendered itself to him.

When this civil war had ended, Claudius undertook another, foreign war. For the Scythian peoples--namely, the Pethini [read: Peucini], Thurnigi [read: Greuthungi], Astrogoths [read: Austrogoths or Ostrogoths], Miletingi [read: Tervingi], and others--poured into Roman territory from every side in hope of plunder, devastating everything like locusts.

[Running head: Chapter Eight, Folio 241.]

Seventh Title: On the Reign of Vespasian

Chapter Eight (continued)

There were three hundred thousand [read: three hundred twenty thousand] armed men, besides servants and an unarmed populace. The most sagacious Claudius advanced against them. Although he was far inferior in strength, namely in numbers, he wore them down with such great slaughter that scarcely a messenger survived to report it. Never in one battle had so much barbarian blood been poured out. Then, because the air was infected by the corpses of the slain, a very great pestilence followed, which took many thousands of the people of that region from their midst.

Having gained this victory, Claudius assembled a multitude of ships from all Italy, placed an army upon them, and prepared to meet the Goths who had poured themselves forth by sea and land. After they had fought for a long time in a naval war with varying fortune, the Goths, although more numerous, were finally defeated and cut down almost to annihilation. As Trebellius Pollio relates, apart from the ships captured, Claudius sank two thousand ships of the barbarians in this war.

In these two wars many kings of the barbarians were captured, as were noble barbarian women who, in the manner of Amazons, were not inferior to the men. So many were captured that Roman cities and towns were filled with Goths as slaves and barbarians as farm laborers.

At that time [read: about 259/260, under Valerian and Gallienus] Paul of Samosata succeeded Bishop Demetrius [read: Demetrianus] at Antioch. Thinking unworthy things concerning Christ, as a swollen and proud heretic, he preached that Christ had been merely a man of common nature. This Paul was condemned by the whole council of Antioch. When he refused to leave the church, he was cast out by public force at Aurelian's command, as Helinand says.

At last, after Claudius died, his brother Quintillus was elected by the army and raised to the imperial throne. As Hugo of Fleury relates, he was killed on the seventeenth day of his rule because he was severe.

§ XIII: Aurelian

Aurelian, the twenty-ninth emperor of the Romans, reigned for five years and six months according to Eusebius in the *Chronicle*. He began in the year of the Lord 273 [read: 270] and, according to the lesser computation, in the year of the world 4,236, but according to the greater computation, 5,472.

As Hugo says, Aurelian was exceedingly skilled in military endeavor. He overthrew the nation of the Goths in hard battles and established Roman dominion within its ancient boundaries. He also claimed for himself the whole of Syria after recovering it. Hence he triumphed with great glory at Rome and afterward established the city with stronger walls.

Moreover, the state of the Church was at this time growing daily through more prosperous advances. Hence a celebrated council was assembled at Antioch, in which the aforesaid heretic Paul was convicted and most manifestly condemned for his heresy, chiefly through the persistence of Melchion, presbyter of the church of Antioch and a most learned man. The entire council of bishops commissioned him to dispute with Paul while notaries took down the proceedings.

But Paul, cut off from the priesthood and deprived of communion, refused to leave the house of the church. Therefore Emperor Aurelian was petitioned to compel him to depart. Aurelian immediately commanded that he be expelled by public force and, being at that time adorned with many virtues, that the house be handed over to the Church. For Aurelian had not yet been corrupted by the evil counsels of others, through which, as time proceeded, he changed his good purpose and afterward aroused a most harsh persecution against the churches.

At that time many people in various provinces died for Christ after completing diverse contests. Indeed, when Aurelian had begun a persecution against us, as Eusebius says in the *Chronicle*, a thunderbolt fell beside him and his companions. Not long afterward he was killed between Constantinople and Heraclea.

As James of Colonna relates, this Aurelian was handsome in face, rather tall in stature, and exceedingly strong in sinews; somewhat too desirous of wine and food, rarely given to lust, of immense severity, and most zealous for discipline of conduct. He was naturally savage and cruel, bloodthirsty beyond human measure, so much so that when certain hostile cities were captured he ordered all the children, old men, and women killed.

He ordered offending slaves beaten in his presence for the sake of maintaining severity. When he was ill, he never wished to use the counsels of physicians but believed abstinence alone sufficient for curing his illness. He was sparing in pleasures.

Even before assuming the empire he performed many distinguished deeds. In Illyricum he met the Sarmatians who had burst forth with only three hundred garrison soldiers, and with his own hand he killed forty [read: forty-eight] in one day. He wore down the Franks in many wars. Hence he deservedly received many military commands and the consulship.

At the beginning of Aurelian's empire, all the nations that face the northern region conspired against the Roman Empire. With an incredible multitude they entered Italy through the part of Italy that faces Alemania, devastating everything by fire, slaughter, and plunder in the manner of locusts.

When Aurelian met them, the barbarians wished to engage him in open battle, but then withdrew into the densest forests. While the emperor prepared not to meet them from the front but merely to pursue them from behind, suddenly, as the day was already declining, that mass of barbarians burst from the woods and invaded the Roman camp. The Romans could not sustain their assault. They were driven into flight, and such slaughter of the Romans followed that the Roman Empire was almost dissolved; the emperor himself fled and scarcely escaped with a few men.

The city, overwhelmed by this calamity, was so terrified that many people abandoned the walls and tried to flee, everyone fearing that the barbarians would come to the city like the Senonian Gauls and deliver it to the flames.

The senators therefore assembled and deliberated what should be done in so great a danger. Then Vulpius Sillanus [read: Ulpius Silanus], who among the fathers held the first rank in giving an opinion, rose in their midst and said among other things:

“Conscript Fathers, we consult far too late about the commonwealth’s safety. You remember that I often said in this sanctuary, as soon as it was first reported that the barbarians had penetrated Italy, that the Sibylline decrees ought to be consulted. But some of you refused with enormous slander, saying flatteringly that our prince’s courage was so great that there was no need to consult the gods. Yet you have seen the letters in which the emperor requests the aid of the gods, which is never in any way shameful.

“Act therefore, pontiffs, and with consecrated hands unroll the books. Seek the deeds of our commonwealth that exist [read: Seek the fates of the commonwealth, which are eternal], and aid our prince, who labors under public necessity.”

He spoke of the Sibylline books, which the Sibyl sold to Priscus Tarquin [read: Tarquin the Proud], king of the Romans, and for which she received a price, as was said above.

Aurelian, after having been defeated by the barbarians, returned to meet them in battle. Through the operation not of false gods but of the true God, although unknown to them, he defeated them in three exceedingly difficult battles: the first not far from Placentia, the second beside the River Metaurus, and the third in the fields of Ticinum.

In this last battle he raged with such great slaughter of the barbarians that, because of the multitude of the slain, the victors were hindered from pursuing the vanquished. They were destroyed almost to annihilation, so that scarcely a sixth part survived out of six hundred thousand armed men.

After the barbarians in Italy had been defeated, Aurelian returned to Rome. When he had devoted himself for some time to the care of civil business, his fierce spirit could not rest. He was ashamed that, although distinguished by so great a victory, Thetricus [read: Tetricus] still possessed Gaul, a great part of the empire.

This Thetricus [read: Tetricus], a man of great and severe spirit, after Victorinus, who had occupied Gaul, was killed, put on the purple under compulsion from the army and named himself emperor. After doing many things successfully against the Alemanni, so that he even rendered the Romans formidable, he held Gaul for a long time.

But because, as a severe man, he could not endure the pride and shamelessness of his soldiers, he planned to restore Gaul to the Roman commonwealth. When he heard that Aurelian was ruling at Rome and, after defeating the barbarians, was coming after him, he implored Aurelian by secret letters not to desist at all from his undertaking but to reduce that most proud and intolerable army to his power.

Aurelian therefore arrived. When Thetricus [read: Tetricus] betrayed the army, Aurelian easily recovered Gaul without battle. Having recovered it, he removed the entire army that had served as the defense of the Gauls and enrolled a new one. He made Thetricus [read: Tetricus] prefect of Lucania, considering it safer for himself and the commonwealth that a man of great spirit govern some part of Italy than that he reign beyond the Alps among the Gauls, who are always eager for revolutions.

Seeing himself victorious in the West and fortune smiling upon him, Aurelian crossed to the East against Zenobia. He drew with him many German and Gallic auxiliaries for this war. Before coming to the East, however, he first completed many wars. In Thrace and Illyricum he laid low the forces of barbarians that met him. Moreover, in battle he defeated and killed a commander of the Goths who met him beyond the Danube with fifty thousand men.

Having gained these victories, he besieged and captured the most noble city of Tyana, in which he seized large garrisons of Zenobia. Although this city was fortified with every supply, he received its surrender through the treachery of Catho [read: Heraclammon], a citizen of that city. As soon as the emperor obtained the city, he ordered Catho [read: Heraclammon] killed, saying: “I could not love the betrayer of his own country. Nor indeed could the man who did not keep faith with his country have kept faith with me.”

He restored Catho [read: Heraclammon]’s goods to his sons, lest anyone complain that he had caused a very rich man to be killed for the sake of his riches.

After receiving Tyana, he besieged Antioch, which Zenobia had taken into her power after the killing of Obdenachus [read: Odaenathus]. Within three days he received the city itself when the Romans who were in it handed it over. After Antioch was thus captured, he allowed his army to recover there for a little while and then advanced against Zenobia.

Zenobia had anticipated his approach and met Aurelian with her forces. She engaged him in a most difficult battle. In it the Roman soldiers, overwhelmed by the multitude of enemies, were already failing and turning their backs when, as the historians report, a certain divine form appeared and commanded the Romans to renew the battle and attack the enemy again. As though divinely inspired, they turned their reins and attacked the enemy with such force that they compelled those from whom they had at first fled in defeat to flee. In addition, on another side the army was restored by infantry and cavalry. Thus a great part of Zenobia's army was cut down; its ranks dissolved, it sought safety in flight.

Aurelian ordered his men to rest for several days. On the fifth day he finally pursued Zenobia and came to Palmyra, where she had fled, and surrounded it on every side. On the journey, however, he suffered many difficulties from Syrian robbers.

Zenobiam [read: Zenobia], believing that the city itself would be besieged, fortified it with an incredible apparatus of war. For there was no part of the wall that she left *immunitatem* [read: *immunem*, unprotected] by two or three ballistas. During this siege Aurelian himself was almost imperiled by the blow of an arrow, while Zenobia defended herself within the walls not as a woman and wearied Aurelian's army by frequent sorties.

After the siege had already lasted a long time, during which the besiegers suffered no less than the besieged from hunger and cold, Aurelian wrote Zenobia a letter approximately as follows:

"Aurelian, emperor of the Roman world and recoverer of the East, to Zenobia and the others whom the fellowship of war holds. You ought voluntarily to have done what you are now commanded by my letter to do. For I command surrender, with impunity of life offered, so that you, Zenobia, may live with your people wherever the senate's sentence shall place you. You shall bring your gems, gold, and silver into the Roman treasury."

After receiving this letter, Zenobia wrote back more insolently and proudly than her condition then required. Angered by this, Aurelian immediately enlarged and fortified his army so that they might suffer no attack from outside. He prepared to invade the city with all his strength and intercepted the auxiliaries sent by the enemy, destroying them to annihilation.

Terrified by this, the innumerable forces of Saracens and Armenians who were coming to Zenobia's aid returned to their own lands. With these adverse auxiliaries, in whom Zenobia had placed her greatest hope, she despaired of being able to resist Aurelian. Therefore, fearing for herself and her sons and greatly dreading Aurelian's severity, she secretly left the city by night with those dearest to her and planned to flee to the Persians.

When Aurelian heard this, he ordered swift horsemen to pursue her. They captured her and brought her to Aurelian. A great mutiny arose among the soldiers, who demanded Zenobia for punishment. Aurelian, however, judging it unworthy of a Roman prince to kill women, checked the soldiers' tumult with a very grave speech.

Within a few days he captured the city and spared the multitude. He ordered only those men killed by whose counsel Zenobia had moved the Romans to war. Among those killed was the philosopher Longinus, whom she had used as her teacher in Greek letters. Aurelian therefore preserved Zenobia for his triumph so that she might be exhibited to the eyes of the Roman people.

When the East had thus been pacified and Aurelian was preparing to return to the city, while he was in Thrace, a certain Firmus, who governed Egypt, made himself emperor against Aurelian. Aurelian turned back to suppress him, and his customary success did not fail him. Firmus was defeated in one battle and fled. When he wished to restore his forces but could not, he took his own life with a noose.

Thus Prince Aurelian, after the entire world had been pacified and reduced to his dominion, returned victorious to Rome for a triumph. This triumph was the most splendid of all those that had previously been held at Rome.

In it there were three royal chariots: one of Odonechus [read: Odaenathus]; a second given to Aurelian by the king of the Persians; and a third belonging to Zenobia, adorned with gold, silver, and precious gems. A fourth is said to have belonged to the king of the Goths, in which Aurelian rode to the Capitol.

Twenty elephants covered in gold preceded him, along with seven hundred [read: eight hundred] pairs of gladiators. Then came captives of diverse nations: the Brevi [read: Blemmyes], Exonitae [read: Axumites], Indians, Batria [read: Bactrians], Arabs, Hiberians, Saracens, Persians with their women, Goths, Alans, Rossolani [read: Roxolani], Sarmatians, Franks, Suevi, Vandals, and Marchomanni. Aurelian had joined battle with banners meeting against all these nations.

[Running head: Chapter Eight, Folio 242.]

Seventh Title: On the Reign of Vespasian

Chapter Eight (continued)

Many women were also captured among the Goths in male attire, and it was believed that they descended from the race of the Amazons. Last of all came Zenobia herself, adorned with gold and enormous gems, so heavily burdened by the weight of her ornaments that she staggered. Her feet, however, were bound with gold, her hands were fastened with iron manacles, and a little golden chain was not lacking from her neck. At the very end came Aurelian in his triumphal chariot, with the senate and Roman people surrounding him. The standards of the guilds and the legions followed him, and after all these came the victorious army with palms and olive branches.

They say that after the triumph this Zenobia lived for a long time among the Romans, held in great honor together with her sons. An estate was given to her at Tibur, which even today is called Zenobia.

At that time, as Eutropius relates, a certain Septimus [read: Septimius] assumed the imperial power among the Dalmatians. While Aurelian was preparing an army against him, Septimus [read: Septimius] himself was killed by his own men.

When, therefore, Aurelian had rested from the tumult of wars after his triumph, he began to devote himself to civil affairs with great spirit. He surrounded the city with stronger walls and constructed a most magnificent temple of the Sun. He issued excellent and exceedingly strict laws. He was the first of the Roman princes to place a diadem upon himself in royal fashion and to use gems and gilded clothing, almost all of which had been foreign to Roman custom. He was the first to institute the distribution of pork to the Roman people.

But after so many civil and foreign victories, his spirit became so elated that he killed many nobles and even some members of the senate through mere harshness of temper. For this reason, through that great military glory, he either equaled or surpassed both Alexander the Great and Gaius Julius Caesar. One of these men penetrated as far as India through twelve years [read: thirteen years] of military victories; the other subjected the Gauls in ten years and contended against his fellow citizens for four years. Aurelian, however, recovered the Roman Empire from its invaders in only three years, yet stained it with excessive cruelty, so that this excellent prince began to be feared rather than loved.

Nevertheless, he exercised such careful economy that, after becoming emperor, he enriched his friends honorably but moderately, so that they escaped only the miseries of poverty and, through the modest size of their patrimonies, avoided the envy provoked by riches. He diligently provided for bringing grain into the city so that the people would not suffer hunger. For he used to say what is most true even today: that nothing can be more delightful than the Roman people when they are well fed.

In the sixth year of his reign, after he had equipped great forces for a Parthian war and had already crossed into Greece to carry it out, Aurelian became angry with one of his ministers. Fearing for himself, this man made a book in which were written the names of many men, including powerful ones, whom he falsely alleged Aurelian intended to kill. When he showed it to them, they believed him and killed Aurelian.

After Aurelian died without leaving a son, the army that was in Thrace referred the choice of an emperor to the senate, because it thought that none of those who had killed a prince so necessary to the commonwealth ought to be made emperor. The senate, however, returned the same election to the army, knowing that soldiers do not willingly accept emperors whom the senate has chosen. This exchange was made a third time, so that for six months the Roman world lacked an emperor.

At last the senate was assembled. Velius Gordianus [read: Velius Cornificius Gordianus], the consul, was the first in the council to deliver an exhortation concerning the choice of a prince, explaining that it was necessary. After him Tacitus, the oldest of the senators, spoke. He commended Aurelian's virtues in a remarkable manner and grieved over the death of so useful a prince. While he was still attempting to speak, the whole senate cried with one voice: "Tacitus Augustus, may the gods preserve you! We all choose you. We make you prince. To you we entrust the care of the commonwealth and the world."

Tacitus excused himself on the ground that he was an old man and not suited to so great a dignity. Then Mentius Falconius [read: Maecius Faltonius Nicomachus], who sat after him, a man most renowned for prudence and eloquence, rose and said that the senate had never given a better judgment than this: that an older man should be made prince, a man who would provide for everyone like a father. Nothing immature, nothing hasty, nothing harsh, and nothing needing correction would be found in him. Thus he encouraged Tacitus to accept the empire.

Afterward the prefect of the city left the senate house and told the people who were waiting that Tacitus had been made prince by the will of all the senators.

This Tacitus lived most sparingly, was highly skilled in construction works, was fond of marble, and was devoted to hunting. He never passed a night without reading or writing something. After becoming emperor, he assigned all his possessions to the temples and the treasury. For he said that, since the emperor is a public person, he ought to possess nothing privately.

When he requested the consulship from the senate and people for his brother Florian, certainly a man of great ability, and did not obtain it, he showed no displeasure. In the sixth month of his reign, however, he was killed through a military plot, or, according to others, died of disease. Because of the brevity of his time, he was able to accomplish nothing magnificent.

His brother Florian succeeded him in the empire, without any authority from the senate but on his own initiative, as though the empire were hereditary. He scarcely held it for two months. He was killed by the soldiers at Tarsus in Cilicia when they heard that Probus had been created emperor at Rome by the senate and soldiers. This Florian was very like his brother Tacitus in character.

§ XIV: Probus

Probus, therefore, a man distinguished by military glory, received the Roman Empire after Florian. He began to rule in the year of the Lord 280 [read: 276] and ruled for six years and ten months [read: six years and four months]. He was a native of Eparmonia [read: Pannonia, from the city of Sirmium] but had always been raised at Rome. Though his patrimony was not great, he was illustrious in virtue and great in spirit.

While he was still a youth, he so abounded in military virtues that, by the judgment of the most serious emperor Valerian, he received a military tribunate while still beardless. In the course of time he first governed the Gauls with great strictness and moderation. There, after routing the Alemanni, he compelled them to flee across the Rhine. He next governed proconsular Africa, where in war he laid low the people of the Normandi [read: Marmaridae] when they burst into the province. Afterward he was transferred to the Pannonias, where he afflicted the Sarmatians and Goths with great disasters.

When Probus was made emperor while in the East, he offered many excuses, but was compelled to accept the empire. Coming to Rome, he was received by everyone as emperor. Considering the senate's kindness toward him, he wrote a law by which he permitted the senators themselves to hear appeals from the greater judges, something that previously belonged to the princes alone. They were also to appoint proconsuls for the provinces and to give legates in place of consuls. He further wished that no law enacted by the emperors should have the force of law unless first confirmed by the senate.

[Running head: Seventh Title.]

He granted the senate many other powers that the emperors had previously exercised.

After arranging public affairs at Rome, Probus assembled a great army and went to Gaul, which the Germans had occupied after Aurelian's death. When he arrived, he fought so many battles, and so successfully, against the barbarians themselves that within a short time he recovered sixty cities after expelling the barbarians from them.

Then, not far from the city of Reims, he afflicted the Germans with such slaughter in a general battle that scarcely a third of four hundred thousand remained. When this was accomplished and his legions had recovered a little, he pursued the barbarians across the Rhine. By setting up Roman camps in Germany, he so terrified them that nine of their petty kings voluntarily came to Emperor Probus, prostrated themselves before his feet, and sought pardon. He ordered them to give hostages, restore the booty taken from the Gauls, and rebuild the cities they had destroyed. They fulfilled all these commands, and with their consent Germany itself was reduced to the form of a province.

He then went to Illyricum, where he so crushed the Sarmatians and the other peoples that almost without a war he recovered everything they had taken from the Romans. Afterward he traveled through Thrace, where Probus received all the Goths, terrified by the fame of his deeds, either into surrender or into friendship.

When these things had been accomplished, he went toward the East. On the way he killed in war a certain Palsurius [read: Palfuerius], a most powerful robber, and liberated all Isauria. Finally he performed so many and such great deeds in the East that the Parthians sent ambassadors to him humbly requesting peace. To their king Narseus, who had sent him magnificent gifts through his ambassadors, Probus replied: "We marvel that your king has sent so little out of all the things that are going to be ours." Terrified by this reply, they sent hostages and sought peace.

Probus then turned his arms against Saturninus, who had claimed Egypt together with part of Africa. Saturninus was descended from the Gauls, but contrary to their custom he was very wise and highly experienced in military affairs. Though unwilling, he was acclaimed emperor by the army. He delivered a fine speech to them, revealing the dangers and deaths attached to imperial power, all of which came upon him. For, defeated by Probus in a single battle, he lost both his life and his empire.

After Probus had quieted everything in the East, Proculus and Bonosus, whom he had left in Gaul for its defense, meanwhile usurped the empire with one accord at the city of Agrippina. They occupied the trouser-wearing Gauls and then, in addition, Spain and Britain.

When Probus learned this, he raised a large army, crossed from Italy and Rome into Gaul, and in the first battle stripped them of their troops. In a second, after they had rebuilt their army with barbarians, he defeated them and killed both of those princes. Returning from there to the city, Probus was received most festively by the senate and people and triumphed most gloriously for five days, with many spectacles presented.

After this, having made great preparations against the Parthians, he proceeded through Illyricum and afterward came to Smirnum [read: Sirmium]. While wintering there, he desired to drain a certain marsh in order to make that soil fertile, and for several

months he occupied the entire army with this work. The soldiers bore this very badly, because during peacetime Emperor Probus would not allow them to be idle, asserting that a soldier ought not to consume a free grain allowance.

To these words he added that most weighty saying: “If ever a salutary time should come to the commonwealth, soldiers will no longer be necessary.” He had conceived this thought in his mind. The soldiers, who because of the frequency of wars arranged everything in the Roman commonwealth according to their pleasure, feared that they were being despised, and now began to deliberate about Probus’s death.

Thus they stirred up a tumult one day and killed Probus in a certain tower to which he had fled. Nevertheless, they constructed a most splendid tomb for him there. The senate and Roman people bore his death with the deepest grief. For, as Vespicus [read: Vopiscus] says, Probus promised a golden age in which there would be no wars.

§ XV: Charus [read: Carus]

After Probus was killed, Charus [read: Carus] succeeded him. He sprang from noble Roman blood and was distinguished in character and life. Through civil and military offices he had reached the prefecture, and in that office he gained everyone’s love. He began to reign in the year of the Lord 285 [read: 282] and ruled with his sons, Charinus and Numerianus, for two years.

After naming these sons, Charinus and Numerianus, Caesars, he sent Charinus with chosen men to protect Gaul. Numerianus, as the younger man, he took with him as he advanced to the Parthian war already prepared by Probus. Before setting out for it, however, he crushed in a single battle the Sarmatians, who had been made so bold by Probus’s death that they *mirarentur* [read: *minarentur*, threatened] to invade not only Illyricum but also Italy. Forty thousand [read: sixteen thousand] of them were killed and very many [read: twenty thousand] captured.

When that war was finished, he entered the kingdoms of the Parthians with a great apparatus. First he recovered Mesopotamia, which the Parthians had occupied, and then captured Carrhae [read: advanced as far as Ctesiphon], a most populous city. But, greedy for glory, he advanced onward in pursuit of the Parthians and died, as some say, from a thunderbolt, but according to others from disease. For while he lay sick in his tent, so great a storm of whirlwind arose that everything grew dark and one man could not see another. So much thunder sounded that many were terrified out of their senses.

After his death his son Numerianus was acclaimed emperor by everyone. Although his brother Charinus was older in age, Numerianus was far more illustrious in virtue, very obliging, and supreme in eloquence; in composing verse he surpassed all the poets of his time.

Having thus become emperor by universal consent, he was leading the victorious army back to the city when he began to suffer pain in his eyes. He was therefore carried in a litter closed on every side, lest the sight of the sun or dust injure him. While he was being carried in this way, he was secretly killed through the plot of Aper, his father-in-law, who intended to usurp the Roman Empire. Thus for many days his death remained hidden from the troops who followed the litter.

Whenever Aper was asked about Numerianus’s condition, he answered that he was well but could not yet be seen, lest the air injure his eyes. After several days, however, the stench of the corpse disclosed the matter. Aper, by whose deceit Numerianus was thought to have been killed, was seized and slain by Diocletian’s own hand before the standards of the legions.

Charinus, the son of Charus [read: Carus] and brother of Numerianus, was living in Gaul and had surrendered his spirit to every crime and pleasure. He made a most wicked man prefect of the praetorium, one whom he had always kept as his companion in debauchery and lust.

When his father Charus [read: Carus] heard of his disgraceful life, he said that Charinus was not his son. He had resolved to substitute for his son in the western regions Constantius, the father of Constantine the Great, who was then governor of Dalmatia and an excellent man, and to kill his own son Charinus. Prevented by death, however, he could not carry out the plan.

After Diocletian was made emperor following Numerianus and was returning from the eastern regions, Charinus himself met him with great forces, wishing to defend the empire for himself. After many battles had been fought between them in Dalmatia [read: near Margum in Moesia], Charinus was finally betrayed by his own army, since he was hated by it, and fell; his army surrendered itself to Diocletian.

[Running head: Chapter Eight, Folio 243.]

Seventh Title: On the Reign of Vespasian

Chapter Eight (continued)

§ XVI: The Supreme Pontiffs

Turning our pen to the supreme pontiffs who held the chair of Peter from the times of the emperors Valerian and Gallienus down to the time of Dyocletianus [read: Diocletian]: after Pope Sixtus had consummated his martyrdom under Decius [read: under Valerian] in the manner described above--his deacon was the blessed Lawrence--Dyonisius [read: Dionysius] succeeded to the papacy.

Dyonisius [read: Dionysius] divided the parishes. Hence he himself says in Cause 13, Question 1: "We have given churches and parishes to individual presbyters, and we have divided the cemeteries among them. We have decreed that each should possess his own right, so that no one may invade the boundaries or right of another's parish, but each should be content with his own boundaries. Let each govern and guard the church and people committed to him in such a way that before the tribunal of the eternal Judge he may render an account of everything entrusted to him and receive not judgment but glory for his deeds." Thus far he. After two years and six months, Dionysius was crowned with martyrdom in the city.

Felix I, a Roman by nation, succeeded him. He decreed that Masses should be celebrated over the memorials of the martyrs. He sat for two years and ten months. He was the son of Constantius and came from the region of Capri Tauri. He built a basilica on the Aurelian Way, one milestone from the city; crowned with martyrdom, he was buried there.

After him Euticianus [read: Eutychianus], a Tuscan by nation from the city of Luna, received the chair of Peter and held the pontificate for eight years, ten months, and three days [read: eight years, eleven months, and three days]. He decreed that crops or first fruits should be blessed upon the altar. As a most holy and humble man, he buried with his own hands in diverse places the bodies of 363 martyrs. He further ordained that whoever buried a martyr should not bury him without a dalmatic or colobium. Finally, crowned with martyrdom, he was buried on the Appian Way in the cemetery of Calixti [read: Callistus].

Gayus [read: Gaius], a Dalmatian by nation, followed him in the Church's supreme priesthood. He decreed that clerics should ascend gradually through all the orders, with intervals of time between them. He also says in Cause 2, Question 7: "Pagans, heretics, or even Jews cannot accuse Christians or bring a charge of infamy." He likewise decreed that no one should presume to accuse clerics before secular judges, as is found in Cause 11, Question 1, *No One*. He further decreed that more difficult questions, such as questions of faith, should always be referred to the apostolic see for decision. After eleven years, nine months, and eleven days, he was crowned with martyrdom.

Pope Macellinus [read: Marcellinus], a Roman by nation, succeeded him. During the persecution of Dyocletianus [read: Diocletian] and Maximus [read: Maximian], he was seized by pagans at Rome and led to a temple to sacrifice to idols. Overcome by fear, he placed incense before the idols. Departing and recognizing his sin, he assembled a council of certain bishops and priests, publicly confessed his sin, and submitted himself to their judgment.

They answered: "The first see will be judged by no one. Judge your own case with your own mouth. By your mouth you will be justified, and by your mouth you will be condemned. Do not be judged by our judgment. You denied; Peter your master also denied. And who among the apostles dared to judge him? But he went outside and wept bitterly. Therefore, gather your case within yourself." This is found in Distinction 21, *But Now*.

When it is said there that he was compelled to place incense before the idols, this must be understood of conditional compulsion, not absolute compulsion, as the gloss says; otherwise he would not have sinned.

Marcellinus therefore said in the council: "Because of the crime of idolatry I judge that I must be deposed, and I anathematize everyone who delivers my body to burial." Going to Dyocletianus [read: Diocletian], he confessed that he was a Christian. For this he was crowned with martyrdom after holding the chair of Peter for seven years, seven months, and twenty-five days.

When his body had lain unburied for thirty days, blessed Peter appeared in a vision to Marcellus, his successor, and said, "Why do you permit my body to lie unburied?" When Marcellus replied that Peter's body had long ago been laid in the earth, Peter explained that he was speaking of Marcellinus. Marcellus said to him, "Lord, he himself anathematized those who buried him." Peter replied, "Do you not know that it is written, 'He who humbles himself will be exalted'? Go, therefore, and bury him beside me." This was done.

This Marcellinus, as is found in Cause 25, Question 1, says: "The Catholic Church defends everything that is irreprehensible. Let neither an unjust judgment nor an unjust definition arranged by judges through royal fear or command have any validity. Nothing done contrary to evangelical or prophetic teaching, apostolic doctrine or their constitutions, or *sanctorum petrum* [read: *sanctorum patrum*, of the holy fathers] shall stand. And whatever has been done by heretics or unbelievers shall be annulled altogether." Thus far he.

Marcellus succeeded Marcellinus. Vincent says, however, in the *Speculum Historiale* that, according to the chronicles of the Roman pontiffs, after Marcellinus was taken away through martyrdom the papacy remained vacant for seven years because of the savagery of Dyocletianus [read: Diocletian]'s persecution.

Afterward Marcellus was created pope and instituted fifteen cardinal titles. He was a Roman by nation. He also decreed that a cleric should not be dragged by anyone before a secular court, as is found in Cause 11, Question 1, *A Cleric*.

One day, as Emperor Dyocletianus [read: Diocletian] proceeded through the city with solemn display, Marcellus reproved him modestly and complained of the unjust persecution against the Christians, who prayed for the commonwealth. Dyocletianus [read: Diocletian] ordered him beaten with clubs. He commanded that the house of the venerable woman Lucina, which Marcellus himself had consecrated as a church at her request, be made into a stable, and that Marcellus be assigned there to care for the animals. After five years and twenty-five days, Marcellus departed to the Lord.

After him Eusebius, a Roman by nation, undertook the government of the Church. According to some, during his pontificate the holy cross of Christ was found at Jerusalem. Hence he is said to have instituted the feast of the Finding of the Cross, as is found in *On Consecration*, Distinction 3, *The Cross*. Others, however, say it was found in the time of Pope Sylvester.

Among other things Eusebius decreed: "First, everything must be restored to those despoiled by laws, and the churches that have been taken from them must be restored with every privilege. Afterward, not under *augusto* [read: *angusto*, a narrow time limit], let a period of time be granted to *ei* [read: *eis*, them]." See Cause 3, Question 2, and the gloss there. After two years, eleven months, and twenty-five days, he departed to the Lord.

Pope Melchiades, an African by nation, received his see. He decreed that the faithful should not fast on Sunday or Thursday--not because this is evil in itself, but in order to remove the superstition of the gentiles and the vain observance of the heretics--as is found in Distinction 30, *If Anyone*. After three years, six months, and eight days, he suffered martyrdom.

[Running head: Seventh Title.]

It should be noted that, in calculating the number of years during which the aforesaid men held the pontificate, Vincent in the *Speculum Historiale* disagrees with Martin in the *Chronicle*. Where Vincent says that Pope Stephen, who preceded Sixtus, sat for seven years, Martin gives four years. Where Vincent asserts that Dionysius presided for six years, Martin gives two years. Where Vincent assigns one year to Euticianus [read: Eutychianus], Martin writes seven years and ten months. Where Vincent says that Eusebius held the chair for seven years, Martin says two years.

Chapter Nine: The Martyrs Who Suffered in Diverse Places in the Times of the Aforesaid Emperors, First in the Time of Emperor Claudius

A certain man named Marius came from the regions of Persia with his wife Martha and their two sons, Audifax and Abachuc. They were Roman Christian men who came to pray at the shrines of the apostles, as Vincent relates in Book XII of the *Speculum Historiale*.

While they diligently searched for the bodies of the saints through the prisons and burial places, they came to the camp across the Tiber and found Saint Quirinus in prison. He had already endured many beatings for Christ and had been stripped of his property. Casting themselves at his feet so that he might pray for them, they began to minister to him from their own resources. They washed the feet of those confined in prison and poured water upon their own heads and those of their sons as an act of devotion.

At that time Claudius issued a command that Christians be punished. He seized 272 Christians and ordered them led outside the walls of the Salarian Gate. There, enclosed in an amphitheater, they were killed with arrows by the soldiers. Marius and Martha buried their bodies with their sons.

They then came across the Tiber to the camp, seeking Saint Quirinus, who had been killed with a sword by night and cast into the Tiber. Searching, they found his body and buried it.

When the aforesaid family heard a multitude of Christians singing psalms in an upper room, they knocked and entered with joy. After exchanging kisses and pouring out prayer together, they remained hidden there for two months.

Meanwhile Emperor Claudius seized the presbyter Valentine, who by his teaching was drawing many people to the faith. After two days he had Valentine *educti* [read: *eductum*, brought out] of prison and fetters and presented before him. Asked by the emperor why he did not venerate their gods, Valentine replied that Jupiter, Mercury, and the others had been most wretched men devoted to crimes.

He praised Christ's teaching very highly and exhorted them to receive it, so that they might possess the earthly kingdom more fully and afterward obtain the heavenly kingdom. The emperor said to his barons, "How reasonable are the things this man urges upon us!" But at the devil's prompting one of them said, "The emperor has been deceived." Fearing to displease his attendants, who were unbelievers, the emperor withdrew and handed Valentine over to Asterius so that he might induce him to sacrifice by gentle words.

Valentine entered the house of Asterius, a great man in the emperor's court, knelt down, and prayed: "God, Creator of all, who sent your Son to lead us from darkness into light, convert this house and give it light, that they may know you, the true God, three and one."

Hearing this, Asterius said, "I marvel that you, a prudent man, call Christ the true light." Valentine replied, "He truly is the true light, enlightening every man who comes into this world." Asterius said to him, "If Christ enlightens every man, let him enlighten my blind daughter, and I shall do whatever you command."

Valentine therefore poured out prayer with tears, placed his hand over her eyes, and gave her sight. Struck to the heart by this deed, Asterius received baptism with his wife and his entire household, numbering about forty-six, after a three-day fast had been imposed upon him. He also released all the Christians whom he held in prison.

After these things had been done, Marius and Martha came joyfully to his house, giving thanks to God. When thirty-two days had passed, Emperor Claudius heard that the leading man Asterius had become a Christian. Greatly angered, he sent Asterius and his household to the city of Hostia [read: Ostia] and killed him there after testing him with diverse tortures. He ordered Valentine beaten with clubs and beheaded.

He had Marius, his wife, and their sons presented to him and handed them over to the vicar Mustianus [read: Muscianus], commanding that he make them sacrifice or cause them to perish by torments. Mustianus [read: Muscianus] ordered them beaten with clubs, then suspended on the rack, with fire placed at their sides, and scraped with iron claws. He then ordered the hands of Marius and his sons cut off. Martha gathered the blood of her husband and sons and joyfully anointed her head with it.

Finally, after being led around the city, they were beheaded. Martha was killed in the water [read: at Nympha]. The tyrant ordered their bodies burned so that they would lack burial. But a certain matron named Felicitas carried off those half-burned bodies and buried them on her estate; she also lifted Martha from the water.

When Claudius had published an edict throughout the world that idols were to be worshiped, there was a certain priest of the idols named Firminus in Terracina, a city of Campania. Each year on the Kalends of January, as though for the welfare of the commonwealth and its princes, he urged people to perform an act of cruel daring.

Before the appointed time, a young man was nourished for eight or six months amid delights and wanton pleasures in preparation for his own death. When the time had elapsed, he went armed and adorned up Mount Marinus. After receiving a horse, supposedly for the safety of the commonwealth and its princes and the health of its citizens, and so that he might have a glorious name, he hurled himself to his death.

His body was gathered with great honor and carried to the temple of appollinis [read: Apollo], where it was consumed by fire. His ashes were preserved in the temple for the welfare of the commonwealth.

At that time Caesarius came from Africa to Terracina. He hid there with a certain Christian until the Kalends of January, devoting himself with him to vigils and prayers. On the appointed day, when he saw this cruel superstition being practiced upon a young man named Lucian, he began to cry out: "Wise men, what are you doing? This is a foolish crime! Woe to the commonwealth and to princes who delight in torments and the shedding of blood! Why do you destroy souls through the deceptions of diabolical fraud?"

Then Firminus the priest ordered Caesarius seized and shut up in public custody. After being worn down for three days, he was handed over to the consular Leontius and led bound and naked to the temple of appollinis [read: Apollo]. As he approached it, the temple suddenly collapsed, and Firminus was crushed and killed there.

Caesarius was again worn down in custody and covered by his own hair because he was naked. An angel of the Lord guarded him day and night, and he was brought into the middle of the forum.

[Running head: Chapter Nine, Folio 244.]

Seventh Title: On the Reign of Vespasian

Chapter Nine (continued)

There, falling to the ground, Caesarius adored the Lord. A light like lightning appeared over him and protected him. Seeing this, Leontius said, "Truly, the Lord whom Caesarius preaches is God." He cast himself at Caesarius's feet, took off his own cloak and clothed him with it, and requested baptism before all the people. After receiving baptism and also the body and blood of the Lord through Julian the presbyter, Leontius gloriously surrendered his spirit to the Lord.

Luxurius, the chief magistrate of the city, seized Saints Caesarius and Julian and pronounced sentence against them: both were to be put into a sack and hurled into the sea. Caesarius said to Luxurius: "The water that regenerated me will indeed receive me as its

son, reborn from itself, so that it may now make me a martyr together with my father Julian. But today a serpent will devour you, so that this whole country may know that the Lord avenges the blood of his servants and of the virgins whom you burned with fire."

On the same day that they were drowned, the waves cast them upon the shore. Luxurius also lay there, his whole body swollen after being struck by a serpent. For while he sat on his horse and hurried to a villa for a meal, passing beside a tree, his wickedness caused a serpent to slip between his neck and the hood of his tunic. Inside the tunic it tore his belly and sides with its bites, so that it passed through his belly as far as his heart. As he lay completely swollen before he expired, he saw with his own eyes both saints singing psalms and the waves carrying their bodies with fitting honor.

Eusebius, who had lived with Caesarius, gathered their bodies and buried them near Terracina around the Kalends of November. Five days later, while Eusebius prayed at their tombs and taught the many people who gathered to him, Felix the presbyter baptized them. When Leontius, the son of the consular Leontius, heard this, he raged over his father's aforesaid death. He had Eusebius and Felix seized and, when they refused to sacrifice to the idols, had them beheaded and cast into the river. Their bodies were carried *ad littatus* [read: *ad littus*, to the shore] and buried beside the body of Caesarius.

§ I: Savinus

Under the emperor Aurelian, Saint Sevianus, or Savinus [read: Savinianus], suffered in the territory of Tricasses, as Vincent relates in the *Speculum Historiale*. When Emperor Aurelian heard that many were being converted to the faith through him, he sent several servants to seize him, but in fear they did not approach him. When Aurelian sent many more a second time, Savinus came voluntarily.

Finding him utterly steadfast in faith, the emperor ordered him thrust into prison and guarded by forty-eight soldiers. When Savinus had converted them to Christ, Aurelian commanded that they be beheaded. He ordered Savinus's hands and feet bound, his body beaten with iron bars, a glowing helmet placed upon his head, and afterward his body thrown into the fire. He was harmed by none of these. Then Aurelian had the soldiers shoot arrows at him, but the discharged arrows remained suspended in the air and did not touch him.

The emperor mocked him, saying, "Where is your God? Let him deliver you now, if he can, from these arrows or from my hands." One of the arrows turned backward, struck the emperor's eye, and blinded him. In anger, the emperor ordered Savinus bound in chains and sent to prison by many soldiers. While Savinus prayed, those soldiers were blinded and the chains broke.

Thus set free from the bonds of Secharia [read: from the prison chains], Savinus left the city and came to a riverbank. When he prayed, the water froze like stone. After crossing the river, he prayed that the Lord would command him to be crowned quickly. Behold, the soldiers who were seeking him approached swiftly to behead him. When they were afraid, he said to them: "Come, and carry some of my blood to the emperor, so that he may see the glory of God."

After being beheaded, the saint of God carried his own head in his hands. The soldiers carried some of his blood to the emperor in a small linen cloth, and when his eyes were anointed with it he recovered his sight.

While this Savinus was still a gentile, he read or heard this verse of the Psalm: "You will sprinkle me, Lord, with hyssop," and so forth. He prayed that he might know its interpretation. An angel appeared to him and said: "When your head has been sprinkled with chrism, you will be cleansed; and when you have been cleansed with living water in the name of Jesus Christ, you will be whiter than snow." Hence he received baptism.

After Savinus was baptized beside the river Secharia [read: Sequana, the Seine], he offered prayer and fixed his staff in the earth before many people. The staff suddenly produced branches, foliage, and flowers. Through this miracle 1,017 [read: 1,018] people were converted to Christ.

§ II: Speosippus [read: Speusippus], Eleosippus [read: Eleusippus], and Meleosippus [read: Meleusippus]

Vincent also relates in the *Speculum Historiale* the story of three young brothers born at one birth from their mother: Speosippus [read: Speusippus], Eleosippus [read: Eleusippus], and Meleosippus [read: Meleusippus]. They were educated in letters, and their grandmother Leonilla exhorted them to despise idols and turn to prayer to the Lord Jesus Christ, the true God and Creator of all. They were baptized into the faith by Saint Benignus the presbyter.

During Aurelian's reign [read: during Marcus Aurelius's reign], these brothers entered the city of Langres [*Lingonicam civitatem*]. When unbelievers questioned them about their worship, they steadfastly and publicly confessed themselves worshipers of Christ and argued that those who worshiped metals and statues were blind and senseless.

The governor Quadratus rose in anger and struck Speosippus and Eleosippus in the face with his fist, since only those two had spoken. Grieved, Meleosippus cried out to the governor: "Why did you not make me share with my brothers in this gift of a blow? By showing them the desirable beginning of their suffering, you have separated me from the holy fellowship. We are of one mind in confessing Christ, and we rejoice equally in Christ's reward through your unbelief."

The governor Quadratus said to them: “Today, because of your contempt for our gods, I shall cause you to perish by diverse torments.” Their grandmother Leonilla, with tears and kisses, courageously exhorted them to persevere in confessing Christ.

Because they refused to sacrifice to the idols, they were suspended from one tree, with their hands bound upward and their feet downward. They were stretched with so ingenious a torment that they were thought almost to be separated at the joints of their limbs.

Meleosippus mocked the judges, saying: “Our Savior, the Lord Jesus Christ, hung upon the wood for us, affixed with nails. We, therefore, his servants, hanging upon a trunk and bearing the sign of the cross, are made glorious martyrs.”

They replied: “You will not be consumed upon that tree, but by fire.” They were therefore taken down, their hands and feet bound, and thrown into a great fire. They remained unharmed, praising God and mocking their torturers. Seeing choirs of angels standing beside them, prepared to receive them, they bent their knees and surrendered their precious souls to the Lord.

A certain woman named Jovilla saw their most precious consummation. She scorned the companionship of her husband and left the sweet embrace of her little and only son. Hurrying swiftly among the crowds of unbelievers, who were still stirred by the heat of persecution, she cried out: “I too am a handmaid of Christ. I proclaim Christ to be the true God, and I despise your idols.”

Having said this, she was seized, suspended by her hair, and afflicted with many torments. Because she refused to deny Christ, she and the aforesaid Leonilla were killed with the sword.

Afterward the presbyter Benignus converted many people through his preaching and reduced the temple’s idols to nothing through his prayer. After diverse torments and a visit from an angel in prison, he finally ended his life in martyrdom. A dove was seen to leave him and ascend into heaven, and a fragrance followed it.

§ III: Symphorianus

Symphorianus, too, was baptized by the aforesaid Saint Benignus at the prayers of his father Faustus, a most noble man, when the boy was three years old. Saint Andochius raised him from the font.

This Andochius publicly confessed Christ at Sens. Aurelian had him and Saint Thyrsus thrown into the fire after many torments, but they were entirely unharmed. At last their necks were beaten with bars until they died.

The aforesaid Symphorianus, though still a boy, even then flourished with such holiness that, anticipating the life of elders, he remained in a heavenly manner of life and the study of divine law.

When Emperor Aurelian hurried from Sens to Divio, he brought the consular Heraclius with him [read: Aurelian sent the consular Heraclius to Augustodunum (Autun)] so that, just as he did everywhere, there also he might compel all Christians either to sacrifice to the idols or to die. At that time the pagans were celebrating the feast of Venus with astonishing madness and were carrying her statue in a chariot before Heraclius. Symphorianus was present and, because he refused to adore it, was beaten for a long time and committed to prison.

When he was brought out of prison and presented to Heraclius each day, he was urged to sacrifice but in no way consented. He said: “If it is dangerous not to add something each day to the advancement of the soul, how much more dangerous is it to depart from salvation? Let us freely pay to Christ the life that we are bound by debt to render him. It is late repentance to have feared beneath the judge’s gaze. Your gifts, mixed with the sweetness of counterfeit honey, engender poison in unbelieving minds. Your greed, though it possesses everything, possesses nothing, because, bound by diabolical arts, it is held in the fetters of miserable gain. The joys of your times, like glass, are broken when they begin to shine.”

Then the judge, inflamed with anger, pronounced sentence and ordered his servant to kill Symphorianus for blaspheming the gods and the princes, and thus to avenge the injury done to the gods and laws. As Symphorianus was led to the place of martyrdom, his venerable mother exhorted him from the wall not to fear. He was immediately beheaded with a sword. Christians took him up and buried him elsewhere, where so many miracles were seen to occur that even the wondering pagans held the place in the greatest honor.

Gregory of Tours relates that a certain Christian gathered three little stones together with Symphorianus’s blood from the place where he was beheaded and placed them in a small silver case in the church of a certain fortress [read: Ligernum in Auvergne]. When that fortress and the church itself were consumed by fire in the time of Clodoneus [read: Theodoric], king of the Franks, the little silver case was found unharmed.

At Rome also, under the governor Antiochus, the boy Agapitus was seized as a Christian and thrust into prison. He was left for four days without food or drink but was comforted by God. Afterward the governor ordered burning coals placed upon his head. He then ordered a most terrible smoke to be made and Agapitus himself stripped, suspended upside down, and left there alone until word should come that his body had been devoured by beasts and birds.

Attalus the cornicularius had previously urged him in prison to turn from his foolishness, lest amid torments he lose the flower of his youth. After four days Attalus went to the place where the martyr remained suspended, intending to report to the governor whether he was still alive. He found him in a white garment, walking above the smoke and singing this Psalm: "I shall not die, but live," and so forth. An angel of the Lord had released and healed him.

Attalus, amazed at these things, reported to the governor: "I believe that the God of the Christians is great and that there is no other God besides him." The governor said to him: "You have been deceived, and I shall make this known to the emperor." Attalus replied that he would most gladly endure the penalty of martyrdom with Agapitus.

After this the governor ordered Agapitus stripped and boiling water poured into his belly, but it became cold. When the boy rebuked the governor, the governor fell from the tribunal and cried to his servants: "Take care of me and help me, because I am burning all over. I justly receive what I unjustly did against the martyr-boy Agapitus of the great and eternal God." After saying this, he expired.

When Aurelian heard this, he ordered Agapitus exposed to lions. The servants therefore led him to the city of Praeneste and threw him to the lions in the amphitheater. The lions immediately laid aside all their ferocity and licked his feet. Then, while the surrounding people glorified God, the servants of wickedness seized Agapitus, led him not far outside the city, and struck him with a sword on the fifteenth day before the Kalends of September.

Under Emperor Aurelian at Ychonium [read: Iconium], a city of Isauria, occurred the passion of Saint Charion [read: Conon] and his son. They first endured being laid upon glowing iron. They then steadfastly overcame a gridiron placed over coals and drenched from above with oil. Afterward they suffered both the punishment of frying and suspension upon the rack, as well as fire. At last, when their hands had been crushed with a wooden hammer, they surrendered their spirits in praise of almighty God.

§ IV: Martyrs under Numerianus

Under Emperor Numerianus, many people suffered in diverse places for the name of Christ. At Rome Maurus suffered under the prefect Celerinus. He was not the Maurus who was a disciple of Saint Benedict, but another man, born in Africa to faithful parents. He distributed much of his parents' substance to the poor and, applying himself to prayer, adopted the monastic life by divine inspiration.

When he was eighteen years old, he came to Rome to visit the thresholds of the apostles. There he heard the rabid voice of Celerinus persecuting the Christians, withdrew from the city, and hid in a cave. Three months later, at midnight after prayer, he fell asleep and saw a most splendid man carrying in his hand what seemed to be a golden rod. The man said to him: "Rise, Maurus, for the God whom you love with your whole heart has not despised you. Enter the city without delay."

When Maurus did so, he was discovered to be a foreign Christian and was led to Prefect Celerinus.

[Running head: Chapter Nine, Folio 245.]

Seventh Title: On the Reign of Vespasian

Chapter Nine (continued)

When Maurus was invited to offer sacrifices, he refused, asserting that their idols were vain and fragile. He was ordered to be suspended upon the rack, scraped on his sides with claws, and subjected to glowing plates; finally, he was beheaded.

Vincent relates the story of Saint Babylas and three boys in Book XII, Chapter 121 of the *Speculum Historiale*. When Emperor Numerianus [read: Decius] had sacrificed to demons at Antioch and wished to enter the Lord's church, Bishop Babylas barred him, putting his hands in the way.

The next day Numerianus [read: Decius] sat in his council chamber and ordered the bishop brought to him. He said: "What have you done to me? Do you not know that it is a king who speaks to you?"

The bishop replied: "It pleased God to establish me, a humble servant, as shepherd of the people. Therefore, when I saw you coming like a wolf toward his sheep, fearing that I might lose one of them, I barred you from entering the sheepfold."

Numerianus [read: Decius] said to him: "Then I seemed to you a wolf and not a king?"

The bishop replied: "By God's indulgence you are king because of our sins, so that, beaten even in this way, we may return to him."

Numerianus [read: Decius] asked, "Who is the God whom you worship?"

He replied, "The power, wisdom, and Word of the Father."

Numerianus [read: Decius] asked him, “What, then, is man?”

He replied, “Constancy of life and enjoyment of those things that were made by God.”

Numerianus then ordered an iron collar placed upon Babylas and his feet fastened with fetters. When Babylas disclosed that he had three little boys trained under his discipline, they were brought in. Because they confessed Christ, they were ordered to be beaten with whips. One was twelve years old, another nine, and the third seven. Then Numerianus [read: Decius] had them suspended together with Babylas. When neither flatteries nor threats moved them, they were beheaded with Babylas and buried together.

§ V: Crisantus [read: Chrysanthus] and Daria

Concerning Crisantus [read: Chrysanthus] and Daria, as Vincent relates near the end of Book XII of the *Speculum Historiale*: Polemius, a most illustrious man and the foremost citizen of Alexandria, came to Rome with his son. He was received by the senate and, after being honored by Emperor Numerianus, received a seat in the senate house.

His son Crisantus [read: Chrysanthus] was handed over to philosophical studies. As he curiously examined the complete volumes of books and came to the Gospel writings, he fixed the course of his curiosity there and said to himself: “It was fitting for you to loosen the reins of your cares through the darkness of your books only until you reached the light of truth. It is not prudent for me to return from light to darkness.”

As he turned these things over within himself and daily sought the servants of Christ, he was told that Carpophorus, a certain holy Christian man learned in all things, had been placed in a cave on a mountain because the persecution was raging and could scarcely be visited by a very few of the most faithful.

Crisantus [read: Chrysanthus] fell at the knees of the man who told him and begged even with tears that he might be permitted to become acquainted with Carpophorus. Thus he came to Saint Carpophorus, presbyter of the fifth region, and within a few months was imbued with all the divine writings. He was instructed so diligently that, seven days after his baptism, he publicly preached Christ the Son of God.

When his father heard this, he was angry and had him shut in a dark and filthy place and refreshed in the evening hours with the driest food. Crisantus [read: Chrysanthus] said that this was being imposed upon him more as training than as punishment.

One of those who heard of it said to his father: “If you are trying to rescue your son from this usurpation, you ought rather to occupy him with pleasures. Christians regard darkness and afflictions of this kind as things that happen to their glory.”

His father then removed his son from that foul dwelling, clothed him in precious garments, and placed him in a dining chamber spread with silken cloths. He stationed five most beautiful and meticulously adorned virgins with him and ordered that his daily banquets be furnished with the richest foods. He threatened the girls, saying: “Unless you separate him from his commitment to Christianity by your games and embraces, I shall cause you to perish by diverse torments.”

Amid these mockeries the man of God remained immovable. Despising the delights like dung, he shuddered at the girls as though they were vipers. He lay immovable in prayer and received their embraces and kisses like the blows of arrows upon the shield of faith, crying: “Rise, Lord, to help me; say to my soul, ‘I am your salvation.’”

When he had completed a long prayer, the virgins were seized by so deep a sleep that, unless they were carried outside the dining chamber, they could not be awakened at all. They awoke outside and took food. But as soon as they entered, while the saint prayed, they were overwhelmed by sleep.

Some of his father’s friends said: “He has learned the magic art from the Christians, and by enchantment he easily prevails against the very simple girls. But if you send some educated woman to him, she will be able to incline him to your will.”

Then a Vestal virgin named Daria, gleaming with gems and gold, entered to him. She addressed him with such elegance of speech that, had he been harder than iron, he would have been rendered softer than lead.

But Crisantus [read: Chrysanthus] sought the Holy Spirit as mediator between himself and her and addressed her in this way: “If you display such beauty and honey-flowing sweetness of speech to me, a mortal man, in hope of a temporal marriage, though I am now occupied by other loves, how much more will you, loving and desiring the immortal Son of the King, be able to obtain him, if you preserve your soul in bodily integrity and become more beautiful in mind just as you are beautiful in body? Then angels will be your praisers, apostles the attendants of your bridal chamber, martyrs your friends, and Christ your bridegroom. Guarding a bridal chamber for you in heaven, he will be able to bestow upon you as your dowry the eternal possessions of paradise.”

Pierced to the heart by these words, Daria replied: “Young man, I have brought you no signs of a wanton spirit along with these garments. Pitying your father’s tears, I desire to return you to your father and recall you to the worship of the gods, which makes them our guardians.”

Crisantus [read: Chrysanthus] said: “How can they be our guardians when, unless guarded by dogs, they are carried off by thieves at night?”

Daria replied: “If the ignoble common people could celebrate the worship of the gods without these images, there would be no necessity to present a likeness.”

Crisantus [read: Chrysanthus] said: “Let us therefore inquire whose images they are and see whether we ought deservedly to offer them the honor due to gods. No one can be judged or believed to be God unless he surpasses every holiness and all majesty. What good qualities did scythe-bearing Saturn possess, who killed his own children whenever they were born--to say nothing of eating them, as his writers relate? What gifts or good qualities do you suppose were in Jove, who committed as many unheard-of acts of incest and as many murders as the days he lived? He remained the enemy of all chastity even to death, so that he polluted even Ganymede with lust and defiled the earth with his filth.”

As Crisantus [read: Chrysanthus] pursued these and many other arguments, Daria believed. As though by a feigned agreement, she and Crisantus [read: Chrysanthus] took counsel together to assume the name of marriage while both persevered in the fear of God and the glory of chastity. Thus the baptized Daria was joined to Saint Crisantus [read: Chrysanthus] not by bodily heat but was united to him by the fervor of the Holy Spirit.

When many virgins abandoned the love of betrothals and gave themselves to Christ through him, and young men abandoned carnal intercourse and devoted themselves to chastity, a sedition arose in the city under Prefect Celerinus. The young men cried in a public complaint: “Through Daria we are losing our brides; through Crisantus [read: Chrysanthus] we are losing husbands, and now we have no children.”

Crisantus [read: Chrysanthus] was therefore handed over to the tribune Claudius, who gave him to seventy soldiers so that they might lead him outside the city and compel him by diverse punishments to sacrifice to Hercules.

When he would not consent, they bound him with raw sinews so that the force of the binding reached his bones. But everything immediately came apart so swiftly that eyes could not perceive the speed of its dissolution. Struggling, as it were, against the bonds, they fastened him in different ways with different knots. They tightened the knots still more firmly with other knots, and suddenly the bonds were dissolved.

When they enclosed him in a new and very knotty wooden stock while mocking him, the wood rotted so completely that the stock immediately turned to ashes. Then they drenched him with a wash of urine, saying, “Now you will lose your magical arts.” But the most putrid water was changed into so great a fragrance that one would have thought him drenched not in urine but in balsam.

Next they flayed a calf, wrapped him naked in the same fresh hide, placed him in the sun, and left him for the whole day in the most burning heat of the sun. No heating could dry the hide or distress God’s servant in any way.

Finally they bound his hands, feet, and neck with chains and shut him in the darkest prison. The bonds were immediately released, however, and an immense light shone there.

When these things were reported to the tribune, he came there and, seeing the light in the prison, ordered Crisantus [read: Chrysanthus] to come out. He said to him, “How great is the power of your magical arts, that you accomplish these things?”

Crisantus [read: Chrysanthus] replied: “If there were even a spark of prudence in you, you would recognize that I am aided not by the devices of magic but by divine supports. You would perceive that your gods cannot hear the voices of those crying to them and that they contain nothing within except clay and lead.”

Then the angry tribune ordered him beaten with clubs. The hardest rods were brought, but in the hands of those striking him they began to grow soft like feathers.

Amid these events the tribune was pierced to the heart. He ordered Crisantus [read: Chrysanthus] raised up and clothed in his own garments. Turning to his soldiers, he said: “These are certainly not human arts, where the power of divine virtues has appeared. What remains for us except that we all fall at this man’s knees, seek pardon for our crime, and ask that he cause us to worship such a God, who makes his worshipers victorious in every battle?”

When they had done this and heard the word of the Lord from him, they received the faith and were baptized. On that same day Claudius, his wife Hylaria [read: Hilaria], his friends, and the seventy soldiers with their households were baptized. Hearing the word of instruction from Crisantus [read: Chrysanthus] each day, they desired with all reverence even to endure torments for Christ’s name.

When Emperor Numerianus heard this, he ordered the tribune Claudius bound to an enormous rock and hurled into the middle of the sea. But God granted so great a grace to the others that Claudius’s sons Jason and Maurus, even without being questioned, declared that they worshiped Christ and desired death for confessing his name. All the others imitated them, and within one hour they were all beheaded. Hylaria [read: Hilaria] gathered the bodies of her sons and placed them in *sartophagis* [read: *sarcophagis*, sarcophagi].

While Hylaria [read: Hilaria] continually prayed to God beside the shrine of the saints, she was seized and dragged toward judgment. She asked to be allowed first to complete her prayer and afterward to come wherever they wished. Thus, while she remained fixed in place, she received the Lord's sacrament. When she asked the Lord to unite her with her sons, she surrendered her spirit to the Lord in that very prayer.

Meanwhile Saint Crisantus [read: Chrysanthus] was placed in the Tullian prison, from which a terrible stench arose because the refuse of the houses, channeled through the passages of the sewers, flowed there. It was a muddy and so dark a prison that the light-bearing air showed no trace of light there. Crisantus [read: Chrysanthus] was therefore sent there naked and bound with iron.

Daria, however, was placed in a public brothel. Divine light and *adoramenta sancta* [read: *odoramenta suavia*, sweet fragrances] were furnished to Crisantus [read: Chrysanthus], while a lion fleeing from the cage of the amphitheater was directed to Daria. Entering the cell in which Daria lay prostrate in prayer, it prostrated *seipsam* [read: *seipsum*, itself] beside her, so that it seemed to adore her as well, since by its presence it offered itself to the virgin who was praying.

Unaware that the lion was present, they sent in to her a most shameful man, one especially notorious for acts of corruption. As he entered, the lion sprang upon him, cast him down beneath its paws, and began to look toward the virgin's face as though asking what she commanded concerning him.

Understanding this, she said: "I adjure you by the Son of God, for whom I willingly embrace the sufferings of martyrdom, that you do not harm him in any way, but permit him to receive my words without terror." The lion released him and stationed itself at the entrance of the door so that neither could he flee nor could anyone else enter.

Daria then said to him: "Behold, at the sound of Christ's name the lion's ferocity shows reverence to God, yet you, a man, engage in so many crimes that you glory even in that for which, in your wretchedness, you ought to mourn."

Prostrating himself before her, he cried: "Command me to leave here unharmed, so that I too may proclaim to everyone that the Christ whom you worship is the only true God." She ordered the lion to move away from the entrance. The man went out and cried throughout the whole city: "Know, everyone, that Daria is a goddess!"

Then diverse hunters and crowds of people went to capture the lion. God granted the lion this power: it seized them all and set them unharmed before Daria's feet. She addressed them: "If you promise that you will believe in Christ, you will be able to depart." They all cried with one voice: "Let whoever does not believe Christ to be the true God not leave here alive!" Saying this, they all began to go out, crying: "Believe, Roman people, that there is no other God besides Christ!"

Then Prefect Celerinus ordered a great fire lit at the entrance of the cell in which Daria was with the lion. When the lion saw this being done, it began to be frightened and to roar. Saint Darta [read: Daria] said to it: "Do not fear, for you will not be burned, captured, or killed, but depart in safety, because he whom you honored in me will himself deliver you."

The lion bowed its head and departed. Making its way through the midst of the crowds, it harmed no one, nor could anyone capture it.

[Running head: Chapter Nine, Folio 246.]

Seventh Title: On the Reign of Vespasian

Chapter Nine (continued)

All those who had escaped unharmed from the lion's mouth were baptized.

These things were reported to Emperor Numerianus, who ordered Chrysanthus and Daria punished with diverse torments if they would not consent to sacrifice. When Chrysanthus was placed upon the rack, all the wood of the rack was broken to pieces and the bonds burst apart. Burning lamps placed at his sides were also extinguished.

Finally the emperor, judging these things to have been done not by divine powers but by magical arts, ordered Chrysanthus and Daria led to the Salarian Way, both deposited together in a sandpit, and buried alive with stones. Persevering in prayers and hymns, they were placed together in one grave as though in one little bed. In their suffering there was a fellowship of blood, just as there had been a fellowship of mind.

When God furnished many benefits to those who came to their tomb, it happened that on their feast day an innumerable multitude of people--men, women, and infants--gathered there. When this was reported to Numerianus, he ordered a wall raised at the very entrance by which they had entered the crypt. When this was done, he cast down from above upon them the mound over the sandpit. Thus, while all were receiving the sacrament of communion and celebrating the glory of the martyrs, they came together to the glory of martyrdom. Among them were Diodorus the presbyter, Marianus the deacon, and very many clerics.

Although Chrysanthus and Daria suffered in the time of Emperor Numerianus, Numerianus himself was not at Rome, because, as is clear above, he was killed on the road while returning there.

What was said about Daria concerning the miracle of the lion is similarly read above concerning Saint Columba. There, however, it was a she-bear that defended Columba, and this occurred under Emperor Aurelian; here a lion defended Daria, in the time of Numerianus. Both virgins suffered martyrdom for Christ.

§ VI: Pelagia

Around those times [read: in the fifth century], as Vincent relates in Book XII from her deeds, eight neighboring bishops gathered at Antioch for a certain matter. Among them was Domnus [read: Nonnus], bishop of Heliopolis, a city now called Damietta.

While this bishop preached to the people standing by, a certain woman suddenly appeared openly before everyone. She shone with supreme beauty of face and ornaments and was preceded by a very great procession of young men and women. She so drew them to contemplation of herself that wherever she was, she filled the whole air with the scent of new wine and diverse spices.

When the bishops saw her pass with her head uncovered, they turned their eyes from her as though from a most grievous sin. Saint Domnus [read: Nonnus], bishop of Heliopolis, however, gazed at her for a long time. Then, lowering his face between his knees after long tears and deep sighs, he said to his fellow bishops: “I ask you, brothers, were you not delighted by this woman’s great beauty?”

They were silent. Again weeping, sighing deeply, and beating his breast, he asked them once more whether they had been delighted by that woman’s beauty. While they still remained silent, he said: “Truly, I was delighted, and this woman’s beauty pleased me. In truth I tell you that God will prefer her to us in the judgment. For we have an eternal bridegroom who grants everlasting riches to those who serve him, and upon whom the angels desire to gaze. Yet we grow sluggish in negligence and do not wash the face of our soul clean of filth so that we may please him, whereas this wretched woman has labored so often and so long to wash and paint herself so that she might appear beautiful to her lovers.”

After saying these and similar things, he entered his lodging, fell upon the pavement, struck his face against the ground, and drenched it with tears. He said: “Most high God, forgive me, a sinner, because this prostitute’s adornment for a single day has surpassed the labor of my whole life. She has adorned herself with the greatest diligence for earthly and perishable things. I resolved to please you, the immortal God, but through my negligence I have not fulfilled my purpose.”

As he said these things and wailed loudly, he suddenly fell asleep. It seemed to him that an exceedingly black, filthy, and foul-smelling dove flew around him. As he stood as though at Mass and ordered the catechumens to depart, the dove disappeared. After the Mass it returned and was immersed by the bishop himself in a vessel of water. Emerging from it clean and white, it flew so high that it could no longer be seen.

The bishop awoke and related this to his clergy, then went to the church. As he preached to the people, the prostitute, who heard the sermon with the others, was turned to such great compunction that in the evening she sent her messengers to the bishop with this message: “To the holy bishop, disciple of Christ, from a sinful disciple of the devil. I have heard concerning the God whom you worship that he descended from heaven not for the just but for sinners, and ate and drank with publicans and sinners. Therefore, if you are his disciple, do not despise me as I repent and desire to be saved.”

The bishop answered: “Whoever you are, you are known to God. Nevertheless, do not tempt me, a sinner. If you seek to be saved and to see me, you will see me among the other bishops, for you cannot see me alone.”

Without delay she announced that she had come to the bishop’s lodging. He summoned the bishops and commanded her to come to him. She immediately prostrated herself with a great wail, drenched his feet with tears, wiped them with her hair, and said: “Have mercy, lord, upon a sinful woman. I am Pelagia, a sea of iniquity overflowing with the waves of sins. I am an abyss of perdition and a whirlpool and snare of souls. Therefore cause me, most holy father, to be baptized, so that my soul may be cleansed from such great filth.”

The saint replied: “The canons hold that a prostitute ought not to be baptized unless she pledges through guarantors that she will no longer involve herself in depraved acts.”

She again prostrated herself and wailed, saying: “You shall render an account to God for my soul, and the iniquity of my sins will be imputed to you if you delay baptizing me.”

Then the saint asked her name. She said that from birth she was Pelagia, but because of the splendor of her ornaments she was called Margarita by the people.

When she had been baptized and received communion, behold, the devil cried out as though naked: “Oh, the violence that I suffer from this old man! Was the city of Heliopolis, which once was mine, not enough for you? Cursed be the day on which you were born against me! What have you done to me, O Pelagia? You have imitated Judas against me. My lady Margarita, what evil have I

ever done to you? Did I not adorn you with precious stones and heap gold and silver upon you? Tell me in what way I have saddened you, and I will make satisfaction to you. Only do not abandon me, lest I be made a reproach to the Christians."

She immediately signed herself with the cross and drove the demon away with her breath. On the third day, gathering all her riches through her servant and retaining nothing for herself, she distributed everything to the poor according to the bishop's counsel. Clothed in a hair shirt, she fled by night in male attire. On the Mount of Olives she was regarded as a man among the monks and was received under the name Pelagius.

Three years later, when a cleric of that bishop was going to Jerusalem to visit the holy places, the bishop instructed him to seek Pelagius diligently among the recluses and greet him humbly. The cleric did so when he reached the place and believed Pelagius to be a man. While visiting the other fathers, he heard the said Pelagius highly commended for holiness. Returning to visit Pelagius again, he found the recluse dead.

When this was made public, the monks were summoned with the bishop of Jerusalem for the funeral. Discovering a woman, they buried her honorably while praising God, who has many hidden servants. The cleric returned and related to his bishop everything he had seen.

At that same time, during the reign of Aurelian, there was a certain Manes, a Persian by race, sharp in intellect but barbarous in life and character, as Eusebius says in the *Chronicle*. Raving in accordance with his name, he called himself the Paraclete and displayed great religiosity and austerity. He also established twelve disciples like apostles to spread his perverse teaching everywhere. He was also called Manichaeus, from whom the heresy of the Manichaeans took its origin.

He asserted that there were two principles, one of good things and the other of evil things; that God was the creator of invisible things and the devil the creator of visible things; that Christ had a phantasmal body; and many other errors. Augustine, before his baptism, was entangled in this error for nine years. After being baptized, he confounded all these errors by most acute arguments, by disputations, by preaching, and in his books, especially the one *Against the Manichaeans*.

When this heresy sprouted again in Italy in the time of Innocent IV, in or around the year of the Lord 1250, it was utterly extinguished from those regions by blessed Peter Martyr of the Order of Preachers, then an inquisitor, through preaching, miracles, and the prayers and merits of the martyr.

Eighth Title: On the Persecution of Diocletian and Maximian

Chapter One

Diocletian, therefore, was the thirty-third emperor of the Romans. He began to reign in the year of the Lord 287 [read: 284], and in the year of the world 4,250, or, according to the other, greater computation, 5,486.

He was the son of a Dalmatian scribe. Having been elected emperor, he immediately killed Aper in a military assembly, swearing that Numerianus had been killed by Aper without any crime on Diocletian's part.

Diocletian ordered that he be adored as a god and was the first to order gems inserted into clothing and footwear. Before him, all emperors were greeted in the manner of judges and had nothing beyond private dress except the purple cloak. He overcame and destroyed in an exceedingly difficult war Karinus [read: Carinus], the brother of Emperor Numerianus, who was living disgracefully in Dalmatia [read: was defeated at Margum in Moesia].

In those days Amandus and Helinandus [read: Aelianus] stirred up a destructive rebellion in Gaul after gathering a multitude of peasants called Bagaudae, as Hugh of Fleury testifies. Diocletian therefore made Maximian Herculius, once his fellow soldier, Caesar and sent him into Gaul. By military valor he easily subdued the untrained and disordered multitude of countrymen. On this very journey, however, the sacred Theban Legion of Maurice and his companions suffered martyrdom at Maximian's hands, as will be told.

While Diocletian and Maximian were persecuting the Christians, the grave uproars of sudden disturbances resounded throughout all the borders of the Roman Empire. Chaurausio [read: Carausius], who had been stationed to guard the shores of the Ocean, was rebelling in Britain; Archilleus [read: Achilleus] in Egypt and the Quinquegentiani were troubling Africa; and Narseus, king of the Persians, was oppressing the East with war.

Moved by this danger, Diocletian raised Maximian Herculius from Caesar to Augustus. He made Constantius and Maximinus [read: Maximianus] Caesars, giving Theodora, the daughter [read: stepdaughter] of Maximian Herculius, as wife to Constantius, and his own daughter to Maximinus [read: Maximianus] Galerius.

Of these men, Constantius, the father of Constantine the Great, was the grandson of Claudius through his daughter, according to Eusebius in the *Chronicle*. Galerius was born in Dacia. So that Diocletian might also join them to himself by affinity, Constantius received Theodora, the stepdaughter of Herculius, from whom he afterward had seven [read: six] children, the brothers of Constantine. Galerius married Valeria, Diocletian's daughter. Both men were compelled to repudiate the wives they had previously had.

Constantius Caesar's army was defeated by the Alemanni in his first battle in Gaul, as Hugh says, and Constantius himself scarcely escaped. In the second battle, very favorable fortune or victory followed him, for seventy thousand [read: about sixty thousand] Alemanni are reported to have been slain within a few hours.

Maximian Augustus subdued the Quinquegentiani in Africa. Diocletian besieged Archilleus [read: Achilleus] for seven months [read: approximately eight months], captured him at Alexandria, and killed him. But, using his victory immoderately, he gave Alexandria over to pillage and defiled all Egypt with proscriptions.

In those days the renowned young Constantine, son of Constantius Caesar, whom Constantius had begotten from Helena, his earlier wife, was also with Diocletian. At Galerius's instigation, Diocletian attempted deceitfully to kill him. Having discovered the deception, Constantine returned safely to his father by divine providence.

Maximinus [read: Maximianus] Galerius had already fought two battles against Narseus. Defeated in a third encounter [source: defeated in one initial engagement near Callinicum and Carrhae] and having lost his forces, he fled to Diocletian, by whom he was received with the greatest arrogance. It is related that, clothed in purple, he was made to run before Diocletian's vehicle for several miles.

§ I: The Persecution and the Theban Legion

This Diocletian ruled with Maximian for twenty years. Their persecution against the Christians was the tenth and was harsher and longer-lasting than all the others, as Hugh says. Once the fury of this persecution had begun, it did not cease to rage until the seventh year of the reign of Constantine the Great.

Eusebius says in the *History* that the fire of the aforesaid persecution took its beginning from a small spark among the soldiers alone. When inquiry was made whether any of the soldiers were Christians, very many of them abandoned military service for the faith of Christ, and not a few even laid down their lives.

Chief among them were Maurice and the sacred Legion of the Thebans, numbering 6,666. As Vincent relates from their deeds in Book XIII, Chapter 2 of the *Speculum Historiale*, they were from Thebes in Egypt, a most noble city situated upon the Nile. These Christian soldiers received the most Christian faith in the East from Saint Zabda, bishop of Jerusalem. Coming to the city, they confirmed their faith before Pope Marcellinus, resolving to perish by swords before violating the faith they had received.

[Running head: Chapter One, Folio 247.]

Eighth Title: On the Persecution of Diocletian and Maximian

Chapter One (continued)

They were joined to Maximian's army when he advanced into Gaul against the rebellious Bagaudae. After crossing the Alps, while they were encamped on a certain plain, Maximian ordered everyone to sacrifice to the idols and pledge their loyalty in pursuing the Bagaudae and the Christians.

When the sacred legion heard this, it refused to consent to this crime and withdrew eight miles from Octodurum, where Maximian and his men were. Hearing this, Caesar commanded them to be recalled. When the sacred legion refused, he said: "Injury to heaven is joined to contempt for me. Therefore let the defiant soldier feel that my gods are able to give me vengeance."

Inflamed with anger, he sent a great many soldiers and ordered every tenth man among those refusing to return to sacrifice to be beheaded. The saints joyfully offered their heads and seemed almost to vie with one another over who might precede the other to death.

When a tenth part of them had been beheaded, Saint Maurice, their commander and chief, addressed the survivors to comfort them. Through devotion to the faith and the example of their companions, he exhorted them steadfastly to complete what they had begun.

When Maximian was informed of their firm resolve in the faith, he again commanded every tenth man to be slaughtered. After this was done, Exuperius the standard-bearer repeated the exhortation with the commander Maurice. When they had been most powerfully strengthened, the soldiers were sent back and slaughtered them on every side as they cast down their arms and offered their naked bodies.

After this cruelty had been completed, the army sat down to feast. Among the slain they invited to eat with them, from motives of humanity, a certain old man named Victor who happened to be passing by. He asked how they could eat with joy among so many corpses of the slain. When he heard from one of them that they had been killed because they refused to sacrifice to the gods, he groaned and sighed, saying that he had lived so long and had not deserved to be found in their fellowship. Since he considered himself most blessed for this reason, they perceived from it that he was a Christian and immediately killed him.

As the Church was being enlarged by prosperous growth, Eusebius says, the whirlwind of persecution suddenly burst forth. For Diocletian issued an edict that all the churches in the world should be razed to the ground, the sacred scriptures should everywhere be consumed by fire, and all who presided over the churches should be placed in chains and then compelled by exquisite torments to sacrifice to the gods.

They therefore seized all the leaders of the churches and holy clerics, and with them many noble and ignoble people, women, and children. As Eusebius writes in the *History*, some were torn with whips, others gouged with claws, and others burned with glowing plates. Some of these, exhausted, yielded, but others preserved patience to the end.

Certain persecutors, moved as though by compassion, brought some of our people to the accursed sacrifices and proclaimed that they had sacrificed, although they had not. Those people became guilty only because they endured in silence the charge laid against them. Others were carried away half alive and cast out as though dead. Others were dragged by the feet and counted among those who had sacrificed.

Others cried out with a great voice that they had not sacrificed but were Christians, and were adorned by rejoicing in such a confession. Some testified with still greater confidence that they had neither sacrificed nor would ever sacrifice. The soldiers standing by continually beat their mouths and eyes to silence them and violently expelled them as though they had consented. So great was the zeal of the impious to seem to have fulfilled their purpose. Thus far Eusebius.

Once the fury of the persecution had begun, Hugh says, it did not cease to rage until the seventh year of the reign of Constantine the Great.

In the province of Egypt also, according to Eusebius in the *Ecclesiastical History*, men, women, and children sought future glory with no less glory by holding their present life of little value for the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ. Some of them, after beatings,

claws, scourges, and other torments of diverse kinds, were handed over to the flames. Others were hurled into the sea. Some were beheaded, so that they voluntarily offered their necks to the axes. Some were consumed by hunger.

Others were affixed to gibbets, some of them with their heads pressed downward and feet raised on high. On others torturers applied broken pieces of earthen vessels in place of claws and so lacerated their bodies until they scraped away the whole skin of the flesh.

They also suspended women naked by a certain device, one foot raised on high and their heads plunged toward the ground, and allowed them to hang throughout the entire day in a most shameful spectacle. Elsewhere, if two neighboring trees were found, they bent the branches of each toward one another, bound one foot of a martyr to each branch, and suddenly released the branches they had bent, so that they tore the limbs apart from one another.

"We also saw with our own eyes," Eusebius says, "that when a judge in Egypt ordered innumerable peoples of the faithful who confessed themselves Christians to be punished by beheading, all of them voluntarily--indeed, each striving to precede the other--offered their necks to those striking them. No one among them, not even a little infant, could be deterred from death. Each feared only this: lest, because of sunset and the obstacle of night, they might be separated from the fellowship of the martyrs." Thus far Eusebius.

§ II: Saint Victor of Marseille

After Maximian had completed the aforesaid slaughter of the holy Thebans and arrived at the city of Marseille, he decreed that everyone should either offer sacrifices to the gods or perish by diverse deaths.

When the minds of the Christians were disturbed by this decree, blessed Victor thrust himself into their midst and was immediately seized and presented before the tribunals of the prefects. There, as he testified to the faith of Christ with a steadfast countenance and free voice, a cry immediately arose from those standing around him.

After he had endured many injuries from everyone, the prefects decreed that his case should be referred to Caesar for a hearing. He was immediately brought into Caesar's presence. Beset on every side by many accusations, he was driven toward sacrifice with the greatest terrors. Yet Victor, stronger than the one terrifying him and filled with the Holy Spirit, refuted the emperor and his nobles with marvelous prudence, exposing the emptiness of the idols' worship and confirming the faith of Christ by certain reasoning.

Then Caesar turned to rage. At his command the martyr of God was bound tightly with ropes and dragged through the whole city, so that by his shameful punishment they might avenge the injury done to the gods and terrify the spirits of the Christians.

When the eyes of the spectators had been satisfied by such mockery, Victor was again presented before the tribunals and exhorted even more sharply to deny Christ and adore the idols. Blessed Victor replied wisely to each of their objections, silencing them all by the weight of his arguments. But the madmen ordered him to choose one thing: either appease the gods or perish unhappily.

He said: "If you propose the matter in this way, What we taught in words and by due examples [read: What we taught in words you will see by examples]: I despise the gods and confess Christ. Give whatever punishments you can; multiply the torments."

At Asterius's command he was immediately affixed to a gibbet and tortured, but the Lord appeared to him and comforted him. Afterward he was thrust into prison but immediately refreshed by heavenly light and angelic consolation.

While he exulted and sang psalms, the three soldiers guarding him--Alexander, Longinus, and Felicianus--were pierced to the heart, prostrated themselves at his feet, and asked to be baptized. When the emperor heard what had happened, he condemned those three soldiers to capital punishment. He had Victor, the author of their conversion, suspended again, torn with clubs and bull's sinews, and returned to prison.

After three days, when Victor was found unchanged in every respect, threats, curses, and reproaches were renewed against him. By Caesar's order he was placed before the altar of Jove. But the holy man, with the sole of his foot, cast down the statue from the priest's own hand, and immediately, by Maximian's order, was deprived of that same foot.

Finally, when he was about to render his body and soul to God, he was led to a mill and soon placed beneath its stone and cruelly crushed. A little later the machine was broken apart by divine power. When he was seen still breathing for a little while, his head was cut off. Immediately a heavenly voice was heard: "You have conquered, blessed Victor; you have conquered!"

When, by the emperor's command, his body had been *immersus* [read: *immersum*, immersed] in the waves of the sea, it was carried with the swiftest passage through the ministry of angels to the opposite shore and devoutly buried by the worshipers of Christ.

§ III: The Stonecutters

Emperor Diocletian went to Pannonia to have various stone quarried from the mountains in his presence. As he assembled all the quarry workers, he found among them men marvelous in the art of cutting squared stone: Claudius, Castorius, Sempronianus, and Nicostratus. They were Christians in secret, and whatever they made in sculpture they *sculpebat* [read: *sculpebant*, carved] in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. Hence their polished works pleased Diocletian.

When they were sent with a multitude of craftsmen to cut stone on the porphyry mountain, his art served Claudius well because he did everything in the name of Jesus Christ. Simplicius, however, who was a gentile, did not find all the works he made successful.

Nicostratus said to him, “Brother, why is your tool broken?”

He replied, “I ask you, temper it for me so that it will not break.”

Claudius took the iron carving tool and blessed it in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that it might be strong and sound for performing the works. Simplicius then began to make his works well and correctly with those tools. With marvelous eagerness he began to inquire what kind of tempering it was, since the edges of their tools never broke.

Sempronianus said, “The Creator of all has himself strengthened his creature.”

Simplicius asked him, “Does not the god Jove make everything?”

He replied: “You have blasphemed. The God whom we confess--the Lord Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit--created everything. For the one whom you call a god is carved by our hands.”

Simplicius said: “I adjure you by the sun-god to tell me who it is who created everything and in whose name you work so well. For I see that you secretly pray to someone whom I do not know. Reveal this prayer of yours to me, so that you may enjoy my friendship.”

Claudius replied: “We faithfully tell you to believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, and receive baptism; then all things will minister to you.”

He said: “Then do not delay, so that I may be of one mind with you in art and religion.”

They led him to Saint Quirillus, a bishop brought from Antioch with many other confessors of Christ, bound in chains and already lacerated for three years by many beatings, so that the bishop might baptize him. When this was done, they returned to their works.

One of the philosophers saw that they did nothing without the sign of the cross. In anger he said: “This sign belongs to the magic art, for it pertains to cruelty, and through it everything goes prosperously for you.”

The philosophers therefore accused them before Augustus out of envy. Delighted by their works, Diocletian ordered them to make Victories, Cupids, shells, and especially an Asclepius. They made everything else except the image of Asclepius. For this reason, accused by the philosophers, they were rebuked by Augustus.

Claudius answered him: “Augustus, we have always obeyed your piety, but we shall never make the image of a most wretched man, because it is written, ‘Let those who make them become like them,’” and so forth.

Those standing by burned with anger against them, and Diocletian committed their case to Lampadius. When they refused at his command to adore the sun, he had them stripped and beaten with scorpion whips. At that same hour Lampadius was seized by a demon and expired while tearing himself apart.

When Diocletian learned this, he angrily ordered them shut in leaden coffins and cast enclosed into the river. When Quirillus, who was in prison, heard this, he afflicted himself and departed to the Lord.

After forty-two days, a certain Christian named Nicodemus raised their bodies together with the coffins and placed them in his house.

Afterward Diocletian came to Rome and compelled the entire soldiery to sacrifice to Asclepius. Four cornicularii who resisted were killed by blows from lead-weighted scourges, and their bodies were cast to the dogs in the street. But blessed Sebastian, who was a Christian in secret, raised them at night with Pope Melchiades [chronologically impossible: Melchiades became pope only in 311] and buried them on the Labican Way.

Since this happened not at the same time but two years later, and their names could not be found, blessed Melchiades [chronologically impossible in Sebastian’s setting] ordained that their annual day of martyrdom should be celebrated under the names of the aforesaid Claudius and his companions, on the seventh day before the Ides of November [read: the sixth day before the Ides, 8 November]. Their names were revealed afterward.

§ IV: Saint Sebastian

Concerning Saint Sebastian, whose martyrdom is very celebrated and whose history is notable: this glorious martyr, as Vincent relates from his deeds in Book XIII of the *Speculum Historiale*, was a citizen of Milan. He was so dear to the emperors Diocletian and Maximian that they entrusted him with command of the first cohort and ordered him continually to stand in their presence. The soldiers also revered him as a father.

He rendered devoted service to Christ his God but acted so that this would remain hidden from the sacrilegious kings. He was not terrified by fear of suffering; rather, living as a soldier of Christ beneath the cloak of an earthly empire, he wished to comfort the spirits of Christians whom he saw failing amid torments.

Therefore, when the most illustrious men Marcus and Marcellianus, twin brothers, had been placed in chains for the name of Christ, Sebastian offered them consolation each day. To them and to their servants who had been detained with them, he supplied saving counsels of faith so that they might despise the fleeting enticements of the world and not fear the momentary kinds of torments.

Because they would not consent to sacrifice, endured the executioners' beatings patiently, and had been ordered to undergo a capital sentence, their father Tranquillinus and their mother Martia obtained a reprieve of thirty days from Chromatius, prefect of the city, so that in the interval they might be able to persuade them to sacrifice.

[Running head: Chapter One, Folio 248.]

Eighth Title: On the Persecution of Diocletian and Maximian

Chapter One (continued)

Their friends therefore approached and said: "Whence comes so hard a mind and so iron a heart in you, that you allow your father's gray hairs to be cast aside and bring new birth pangs upon your already decrepit mother? Incomparable grief! Life is despised, glory rejected, and, after all the affections of devotion have been scorned, the horror of death is sought."

While they said such things, the mother came, crying that she was wretched. With her hair loosened, she displayed the gray hairs of her old age. Before them she tore the garment that covered her, and, while everyone wept, she showed through the hanging skin the breasts they had sucked. She recalled the caresses shown them in infancy.

"Alas, wretched me, surrounded on every side by grief! I am losing sons who hasten voluntarily to death. If enemies were carrying them away from me, I would follow through the midst of battle lines. If violent judgments shut them away, I would break into the prison, ready to die. This is a new kind of perishing, in which the executioner is begged to destroy. Life desires to perish; death is desired to come."

As the mother pursued these laments, their infirm and aged father was led in by the hands of servants. Sprinkling dust upon his swan-white head, he raised words of this kind toward heaven: "O sons, staff of my old age and twin light of my inward parts, what sudden madness makes you lovers of death? Such a thing has never pleased the young. Come here, young men, and weep over young men who perish willingly. Approach, fathers, and forbid such things to be done, lest you too suffer them."

While the old man did these things, behold, the wives of both brothers came with their own children, whom they presented to their gaze, saying: "To whom do you leave us to serve? To whom do you hand over the love of your marriage? Alas, what iron hearts! With what impious kind of cruelty you cast aside your parents, reject your friends, renounce your wives and children, and voluntarily offer yourselves to the executioner!"

Then, amid the wives' tears and the children's sighs, the soldiers of Christ began to soften and bend their spirits toward grief.

Saint Sebastian was present at this spectacle, though his military dress concealed that he was a most Christian man. When he saw God's athletes grow weary in so weighty a contest, he cast himself into their midst and said:

"O most valiant soldiers of Christ, through exceeding courage you have come bravely to the palm, yet through wretched blandishments you lay aside the everlasting crown. Through you let the valor of Christ's soldiers now learn that you are armed more by faith than by words. Raise above earthly affections the trophy of your contest.

"Those whom you see weeping would surely rejoice if they could know what you know. If they knew that there is another, everlasting life ignorant of sorrow, they would hasten with you to reach it, counting this fugitive life as nothing. For this life has always deceived all who believed in it, mocked those who presumed upon it, and--would that it were guilty only of lying--compelled its lovers to run through every crime.

“It gives gluttony to gluttons, the shipwreck of modesty to adulterers, and execrable perversity to the incestuous. It urges the thief to seize, the wrathful man to rage, and the liar to deceive. It removes justice from judges, chastity from the chaste, and discipline from conduct. To recall greater crimes that it inflicts upon its lovers: if ever a brother has killed a brother, a son his father, or a friend his friend, did they not commit it when led by love of this present life? After it has fattened them upon filth, it hands its servants over to its daughter, that is, eternal death.

“This is the life that deceives you, O friends, so that by unjust counsel you call your friends back as they go toward eternal life. This life urges you, O spouses, to suggest impiety even to the minds of blessed martyrs under the appearance of devotion. If they consented to you, they could indeed remain with you a little longer and afterward be separated--and so separated that you would never see one another except amid everlasting torments.

“There the devouring flame consumes the souls of unbelievers; there dragons eat the lips of blasphemers; there serpents feed upon the breasts of unbelievers with their bites; there wailing and groaning resound; there confused cries and the heat of the conflagration torment. This tribulation ends with no limit, but whoever has been burned is restored for punishments renewed.

“Allow these men, therefore, to escape this punishment, and consider rescuing yourselves as well. Do not fear, for they are not separated from you. They go to heaven to prepare starry mansions for you, in which you may rejoice with them forever. There delights are not hindered by activity; security is disturbed by no care; mourning and groaning are never heard; nothing foul or deformed is ever seen; and open eyes enjoy every beauty and elegance without interruption. The instruments of hymns continually sound, hymns sung by angels to the praise of God. There fragrance is diffused with delight through every limb, and honey-sweet refreshment is received by taste. All things immediately serve with the most ready affection whatever the soul desires.

“Thus, if anyone in this mortal life has fought against his desires as though expending them here, there he will receive them whole from his Creator. Therefore, O friends, O parents, O spouses, do not call those whom you love back from life to death. Present pain is either light and can be endured tolerably, or it is grave and quickly brings an end. Future pain, however, will never end; it assails and continues more sharply.”

While blessed Sebastian delivered these and other words, suddenly, for almost an hour, they were illuminated by an exceedingly great radiance coming from heaven. Beneath that radiance a young man appeared beside Sebastian, clothed in a most white cloak.

These events took place in the house of a certain Nicostratus. His wife, named Zoe, had lost her speech six years earlier through the severity of an illness and was mute. Seized by amazement at so great a miracle, she signified with her hand to all who were present what she could not express with her tongue: those who did not believe so great an assertion by the holy man ought to be reproached.

Saint Sebastian, seeing that she could not explain what she felt, said: “If I am truly a servant of Christ, and if all the things this woman has heard from my mouth and believed are true, may my Lord Jesus command the function of her lips to return to her.”

Then the woman cried out: “Blessed are you, and blessed is the word of your mouth. Blessed are those who believe through you. For I saw with my own eyes an angel coming from heaven and holding books before you, from the reading of which the entire argument of your speech proceeded.”

Seeing this, Nicostratus fell at Sebastian’s knees and begged pardon because, by the emperor’s order, he held Saints Marcus and Marcellianus in chains. Releasing them, he embraced their knees and begged them to depart free, saying: “Oh, how happy I would be if I could deserve to be bound for your salvation!”

They replied to him: “If you have received the glory of faith that you never possessed, why do we, who received it from infancy, abandon the chalice of our suffering to you?”

[Running head: Eighth Title.]

When all who heard these things together displayed repentance with tears, Marcus said: “Learn, holy parents, that all this is the devil’s cunning in war: to rescue the body from torments and subject the soul to vices. But why should those who know that death is the nature of man, not his punishment, fear to die? How many lovers of this false life have been crushed by a grievous ruin, burned by lightning, destroyed in shipwreck, or slain by the sword! Wretchedly losing this life amid pain, they cannot find the true life at all.”

Nicostratus and his wife then sought the mystery of the Christian religion. When all the prisoners had been gathered in Nicostratus’s house, blessed Sebastian exhorted them to receive the faith. After they had been converted, the presbyter Polycarp was summoned and baptized them.

Claudius the jailer also caused his two sons to be brought. One suffered from dropsy and the other from ulcers. He had them baptized, and they were immediately healed. Sixty-eight others were also baptized. Tarquillinus [read: Tranquillinus], the father of Marcus and Marcellianus, was baptized too and freed from gout in his hands and feet.

When Chromatius, prefect of the city, heard that Tarquillinus [read: Tranquillinus] had been perfectly healed--he himself also suffered from a most grievous disease--he asked Tarquillinus [read: Tranquillinus] to bring him the man who had healed him.

Sebastian and Polycarp came to him and said that, if he desired to receive health, he must first renounce the idols and grant them the power to break them. When Chromatius said that his servants would do this, Sebastian replied: “Your timid servants would be afraid to do it. If the devil harmed them on this occasion, they would say that the unbelievers had been struck because they wished to break their gods.”

Thus girded for the task with his permission, Polycarp and Sebastian broke more than two hundred idols. When Chromatius did not receive health, Sebastian said to him: “Since you do not receive health, it is certain that either you have not wholly renounced unbelief or you have preserved some idol.”

Chromatius disclosed that he had a chamber in which was the discipline of the stars, upon which his father had spent more than two hundred pounds of gold and through which he foresaw all future things. Sebastian said to him: “As long as you keep this intact, you will not keep yourself intact.”

When Chromatius consented to this, his son Tiburtius, an excellent young man, said: “I shall not permit so distinguished a work to be destroyed. Yet lest I seem opposed to my father’s health, behold, let two furnaces be kindled, so that if my father does not obtain health after the work is destroyed, they may be burned alive.”

Sebastian answered, “Let it be as you have said.”

When that work had been destroyed, Chromatius was healed by an angel appearing to him. After this, Chromatius himself, his son Tiburtius, and 1,400 men from his household were baptized. Chromatius released his baptized servants from the yoke of slavery, saying: “Those who have God as Father ought not to be the servants of men.”

§ V: The Companions of Sebastian

During the persecution of the Christians, with the knowledge of Pope Gaius, Chromatius secretly received and supported all the Christians in his house.

Pope Gaius came into that house and said to everyone: “The Lord Jesus Christ, foreknowing human frailty, established two ranks among those who believe in him, namely confession and martyrdom. Therefore, those who do not hope that they can bear the weight of martyrdom should retain the glory of confession and go with your children and with Chromatius and Tiburtius. But those who wish may remain with me in this city. For distances of lands do not divide those whom the love of Christ binds together.”

Tiburtius cried out: “I beseech you, father, do not permit me to turn my back upon the persecutors. It is very joyful to me to undergo death for eternal life.” Saint Gaius, rejoicing in his faith, wept.

There remained with Gaius in the city Marcellianus and Marcus; their father Tarquillinus [read: Tranquillinus]; Sebastian and Tiburtius; Nicostratus with his wife Zoe and his brother Castorius; and Claudius with his brother Victorinus.

Pope Gaius made Marcus and Marcellianus deacons, Tarquillinus [read: Tranquillinus] a presbyter, Sebastian a defender of the Church, and the others subdeacons. They all stayed secretly with a certain Castulus, a Christian *zecharium* [read: *zetarium*, palace chamberlain]. Day and night, with tears and fasts, they prayed to God that through the endurance of their confession they might be considered worthy to be joined to the number of the holy martyrs. Many sick people were healed by their prayers, the blind were given sight, and demons were driven away.

As Tiburtius passed by, he encountered a man who had fallen from a height and was completely broken, as though dead. After pouring out the Lord’s Prayer over him, Tiburtius restored him to health and, instructing his parents, converted them to Christ.

When Zoe was praying at the shrine of blessed Peter, she was seized by pagans and compelled by the judge to burn incense to the statue of Mars. She replied: “You compel women to sacrifice to Mars so that you may show that your Mars delights in women. Yet though that most shameless god could take modesty from Venus, he will not prevail against me, who carry the trophy of faith upon my forehead.”

She was sent to prison, where she remained for six days without food or drink. Because she persevered in confessing the faith, she was ordered suspended from her neck and hair upon a high tree, with smoke from a dung heap produced beneath her. There she surrendered her spirit. So that her body would not be venerated by Christians, they bound a stone to it and cast it into the Tiber.

She appeared in a dream to blessed Sebastian and informed him of her martyrdom. When he related it to Tarquillinus [read: Tranquillinus], Tarquillinus [read: Tranquillinus] said: “Women precede us to the crown. Why do we live?” On the eighth day, while he prayed at the shrine of blessed Paul, he was stoned by gentiles and his body was cast into the Tiber.

Nicostratus, Claudius, Castorius, Victorinus, and Simphorianus were seized while seeking the bodies of the aforesaid saints along the banks of the Tiber and were brought before the judge Fabian. When for twenty days he could not bend them from their resolve

in faith by threats or blandishments, he reported them to the emperor. Because they would not consent under torments to sacrifice to the idols, he ordered them hurled headlong into the midst of the sea.

Meanwhile a certain apostate named Torquatus deceitfully joined himself to Saint Gaius, bishop of the city, with pretended faith. Blessed Tiburtius, a noble and learned man, frequently rebuked him because he artfully arranged his hair, continually dined while playing, willingly exposed himself to the sight of women, and abstained from the brothers' fasts, prayers, and vigils. Torquatus pretended to receive the admonitions calmly.

By cunning he arranged for unbelievers to seize Saint Tiburtius while he prayed. During that arrest he caused himself also to be detained and led together with Tiburtius to the judge's private chamber.

The judge Fabian said to Torquatus: "Do you not know that the most invincible princes have ordered those who do not sacrifice to the idols to be worn down by diverse torments?"

Torquatus replied: "Tiburtius here, my master, has always taught me that I must do what I now see him doing."

Fabian then turned to Tiburtius and asked, "What do you answer to this?"

Tiburtius replied, "Torquatus must answer to God because he lied that he was a Christian."

[Running head: Chapter One, Folio 249.]

Eighth Title: On the Persecution of Diocletian and Maximian

Chapter One (continued)

"Do you believe this man to be a Christian," Tiburtius continued, "who, in pandering to his softness, *fimbrias obmittit* [read: *fimbrias committit*, curls the fringes of his hair]; who loves the barber; who *sic molliter gessit* [read: *scapulas molliter gestit*, carries his shoulders so effeminately]; who spreads out a flowing gait with *improbo visu* [read: *improbo nisu*, immodest effort]; who treats men negligently and willingly looks at women? Does Christ deign to have such men as his own? But this man now clearly displays what sort he has always been.

"I rebuked in him gluttony, the drinking of wine, and the holiness of the divine name buried within him. He ate, drank, and vomited, and now he accuses Christians. He incites an unarmed judge, extends a sword to one unwilling, and urges that we bend our necks to demons.

"Gird yourself now, O most cruel man, and perform the executioner's office. Claim for yourself even the voice of this very judge. Apply the racks, suspend the Christians, condemn, strike, and burn. Every punishment is cheap to us where the conscience is pure."

Fabian said to Tiburtius: "Return to your rank and be what nature has dictated. Though born noble, you have fallen into such filth that you can undergo punishment together with infamy and death."

Tiburtius replied: "O most imprudent of men! Because I refuse to worship the prostitute Venus, the most incestuous Jove, the deceitful Mercury, and Saturn the killer of his children, I incur the disgrace of my noble birth. Because I adore and venerate the one true God who reigns in heaven, punishments are threatened against me."

Then Fabian ordered burning coals brought before Tiburtius's feet and said: "Choose one of two things for yourself: either place incense *in os carbones edice* [read: *in hos carbones eiice*, upon these coals]--that is, in veneration of the gods--or tread upon these living coals with your bare soles."

After making the sign of the cross, Tiburtius immediately stepped joyfully upon the burning coals and said to Fabian: "Learn that the Christ whom we confess is God and that he rules over the creatures. It seems to me that I am walking upon rosy flowers in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ."

Fabian said, "Who does not know that Christ taught you the magic art?"

Tiburtius replied: "Be silent, and do not inflict upon my ears this injury, that I should hear the honey-sweet and holy name mangled."

In anger Fabian ordered him led to the Latin Way [read: Via Labicana]. When he was brought there, he departed with a single stroke of the sword, at the place where Christ furnished many benefits to very many people.

After this, Torquatus arranged for Castulus, the saints' host, to be seized. Persevering in the confession of the Lord, Castulus was ordered thrown into a deep pit and a mass of sand cast over him. Thus, with the palm of martyrdom, he departed to Christ.

After this Marcus and Marcellianus were seized. Both were bound to a stake and received exceedingly sharp spikes in their feet. Fabian said to them: “You will stand with your soles fixed for so long until you render the duty owed to the gods.”

Fixed to the wood, they sang psalms to one another, saying: “Behold how good and how joyful it is for brothers to dwell as one. Never have we feasted so well. Would that you permit us to remain in this way for as long as we are covered by the garment of the body.”

When they had remained for one day and night in praises and hymns, the judge commanded their sides to be pierced with lances. From this they departed to the starry kingdoms.

When these things had been completed, the prefect reported Saint Sebastian to Diocletian. The emperor summoned him and said: “I always held you among the foremost men of my palace, yet, against my welfare, you have until now hidden yourself to the injury of the gods.”

Sebastian replied: “For your welfare I have always worshiped God, and for the condition of the Roman city I have adored the God who is in heaven, considering it the act of a senseless and vain mind to seek help from stones.”

Angered, Diocletian ordered him led into the middle of a field, bound like a target, and pierced with arrows by the soldiers. Fulfilling the command, the soldiers filled him with arrows on every side so that he was bristling with their blows like a hedgehog. Believing him dead, they departed.

Then Irene, the widow of Castulus the palace chamberlain, went by night to take up and bury his body. Finding him alive, she brought him into her house, and within a few days he recovered complete health in every limb.

When all the Christians gathered around him, they urged him to depart. Instead, after praying, he went down to the palace and stood upon the steps of Elagabalus. As the emperors came, he said: “The priests of the temples besiege the minds of your imperial subjects with the most unjust *subiectionibus* [read: *subreptionibus*, underhanded insinuations]. They offer false inventions concerning the Christians, saying that they are enemies of the commonwealth, although through their prayers the commonwealth itself improves and grows.”

When he said such things, Diocletian asked, “Is this not Sebastian, whom we ordered killed with arrows?”

Sebastian replied: “My Lord Jesus Christ deigned to raise me for this purpose, that I might meet you and protest before all the people in a just judgment [read: by an unjust judgment] against your persecution, which rages against Christ’s servants.”

Then Diocletian ordered him led to the palace hippodrome and beaten with clubs until he breathed out his spirit. At night they cast his body into the sewer, saying, “Lest perhaps the Christians make him a martyr for themselves.”

Blessed Sebastian appeared in a dream to blessed Lucina, showing her the location of his body. Because it hung upon a hook, no filth had touched it. He instructed her to raise it from there and bury it in the catacombs. She did so.

§ VI: Saint Erasinus [read: Erasmus], Bishop of Antioch

Concerning Saint Erasmus, bishop of Antioch, Vincent relates from his deeds in Book XIII of the *Speculum Historiale* that, when Diocletian’s decree against the Christians had been issued at Antioch--so that whoever did not sacrifice to the idols would perish by diverse torments--Bishop Erasmus heard it and went into the desert.

He lived there for seven years, devoting himself to prayer and contemplation and shining with signs and powers. The Lord furnished him food through a raven. Diverse wild beasts also laid aside all ferocity, showed themselves tame toward him, and in their own fashion venerated him. He was often comforted by angelic speech.

One day a voice from heaven told him to descend to the city. When he did so, he liberated many people vexed by demons and converted many more to Christ by teaching.

When Diocletian, who was then staying in those regions, heard these things, he ordered Erasmus presented before him. Asked about his profession, Erasmus declared himself a Christian and refused when ordered to sacrifice to the idols. Diocletian had his sides beaten with lead, then grievously beaten with clubs, but nothing harmed him. Afterward he was drenched together with resin, pitch, sulfur, and wax, yet appeared unharmed.

Then the entire people of Antioch cried out: “Release to us the just man, the bishop of the city, because the God of the Christians works in him.”

As these things occurred, behold, a great earthquake arose, together with thunder and lightning for nearly three hours, so that the whole city thought it would perish. Struck by so great a crash, the emperor withdrew.

At last, calling the people back, he said: “This seducer blasphemed our gods, and therefore such a disturbance occurred.” He ordered Erasmus thrust into prison, his neck, hands, and feet bound with chains, and guarded under heavy custody. Under the greatest penalty, he forbade anyone to minister any food or drink to him, and sealed the prison with his own ring.

Around midnight, as the saint cried to the Lord in prayer, an immense light flashed and an exquisite fragrance spread. All the chains were dissolved. As he praised the Lord in prison, an angel of the Lord appeared to him and said: “Rise, Erasmus, follow me, and come with me into Italy. There you will acquire a great people for the Lord.”

Thus he was led from the closed prison and came to the city of Lucrida. When the emperor ordered him presented and he was not found, the emperor remained confounded. The people who had expected him to be summoned to torture did not see him and cried out that the emperor should restore their father to them. He caused them to be told that Erasmus had been carried by angels into heaven.

When Saint Erasmus, led by the angel, arrived at the city of Lucrida, he converted the people to the faith of Christ by teaching confirmed through signs and powers.

One day he encountered Anastasius, the son of a certain noble and leading citizen, who was being carried to burial. After pouring out prayer, he raised him from the dead. The restored young man began to cry: “Truly great is the God of the Christians, who has raised me through his servant.” Turning to his father, he said: “Father, until now we have wandered, for I saw the gods whom we worshiped being tormented in hell by infernal fires.”

Hearing these things, Anastasius and his whole household believed, as did the people. Forty thousand people were baptized, and the statues and idols were broken.

Maximian, who was in those regions, heard these things and commanded Erasmus to be presented before him. He asked which religion he followed. When Erasmus remained silent with his eyes raised to heaven, the tyrant ordered him slapped, saying: “Take counsel for your welfare and sacrifice to our gods.”

Erasmus asked, “To which gods?”

Maximian replied, “To most invincible Jove,” and led him into the temple where Jove’s statue stood. When Erasmus made the sign of the cross against the statue, it was reduced to dust. A dragon came out from it and killed many by infecting them with its breath, but at the saint’s command it immediately departed.

Seeing this, the people cried: “Great is the God of the Christians,” and many believed in him. Satan and his companions raged, and in the air were heard exceedingly powerful crashes and collisions, like armies fighting one another. In contrast, there was joy among the holy angels, so that voices were heard rejoicing and saying, “Glory to God in the highest.”

Maximian had those converted to Christ through Erasmus killed. He also had a glowing iron tunic fitted around Erasmus’s body. Joyfully and eagerly putting it on, Erasmus said: “We have passed through fire and water; now, God, you will lead me into refreshment.” The tunic became cold so that it inflicted upon him no mark of burning.

He immediately mocked the emperor with a rejoicing voice: “Behold, most foolish of men, you have proved that Christ’s power has commanded the flames and fires and rendered your *capideos* [read: *lapideos*, stone] gods powerless.”

Then the emperor ordered a frying pan heated and lead, pitch, resin, wax, and oil all melted together within it, and Christ’s athlete immersed in it. When placed in it, Erasmus said: “This pot furnishes me refreshment in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.” He remained unharmed in it for a long time.

But a certain spark leaping from the surging pan struck Maximian, who stood not far away, and afflicted him so severely that he cried out: “I burn, I burn! Erasmus, best of men, pray for me.”

Erasmus said to him: “What is it, emperor? Behold, my Lord Jesus Christ, whom every creature serves, has undone your devices, and the pain you prepared for me has fallen back upon your head. Consider how you will be able to dwell amid everlasting fires if you could not endure a tempered little flame.”

“Nevertheless, imitating the patience of our Lord Jesus Christ, who forbids returning evil for evil, we command that you arise free from pain.” That affliction immediately ceased.

The wretched Maximian, however, thinking that the injury had been inflicted upon him through magical arts, ordered Erasmus returned to prison, intending to tear him with new torments the following day. That night an angel of the Lord appeared to him, dissolved every bond, awakened him, led him from prison, and brought him to the seashore. There a small boat was found, and by divine providence he was carried into Campania, to the city of Formia.

When Maximian ordered the saint brought from prison to the torments and he was not found, he said with a laugh: “Erasmus endured a great torment, but by deciding to flee he escaped greater ones.”

When the saint who had just arrived was staying there, one day as he prayed a voice from heaven came to him: “Erasmus, good and faithful servant, who have fought the good fight and acquired the greatest fruit for me, enter into the joy of your Lord.”

Erasmus saw a shining crown descend upon him from above. Bowing his head, he said: “Lord, receive my spirit in peace.” Thus he rendered to his Creator his soul, which was seen to be whiter than snow and to penetrate the heights of heaven under angelic guidance. His body is said to rest at Gaeta, and his head is shown there.

§ VII: Aglaes and Boniface

In those times, as Vincent relates from their deeds in Book XIII of the *Speculum Historiale*, there was at Rome a certain noblewoman named Aglaes, daughter of Acacius, a former proconsul. Because she was very rich, she had many stewards under her, but one above all, an adulterer named Boniface, who also had carnal intercourse with her while she was without a husband.

At last, after some time, she was pierced to the heart by God’s grace. Summoning Boniface, she said: “Brother, you know in what great sins we are entangled, not considering that we must stand before God and render an account of the evils we have done. I have heard from Christians that if anyone ministers to the saints who contend for Christ, he will become their companion on the day of judgment.

“Go, therefore, to the regions of the East, where they contend for Christ, and bring us relics of the martyrs, so that by ministering to them and making houses of prayer for them, both we and many others may be saved through their holy sufferings.”

Boniface consented. He received twelve horsemen and money for obtaining the bodies of saints and ministering to the needy. As he departed, he said: “My lady Aglaes, if I find the bodies of martyrs to purchase, I shall bring them with me. But if my own body comes in the name of a martyr, will you receive it?”

Thinking that he spoke in jest, she replied: “Cast drunkenness and foolish speech from you, and go devoutly. Why do you speak in this way, when you are to carry the bodies of saints?”

As Boniface traveled, therefore, he considered that, because he was to carry the bodies of saints from there, he ought to abstain from meat and wine.

He came to the city of Tarsus and learned that athletes of Christ were contending there. He said to those he had brought with him: “Go and find lodging for us, while I go to see those whom I greatly desire.”

Going to the stadium, he saw martyrs placed in torments: one suspended upside down by the head, worn down for a very long time, with a fire spread beneath him; another stretched between four pieces of wood and tortured most grievously; another lacerated with claws; another with a stake fixed into his neck and raised from the ground; and another whose hands and feet were held behind him while he was beaten with clubs by the attendants.

[Running head: Chapter One, Folio 250.]

Eighth Title: On the Persecution of Diocletian and Maximian

Chapter One (continued)

Approaching them, Boniface began to kiss them and to cry out in a loud voice: “Great is the God of the Christians! Great is the God of the holy martyrs! I beseech you, servants of Christ, pray for me, that I too may deserve to be found among your companions.”

Sitting at the martyrs’ feet, he embraced and kissed their chains, exhorting them to endurance. When the judge Simplicius saw him, he said: “Who is this man who behaves in this way in contempt of the gods and of me?” He ordered Boniface brought before his tribunal.

When Boniface was questioned about his condition, he freely confessed that he was a Christian and refused to sacrifice to the idols. *Trannus* [read: *Tunc iratus iudex*, Then the angry judge] had him suspended and scraped for a long time with iron claws down to the bones. Boniface remained silent, keeping his eyes upon the martyrs.

Then *Trannus* [read: the angry judge] ordered reeds sharpened and driven beneath the nails of his hands. Afterward he commanded molten lead to be poured into his mouth. Boniface bore everything joyfully, lifted his eyes to heaven, and cried out to the martyrs to pray for him. He suffered no injury from it.

When the crowd saw this, they cried out with tears: “Great is the God of the Christians! O Christ, Son of God, save us!” Fearing a disturbance, the judge withdrew.

At dawn on the following day, he ordered Boniface's head immersed in a boiling cauldron filled with pitch. But an angel of the Lord descended and touched the cauldron. Its contents scattered and killed many people, but they neither distressed the saint in any way nor caused him pain.

At last the judge commanded him to be beheaded. When this was done, a great earthquake occurred, on account of which everyone cried: "Great is the God of the Christians!"

Meanwhile, Boniface's fellow servants were looking for him. When they did not find him, they said among themselves: "He is now committing adultery or feasting in a tavern." While searching, they met one of the officials and asked whether he had seen a Roman traveler.

He replied: "Yesterday a certain traveler was beheaded for Christ, and his body still lies there."

They said: "The man we seek is no martyr, but a drunken adulterer." Nevertheless, they followed the official to the place and recognized Boniface's head and body. Weeping, they said: "Servant of God, do not remember our sin, for we have spoken so many things against you."

They bought his body from the officials for five hundred solidi, embalmed it with spices, wrapped it in linen cloths, and returned to the city carrying it.

An angel of the Lord appeared to Aglaes and said: "Receive now as a lord the man whom you had as a servant, for through his intercessions all your sins will be forgiven." The angel then revealed the whole matter to her.

She rose, gathered clerics and religious men, and honorably received the holy body near the city on the Latin Way, where she built a worthy church for him.

Aglaes herself renounced the world, distributed her goods to the needy, and freed her household from slavery. Serving the Lord with a few maidens, she merited such great grace from God that she expelled demons and cured various illnesses. She lived for another thirteen years in the religious habit and thus fell asleep in the Lord.

§ VIII: Saint Juliana

At the time when Maximian was emperor, there was a certain senator named Eleusius, a friend of that emperor, as Vincent relates in Book XIII of the *Speculum Historiale* from the deeds of Saint Juliana. Eleusius wished to betroth to himself a noble maiden named Juliana, the daughter of Africanus, who was himself a persecutor of Christians.

Juliana, filled with the greatest virtue, worshiped the true God, the Creator, with reasonable judgment. She went daily to the churches and devoted herself to prayer.

When Eleusius wished to celebrate the marriage solemnities, she said to the messengers: "Go and tell him: 'If you believe in my God, I will accept you as my husband. But if you refuse, you will never have dominion over me.'"

On hearing this, Eleusius reported it to the maiden's father. By blandishments and threats, her father sought to induce her to consent to the marriage. But when she refused, asserting that she was prepared for every punishment for the name of Christ, her father finally had her beaten and tortured and handed her over to her betrothed, Eleusius, prefect of the city.

When Eleusius could not draw her to consent to him by gentler words and promises unless he confessed the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit by believing in God, he had her beaten by seven soldiers succeeding one another in turn.

When they had become weary from using the rods, and because she refused to sacrifice to Diana, he had her remain suspended by her hair for seven hours. Afterward he had her whole body drenched with molten bronze and thus burned. When she suffered no injury from this, she was thrust into prison.

While there, she prayed to the Lord to send her aid. When her prayer was finished, the devil appeared to her in the form of an angel of light and said: "My beloved Juliana, the prefect is preparing other, most dreadful torments for you. Therefore, when you are brought out of prison, approach and sacrifice, so that you may be saved. I have been sent to you for this purpose, for I am an angel of God."

Juliana prayed with tears: "Lord, do not permit me to perish, and reveal to me who it is who is urging these things upon me."

Healed of the pains of the torments already inflicted, she seized the devil who had appeared to her and said: "Who are you, and who sent you?"

He replied: "I am Iophim the Black, one who delights in evil, loves torment, rejoices in murder, and counsels lust. I was sent by Beelzebub, who is the author of all evil."

Juliana said to him: "Unclean spirit, how did you presume to attach yourself to Christians?"

She bound his hands behind his back with one of the iron fetters by which she herself had been bound, cast him to the ground, and beat him. When he wailed loudly and begged for mercy, Juliana said: “Confess to me what injuries you have done to mankind.”

He replied: “I have torn out the eyes of some people, broken the feet of others, cast others into the fire, and committed other things of this kind. I have done all the evils that are in the world. Yet no one except you has dared to touch me. Your virginity is armed against my servants.”

While he was saying these things to her, the prefect ordered Juliana brought out of prison and presented to him. She dragged the bound demon with her, led him through the forum, and cast him into a place of dung.

When she came into the praetorium, her face displayed the glory of fire. The frightened prefect said to her: “By what enchantments have you overcome so many torments?”

She replied: “My Lord Jesus Christ has strengthened me, but he has put you to shame and prepared eternal fire for you.”

Then the enraged prefect had an entirely iron device prepared and filled its surface with sharp swords. It was arranged so that, when she was placed upon it, she would be torn to pieces by its turning wheel. But an angel of the Lord dismantled the machine, so that she escaped from it unharmed.

Five hundred people who had been converted at this spectacle cried out: “We too worship Juliana’s God, whom you worship. Let the race of pagans perish, and let the race of Christians exult. Do what you wish, prefect; prepare torments, for we believe in no other God than the God of the Christians.”

[Running head: Eighth Title.]

When the prefect reported this to the emperor, he ordered all five hundred of them put to the sword. The prefect also commanded Saint Juliana to be cast into the fire, but an angel of the Lord appeared and extinguished it.

He then had her immersed in a boiling cauldron, which became like water tempered for a bath. But the boiling water poured out of the cauldron and killed seventy-six of the bystanders. Because of this, the prefect raged madly and ordered her punished by the sword.

As she was being led to the place of beheading, the demon whom she had tormented cried: “Do not spare her, but repay her as she deserves! She reviles the gods, injures men, and inflicted many evils upon me in a single night.”

When she looked around to learn who was speaking, the devil cried: “Woe is me, miserable creature! Perhaps she wishes to seize me again.” Immediately he fell silent and vanished.

After praying, the virgin delivered her undefiled spirit to God. The prefect himself was shipwrecked with many others not long afterward, and birds and wild beasts devoured their bodies.

§ IX: Saints Cosmas and Damian

In the same period, Cosmas and Damian suffered in the city of Aegea, as Vincent relates in Book XIII of the *Speculum Historiale* from their deeds. Their mother, Theodora, bore them as twins. Taught by the Holy Spirit, they practiced the art of medicine and cured every illness both in human beings and in beasts of burden. They accepted nothing from anyone, observing the saying: “Freely you have received; freely give.”

A certain matron named Palladia, abounding in wealth, had spent much upon physicians so that she might be cured of her illness, yet she had been unable to obtain relief. She was cured by the saints. She offered a certain gift to Saint Damian, clasping his feet and adjuring him by dreadful oaths to accept it as an act of devotion. He accepted it, not because he was led by greed, but lest he seem to scorn the name of the Lord by which she had adjured him.

When Cosmas learned this, he was moved by zeal for God and ordered that his body not be buried with Damian’s. But on the following night, the Lord appeared to Cosmas and excused his brother’s action because it had been done out of reverence for God.

The governor of that province was persecuting Christians to the death. Cosmas and Damian were denounced to him and, at his command, presented before him. When he asked about their condition, the saints replied: “We do not know what fortune is. By religion we are Christians, and we also have three other brothers: Leontius, Euprepius, and Antimius [read: Antimus (Anthimus)].”

He had these men brought and cast into prison. First, because Cosmas and Damian scorned sacrificing to the gods, they were beaten. Amid the very lashes, however, they sang: “We have delighted in the way of martyrdom as in all riches.”

After this, they and their other brothers were chained and cast into the sea. But an angel of the Lord immediately loosed their chains and set them unharmed upon the land.

When they were brought before Lysias, the tyrant said: “In the name of the god Adrian, I will pursue you.” At these words, demons suddenly approached and struck him violently in the face. When they would not cease, he commended himself to the saints so that they might pray for him.

They did so, and the demons vanished. Yet he remained hardened and said: “Because I was considering abandoning my gods, they became angry and struck me.”

The brothers persevered in confessing Christ and rebuked the tyrant for his blindness, so they were cast into the fire. There they were as if refreshed by dew, while a flame flung from the fire burned many of the gentiles standing nearby.

The tyrant next ordered them crucified and stoned upon their crosses. By God’s power, the stones returned upon those who threw them and stoned them instead. After this, he ordered them shot with arrows, but the discharged arrows turned back upon the archers and killed many of them without touching the saints.

At last Governor Lysias ordered them and their three other brothers beheaded, and together they reached the heavenly kingdoms.

The Christians took up their bodies for burial but hesitated to bury them together because of Cosmas’s instruction. Suddenly *camelos* [read: *camelus*, a camel] came at a swift run and addressed them in a human voice: “Men of God, you have received many signs and benefits through God’s holy martyrs. Not only you have done so, but also we beasts of burden, who have been appointed to your service. Therefore, giving thanks together with you all, I have been sent to announce to you that you must not separate the bodies of the saints but lay them together in the same tomb.”

This was done, and many miracles were performed through them after their death.

§ X: Saint Blaise, Bishop and Martyr

Vincent narrates in Book XIII of the *Speculum Historiale*, from the deeds of Saint Blaise, that, because he excelled in every gentleness and holiness, the Christians in the city of Sebaste in Cappadocia elected him bishop.

After accepting the episcopate, he entered a cave in a certain mountain to escape the fury of the persecution that had arisen against the faithful, and there he led the life of a hermit. Wild and most savage beasts, both healthy and sick, came to him there and did not depart until they received health and a blessing. Ravens also brought him food.

When Agricolaus, governor of the province, sent his men to hunt on that mountain, they found Saint Blaise praying, with a multitude of beasts before him. When they reported this to the governor, he judged that Christians were hiding there and sent many soldiers to seize whatever worshipers of Christ they might find.

The soldiers came to the place and said to him: “Come out; the governor summons you.”

He replied: “Welcome, sons. Now I see that the Lord has not forgotten me, for during the night the Lord said to me in a vision: ‘Rise and offer me a sacrifice,’ namely, the sacrifice of his body through martyrdom.”

As he went with them, he preached to those who met him on the way and performed many miracles. Among other things, a certain woman brought him her son, who was at the point of death because a fish bone was lodged crosswise in his throat and could be moved neither inward nor outward. Blaise prayed for him and touched his throat, and the boy was freed.

Another woman, a poor widow, wept before him and begged that her pig, which a wolf had seized, be restored to her. Smiling, Blaise said: “Do not weep; your pig will be restored to you.” This came to pass, for the wolf brought it back to her unharmed.

At last he was presented to the governor. The governor greeted him, saying: “Rejoice, Blaise, friend of the gods.”

[Running head: Chapter One, Folio 251.]

Eighth Title: On the Persecution of Diocletian and Maximian

Chapter One (continued)

He replied: “You too may rejoice, governor, but do not call them gods. They are demons appointed to eternal fire together with those who worship them.”

The enraged governor then ordered him beaten with clubs and cast into prison. When Blaise was later brought out of prison and presented before him, the governor could not bend him to sacrifice. He therefore ordered him suspended upon a wooden frame and his flesh torn with iron combs.

As this was being done, seven Christian women devoutly collected the blood flowing from his wounds. When they were accused of the Christian faith and brought before the governor, he commanded them to adore his gods.

The holy women said: “Have them brought to the river, so that, once washed there, we may worship them more cleanly.” When the little statues of the gods had been carried to the river, the women took them and cast them into the stream, saying: “If they are gods, let them help themselves and keep from drowning.”

When the governor heard this, he angrily asked why they had deceived him by doing it. They replied: “If they were true gods, they would have foreknown what we intended to do to them and would not have permitted themselves to be sunk in the water.”

The governor had seven heated coats of mail and iron combs set before them, along with seven clean tunics. He offered them the choice either to accept the seven tunics, one for each of them, in honor of the gods, or to be clothed in the heated coats of mail.

One of the women immediately cast the tunics into the fire. The governor then ordered them suspended naked because they refused to sacrifice to the idols, and their flesh torn with iron combs.

While they endured great pains, angels came and strengthened them to persevere. The governor next ordered them taken down and cast into the fire, which was immediately extinguished. At last he had them beheaded.

After these things, Blaise was presented to him again. Seeing him immovable in the faith, the governor had him cast into a pond. After making the sign of the cross, however, he stood upon the water as upon solid rock.

He said to the gentiles: “If you have gods, display their power and come here.” Sixty-five men cast themselves into the pond in the name of their gods, and they were immediately drowned.

An angel of the Lord descended and said to Blaise: “Come out and receive the crown prepared for you by the Lord.” When he had left the pond, the governor asked: “Have you determined not to worship the gods?”

Blaise replied: “I do not worship demons.”

The governor immediately pronounced a sentence of beheading against him. Blaise prayed for those who would devoutly seek his intercession, and a voice from heaven declared that he had been heard. He was then beheaded together with two little sons of one of the seven women, who were also beheaded with him.

Their souls were seen leaving their bodies like virgins coming from their bridal chamber, shining with golden necklaces and ascending into heaven.

§ XI: Saint Dorothea

In the same period, Saint Dorothea suffered at Caesarea in Cappadocia under Governor Sapricius, as Vincent relates in the place cited above from her deeds. She was handed over to her two sisters, Christa and Callista, who had apostatized from the faith, but she converted them again. Because of their conversion, they were placed in a vat in her sight and burned.

After their suffering, Dorothea was lifted upon the rack and said: “Never in my life have I rejoiced as I do today.” At last, firm in the faith, she was led away to be beheaded.

A certain scholastic named Theophilus mockingly said to her: “Ho there, bride of Christ! Send me roses or apples from the paradise of your bridegroom.”

She replied: “I will certainly do so.”

When Dorothea had prayed, behold, a boy who appeared to be about four years old came before her carrying three excellent apples and three roses in a little basket.

She said to him: “I beseech you to carry these to Theophilus the scholastic.”

While Theophilus, laughing, was recounting the virgin’s promise to the bystanders, behold, the boy stood before him and said: “The most holy virgin Dorothea sends you what you requested and what she promised.”

Receiving them, he was immediately converted to the faith of Christ. It was the month of February when those roses were sent, and icy cold held all Cappadocia.

Theophilus was immediately suspended and tortured upon the rack. He said: “Behold, I have now been made a Christian because I am suspended upon a cross, for the construction of the rack bears a likeness to the cross.” At last he was put to death by the sword.

§ XII: Saints Vitalis and Agricola

In Italy, in the city of Bologna, Saints Vitalis and Agricola suffered five days before the Kalends of December under the emperors Diocletian and Maximian, as Vincent relates in the place cited above from the words of Ambrose.

Vitalis had formerly been Agricola's servant, but afterward he became his companion and colleague in martyrdom. When the persecutors pressed Saint Vitalis to deny Christ, he confessed Christ the Lord all the more. They exercised every kind of torment upon him, so that no place on his body was without a wound.

He prayed: "Lord Jesus Christ, command my spirit to be received, for I already desire to receive the crown that your angel showed me." When the prayer was completed, he breathed out his spirit.

Saint Agricola had a gentler character, so that even his enemies loved him. For that reason, they delayed his suffering. But this show of honor from them was more bitter than every cruelty, because it begrudged him martyrdom. Finally, when Saint Agricola refused to comply with the persecutors, he was crucified.

At that time their bodies were placed among the tombs of the Jews. But, as Ambrose himself testifies, when the Lord revealed their bodies to him, Ambrose raised the bodies of the saints from that place and laid them in a church. Demons departing from the possessed *confitebatur* [read: *confitebantur*, confessed] this, and many miracles were then displayed in the people's presence, with many freed from various illnesses.

Saint Gregory of Spoleto

Saint Gregory, a priest, suffered at the city of Spoleto in that period in the following manner, as Vincent relates in the *Speculum Historiale*, in the place cited above, from his deeds.

Flachus [read: Flaccus] had been sent there by the idolatrous emperor Maximian and was setting up all the idols. Entering the city, he ordered a tribunal prepared for him in the middle of the forum and all the citizens summoned by heralds. When they came, he said to Tirchanus: "All these people serve our gods."

Tirchanus replied: "All of them worship Jupiter, Minerva, and Asclepius, the immortal gods who show favor to the whole world." Hearing this, Flachus [read: Flaccus] rejoiced and dismissed everyone in peace.

In that city, however, there was a most Christian priest named Gregory, who devoted himself to fasts and prayers, performed many wonders, converted many pagans to the faith of Christ, and cast temples and idols to the ground.

When Flachus [read: Flaccus] heard this, he ordered Gregory brought before him in chains. When Gregory refused to sacrifice, Flachus [read: Flaccus] had knotted clubs brought and ordered his back broken with blows, saying: "Let the rebel against our gods and the contemner of rulers suffer these things."

Gregory replied: "As many evils as you inflict upon my body, so many twofold blessings are bestowed upon me in heaven."

Flachus [read: Flaccus] said: "Turn him over and shatter his belly with clubs." When Gregory persisted in confessing the faith, Flachus [read: Flaccus] ordered his hands and feet bound and had him placed upon a grate with fire beneath it. But when Gregory prayed, the fire did not harm him, just as the fire in the furnace did not harm the three youths.

A great earthquake occurred within the city, and the royal hall fell, crushing more than a churchful of pagans who were sacrificing to idols [read: one district of Spoleto fell and crushed more than three hundred people serving idols]. Flachus [read: Flaccus] brought him back to prison in chains, but an angel appeared, all his bonds were loosed, and a light shone around him.

On the following day he was presented to Flachus [read: Flaccus]. When he would in no way comply, Flachus [read: Flaccus] ordered him beheaded. As Gregory prayed at the time of his suffering, a voice from heaven was heard: "Enter into rest, blessed one of the Lord. Your dwelling has been prepared for you."

After Gregory had been beheaded, Flachus [read: Flaccus] exposed his body to be devoured by terrifying beasts. The beasts bent their knees and adored the holy body. When many people saw this, they cried: "Great is the God of the Christians!"

That same day, Flachus [read: Flaccus] was struck by an angel and died while vomiting out his entrails. A certain devout woman bought the holy body for thirty [read: thirty-five] gold pieces and buried it.

[Running head: Eighth Title.]

Saint Sabinus of Assisi

Moreover, during Maximian's reign, Venustianus, the *Augustalis* of Tuscany, sought out Christians in hiding. He received public notice of Sabinus, bishop of Assisi, a most eloquent man.

Going there, Venustianus sat in judgment in the middle of the forum. Saint Sabinus was brought before him with his two deacons, Marcellus and Exuperantius.

Venustianus said to him: “Take thought for yourself, promise to consecrate yourself to the gods, and live.”

Sabinus replied: “If it is just for me to abandon the Creator of heaven and earth and adore stones, metals, and wood, then, so that you may know that worshiping such things is nothing, have your god brought here.”

Venustianus ordered the god that he kept in his chamber brought into the midst. It was an image of Jupiter, wonderfully fashioned from coral stone, with gilded clothing. When it had been brought with candles and great ceremony, Venustianus said: “Behold our propitiators.”

Smiling, Sabinus said: “O vain folly, that the Creator of all things should be abandoned and a most filthy stone worshiped! So that you may know it is no god, allow me to do what I wish with it.”

Venustianus replied: “If you dare, do what you wish.”

After praying, Sabinus dashed it upon the pavement and shattered it. Seeing this, Venustianus beat his forehead in anger and said: “We are ruined, and our commonwealth has been darkened.” In his rage, he immediately ordered Sabinus’s hands cut off.

When this was done, his deacons began to tremble. Sabinus strengthened them, and they cried: “Let the gods of demons perish, and let the heart of those seeking the Lord rejoice!”

For this reason, the deacons were suspended upon the rack and beaten for a long time with clubs. Next, their sides were scraped with claws, and at last they were roasted by fire. Their bodies, consumed in martyrdom, were cast into the river, then collected and buried by certain people.

Sabinus was sent to prison. A certain widow named Serena had taken his severed hands and preserved them with the greatest devotion in a glass vessel. She often visited and refreshed him in prison.

When she brought to him her blind grandson, Sabinus placed the stumps of his arms upon the boy’s eyes and prayed, and the blind boy received sight. Through this miracle, many were converted to Christ and baptized.

Afterward, an extreme pain seized Venustianus’s eyes, so that he could neither take food nor sleep, nor could he be helped by the physicians’ care. Hearing that Sabinus had restored sight to the blind boy, he ordered him brought out of prison.

When Sabinus was brought before Venustianus, who was pressed by his pains, Sabinus asked: “Do you believe *ex toto toto corde* [read: *ex toto corde*, with your whole heart]?”

Venustianus replied: “I believe, but the sin I committed against you has brought this torment upon me.”

Sabinus said: “My own sins have done this to me, but if you believe and do penance, you will be saved.”

Venustianus believed, was baptized, and was healed. When Maximian heard this, he beheaded Venustianus together with his baptized wife and children. He had Sabinus brought to Spoleto and caused him to pass to heaven by beating him with leaded scourges.

§ XIII: Saint Januarius

Under Diocletian, Saint Januarius, bishop of the city of Benevento, also suffered, according to Vincent in the *Speculum Historiale* in the place cited above.

When Governor Timothy heard the fame of Januarius’s teaching and life, he ordered him brought before his tribunal outside the city of Nola. He said: “Come forward and sacrifice to the gods. If you refuse, you will be torn by horrific torments, and when your God sees them, he too will become afraid.”

Januarius replied: “Be silent, wretched man, and do not inflict so great a blasphemy against the Creator of all things upon my ears, lest he strike you down.”

Enraged, Timothy cast him into prison and afterward had him thrown into a furnace whose fire had been kindled for three days. In the middle of the furnace, Januarius prayed and walked with holy angels, blessing God.

When the soldiers heard this, they reported it to the governor. The furnace was opened, and a flame belched from it and burned many unbelievers. The fire did not touch Januarius at all or cause him any pain.

When he had been brought out of the furnace, Timothy commanded that the sinews be drawn from his body. Afterward he ordered Januarius, his deacon Festus, and the reader Desiderius bound before his chariot and taken to the city of Puteoli.

There, in the sight of the people, he ordered wild beasts released from their cages to devour them. The beasts came to the saints' feet as gently as sheep and venerated them.

At last Timothy pronounced a sentence of beheading against them. As they were led to the place, clouds fell upon the governor's eyes and tormented him. Crying out in pain, he had Saint Januarius recalled to him and begged him to pray that his sight might be restored.

The saint prayed: "Lord, restore to this man, although he is unworthy, the sight of his eyes, for we do not repay evil for evil." His eyes received light, because of which many people were converted to the faith.

Governor Timothy feared displeasing the emperor on account of the conversion of so great a multitude and ordered Januarius beheaded as swiftly as possible. When this was done, the governor began to cry that the angels were tormenting him because of Januarius, the servant of God, and he died after wailing for a long time. This saint's body rests at Naples.

§ XIV: Saint Anastasia

In that period, Saint Anastasia also suffered, according to Vincent in the place cited above, from her deeds. She was the daughter of Praetextatus, a most illustrious man in the city of Rome.

[Running head: Chapter One, Folio 252.]

Eighth Title: On the Persecution of Diocletian and Maximian

Chapter One (continued)

Because Anastasia was so powerful through her wealth and the nobility of her lineage that she could have no equal among the matrons, after becoming a Christian she clothed herself in the meanest attire.

With only a single maiden as her companion, she went about the prisons where the soldiers of Christ were held. She could not otherwise visit them unless, in common clothing, she pretended to be a poor woman. She was very diligent in washing the feet of those imprisoned for God's name, anointing their heads, and combing the hair that their long confinement had caused to grow.

When she did this continually and it came to the attention of her jealous and unbelieving husband, Publius, he became indignant. He appointed *talis* [read: *tales*, such] guards over his house that they did not permit her even to look toward the entrance of any little window. He had her guarded most closely and denied her food so that, once she had perished, he might indulge himself amid her very extensive possessions.

Thinking that she was about to die, she sent letters to Saint Chrysogonus. He had been a man of great dignity in the emperor's court and a secret Christian, and he had converted Anastasia to the faith. When his Christianity was discovered, he had been put in chains before Anastasia was recognized as a Christian by her husband. Anastasia visited him and sustained him with the necessities of life.

She therefore sent a letter through a certain woman to Chrysogonus in these words:

"To Chrysogonus, holy confessor of Christ, from Anastasia. I have taken upon myself the yoke of a sacrilegious husband, whose marriage bed, through God's mercy, I have avoided under the pretext of illness. Day and night I embrace the footsteps of my Lord Jesus Christ.

"But while my husband drains my patrimony, from which he is enriched, together with base idolaters, he has consigned me, as though I were a sorceress and a sacrilegious woman, to the most severe custody, so that I expect to lose my temporal life. Although I glory in that death, my mind is nevertheless greatly broken because the resources I had vowed to God are being consumed by the base. Farewell, man of God, and remember me."

Chrysogonus replied: "See that you are not disturbed because adversities are inflicted upon you while you live piously, for you are not being rejected but tested. Christ will soon turn the time to one pleasing to you [*a* read: *ad*], and as though after the darkness of night you will behold the flowering light of *dei* [read: *diei*, day]; after the cold of ice, golden and serene seasons will follow for you. Farewell in the Lord, and pray for me."

When her husband confined her still more closely and allowed her only a little food, she again wrote to Chrysogonus in these words: "The end of my body has come. Remember me, so that he for whose love I endure these things, which you will learn from the mouth of this old woman, may himself receive my departing soul."

He wrote back: “Darkness always precedes light. So too, health returns after weakness, and life after death is again promised. By one ending both the adversities and the prosperity of this world are shut out, so that neither despair from sorrows nor elation from joys may rule. But you, O servant of Christ, embrace the trophy of the cross with your whole mind and prepare yourself for God’s work.”

Meanwhile, Anastasia’s husband was sent by the emperor to remote places. He died before returning, and Anastasia, freed from the aforesaid custody, devoted herself to almsgiving among the faithful.

Afterward, when Diocletian was stationed in the regions of Aquileia, he had many Christians killed. He ordered certain men of noble birth and of prefectural or consular dignity sent to him from Rome, especially Saint Chrysogonus. Anastasia also went there so that she might serve those imprisoned for Christ and assist them from her resources.

The emperor urged Chrysogonus to sacrifice to the gods and recover the dignity of a prefect. Chrysogonus freely replied: “I adore one God in heaven, and I scorn your dignities as mud.” Sentence was passed, and he was beheaded. A priest named Zoilus buried him.

Anastasia had three servant girls, sisters who were most beautiful, named Agape, Chionia, and Irene. They were Christians, and when they did not obey the prefect’s warning, he had them shut in a chamber where the kitchen utensils were kept.

Burning with desire for them, the prefect entered to exercise his lust. But, turned to madness, he believed that he was handling the virgins while he embraced and kissed cauldrons, dishes, pots, and similar objects. When he had satisfied himself with these things, the virgins remaining untouched and in prayer, he went outside utterly black and deformed.

The servants who were waiting for him saw him thus fitted out. Thinking that he had been turned into a demon, they beat him and then fled, leaving him alone. When he went to the emperor, he complained that some people struck him with rods, others spat in his face, and others threw mud and dust upon him, because they believed he had gone mad.

His eyes were restrained so that he could not see how deformed he was. He therefore wondered greatly why everyone who had previously held him in such honor now mocked him. It seemed to him that both he and everyone else were clothed in white garments.

When others informed him of his deformity, he thought the virgins had done it to him by magic. He ordered them stripped in his presence so that he might at least see them naked. But by God’s power their garments adhered so firmly to their bodies that they could not be stripped in any way. At last, because they would by no means consent to sacrifice, they were crowned with martyrdom.

Returning to Rome, Anastasia was handed over by the emperor to a certain priest of the Capitol named Ulpian, who wished to have her as his wife. Neither the many blandishments and ornaments he offered to bend her nor the threats of punishment he employed to terrify her could move her in any way. Neither he himself nor the women sent to persuade her for three days could make her sacrifice and thus become his wife.

When he led her into the bedchamber and wished to embrace her, he was struck blind. Going to the gods, he asked whether he could escape. They answered: “Because you have grieved Anastasia, you have been handed over to us, and from now on you will be tormented with us forever in hell.” As he returned home, he died in the hands of his servants.

Anastasia was then handed over to another prefect to be kept in custody. When he heard that she possessed limitless estates from her patrimony, he said to her: “If you wish to be a Christian, do what your God commands. He commands that whoever does not renounce everything he possesses cannot be his disciple. Therefore give me everything you have, go wherever you wish, and you will be a perfect Christian.”

Anastasia replied: “My Lord admonishes me to sell everything and give it to the poor, not to the rich. Since you are rich, I would act against God’s command if I gave you anything.”

Saint Anastasia was then consigned to a harsh prison to be tormented by hunger, but Saint Theodora, who had already been crowned through martyrdom, fed her with heavenly food for two months.

At last she was taken with many others who had converted to the faith to the Palmaria Islands, where many had been exiled for Christ’s name. After some days, the prefect had all those Christians summoned before him. He burned Anastasia with fire while she was bound to stakes, and he killed the others with various torments.

Among them was one man who had repeatedly been stripped of great riches and always said: “At least you will not take Christ from me.” Anastasia suffered about the year of the Lord 280 [read: 287].

That Saint Theodora who had appeared to Anastasia in prison had been known and familiar to her. After the death of her first husband, she had been handed to a certain count as a wife so that he might receive her possessions and wealth. When she refused to sacrifice, he condemned her and her three sons to the fire. Thus she passed to the Lord with her sons.

[Running head: Eighth Title.]

§ XV: Saint Barbara

Vincent relates in the place cited above, from her deeds, that Barbara was a virgin of noble birth from Nicomedia. Because of her exceptional beauty, her father placed her in a lofty tower so that access to her could not easily be obtained, fearing that she might become a Christian.

Taught by the Holy Spirit, she nevertheless adored the God of heaven. While she was there, water was divinely provided through her prayer, and she baptized herself in it.

This was certainly done above the common law of the Church, by a special privilege of him who has not bound his power to the sacraments in such a way that, when he wishes, he cannot sanctify a person without the sacraments. Under the common law, however, it is certain that no one can baptize himself, nor is such a person baptized. This is in the *Decretals*, "On Baptism," chapter *Debitum*.

When her father, also at the suggestion of friends, wished to give her in marriage, she refused, saying: "Let this be far from me, father, for I have in heaven Christ as my bridegroom, who guards my body inviolate."

Understanding that she was a Christian, her father seized a sword to kill her, but she hid herself. Afterward, when he found her, he brought her to the governor and informed him that she had become a Christian.

When the governor could not bend her to the worship of the gods, he ordered her stripped and beaten with rods. Amid the blows, she sang psalms, scorning the senseless and vain idols.

He next ordered her suspended head downward and her head struck with iron hammers, so that blood dripped copiously from her nostrils. On the following day, the governor saw that she was healed. He had her suspended upon the rack and burning lamps applied to her sides.

Tormented, she said to the tyrant: "See, wretch, that this fire affords me not pain but refreshment."

Filled with rage, the governor ordered her breasts cut off and had her led naked through the whole countryside. But as she prayed, an angel of the Lord clothed her in a white garment so that she would not be seen naked, and he healed her.

At last the governor pronounced a sentence of death against her, and Barbara's own father cut off her head with his own hands. Afterward, as he descended from the place of beheading, fire came down from heaven and consumed him to dust.

Saint Eulalia

At that same time, namely during Diocletian's reign, the virgin Eulalia, noble and wealthy by birth, suffered at the city of Mérida in Spain under Governor Dacian.

When she was twelve years old, she scorned the games and delights of the world. Once the persecution had begun, she wished of her own accord to rebuke the governor, but her parents hid her in a country house they possessed far from the city.

At night she opened the doors and secretly departed. Accompanied by an angelic choir, she *intercarpere cepit* [read: *inde per invia carpit iter*, then made her way through trackless places] filled with thorns and brambles. Her feet were lacerated by the brambles and thorns through which she ran, but she reached the city.

In the morning she approached the judge's tribunal and began to cry aloud in its midst: "What madness is it to prostrate hearts before hewn rocks and deny God, the Father of all? Isis, Apollo, and Venus are nothing; Maximian himself is nothing. He is the lord of wealth and the servant of stones. Why does he who is a good general and an excellent judge, who feeds upon innocent blood, strike noble hearts?"

Provoked to fury by such words, the praetor ordered the executioner to seize her headlong and overwhelm her with torments. Yet, wishing to recall her to the worship of the gods, he said: "Consider, grim maiden, what great joys you are losing, you whom *gemmalis* [read: *genialis*, marital] honor awaits. Why will you die in tender youth, when you are near to dowries and the marriage bed?"

She answered nothing. Fuming in spirit, she spat into the tyrant's eyes, scattered the images, and trampled underfoot the sacrificial cake and the incense vessels that had been set before her.

Immediately the executioners tore her virginal breast. Claws struck both her sides and cut to the bones. Eulalia then cried: "*Scribis mihi hi domine* [read: See, Lord, you are being written upon me]. Behold how it pleases me to read these characters, which proclaim your trophies, O Christ."

Burning lamps were applied to her sides. While she sang joyfully and fearlessly, without weeping or groaning, the lamps raged on every side against her stomach and flanks. The flying flame modestly concealed the virgin's nakedness, flew toward her face, enveloped her head, and rose above its summit.

Desiring a swift death, the virgin drank the fire into her mouth. Then a shining dove, whiter than snow, was seen to leave her mouth and seek heaven. As her soul departed, the pyre died, and peace was given to her lifeless limbs.

As Vincent says in the place cited above, her feast is recorded twice in the martyrology, unless perhaps there were two women who suffered in the same province and in the same persecution.

§ XVI: Saint Euphemia

At about that time, blessed Euphemia also seems to have suffered in the city of Chalcedon. She was a senator's daughter. In Diocletian's time, seeing Christians torn by such diverse torments, she hurried to the judge. Publicly confessing Christ, she also encouraged men by the example of her constancy.

When the judge killed Christians one after another, he made others stand by so that, at least through terror, they would sacrifice. Their steadfastness stirred Euphemia still more, and she cried that she was suffering an injury from the judge.

The judge rejoiced at this statement, thinking that she wished to offer sacrifice to the gods, and asked: "What injury is being done to you?"

She replied: "Since I am of noble birth, why do you set unknown foreigners before me and make them the first to reach Christ?"

She was confined in prison and brought back to the judge on the following day with others in chains, while she herself was unbound. Again she complained most gravely that, contrary to the emperors' laws, she alone was being spared chains. For this, she was beaten with slaps for a very long time and cast into prison.

The judge followed her, wishing to overpower her through lust, but divine power restrained his hand as she resisted. He then sent his chief officer to her, promising him many things if he made her consent. But the officer could neither open the locked prison with keys nor break it with axes. At last a demon seized him, and he scarcely escaped while tearing at himself.

Euphemia was then placed upon a wheel so that her whole body might be torn apart. The artisan arranged the device to produce a certain sound as a signal for the attendants to pull. By God's command a tool fell and made the sound prematurely; the attendants pulled, and the wheel crushed the artisan himself completely to pieces, while Euphemia remained unharmed upon the wheel.

[Running head: Chapter One, Folio 253.]

Eighth Title: On the Persecution of Diocletian and Maximian

Chapter One (continued)

The artisan's relatives then lamented and wished to burn Euphemia upon the wheel by setting a fire beneath it. But the wheel was burned, while Euphemia, freed by an angel, was seen standing in a certain lofty place.

Apollianus said to the judge: "The power of the Christians is conquered only by iron. Therefore, I advise you to have her beheaded."

Ladders were raised. When a certain man wished to stretch out his hand to seize her, his whole body immediately became paralyzed, and he was scarcely brought down from there half alive.

Another man named Sosthenes approached to seize her, but he was suddenly changed by divine power. He begged her pardon, drew his sword, and cried to the judge that he should kill him instead of touching the woman whom angels were defending.

The judge then descended from that place and commanded his secretary to summon to her all the lustful young men, who were to mock her until she failed from exhaustion. But the secretary entered, saw many most radiant virgins around her, and was immediately made a Christian through her admonitions.

Afterward the governor had her suspended by her hair. When she remained immovable, he denied her food and had her thrust back into prison so that on the seventh day she might be crushed like an olive between four great stones.

She was fed daily by an angel. On the seventh day, when she had been placed between the stones, they were reduced through her prayer to the finest ash.

Ashamed that he had been defeated by one girl, the governor ordered her cast into a pit where there were three most savage beasts to devour her. They immediately ran to her with caresses and, binding their tails to one another as though preparing a seat for her, confounded the judge still more.

When the judge was nearly dying from distress, a certain man, wishing to avenge his lord's injury, seized a sword and thrust it through Euphemia's side. Thus he made her a martyr of Christ.

The judge clothed that agent of wickedness in a silk garment as a reward and placed a golden collar around him. But as he departed, a lion seized and completely devoured him, so that scarcely a few of his bones were found together with the torn garment.

Both Jews and gentiles honored Euphemia after she had been buried with honor, and many believed in Christ.

§ XVII: Saint Christina

About the year of the Lord 287, under the emperors Diocletian and Maximian, blessed Christina suffered at Tyre. Born of most noble parents, she was placed by her father in a certain tower with twelve maidservants. Her father had placed golden and silver idols there.

Because she was most beautiful and many sought her in marriage, her parents, unwilling to give her to anyone in marriage, intended that she should remain a virgin in the worship of the gods. Taught by the Holy Spirit, however, she abhorred the idols and hid in a window the incense intended for sacrifice to the gods.

When her father came to her, the maidservants said to him: "Your daughter, our mistress, despises our gods, asserting that she is a Christian." Her father gently urged her to worship the gods.

She said: "Do not call me your daughter, but the daughter of him to whom a sacrifice of praise is fitting."

Her father said: "My daughter, do not offer sacrifice to only one god, lest the others become angry with you."

She replied: "You have spoken well, though without knowing the truth. I offer sacrifice to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit."

Her father said: "If you worship three gods, why not others as well?"

Christina replied: "Those three are one divinity."

After this, Christina broke the golden and silver gods and secretly distributed their material to the poor. When her father returned and asked for the gods so that he might adore them, the servants told him that Christina had destroyed them and distributed them to the poor.

Her enraged father ordered her stripped and beaten by twelve men, so severely that the attendants themselves became exhausted. Christina said to her father: "Dishonorable, shameless, and abominable to God, the men beating me have become exhausted. Ask your gods, if you can, to give them strength."

He then ordered her chained and cast into prison. When her mother heard this, she tore her garments, went to the prison, prostrated herself at her daughter's feet, and said: "My daughter Christina, light of my eyes, have mercy upon me."

Christina replied: "Why do you call me your daughter? Do you not know that I bear the name of my God, namely Christ?"

When her mother could persuade her of nothing, she returned to her husband and reported what Christina had answered. Her father then ordered her brought before his tribunal and said: "Sacrifice to the gods. Otherwise, you will be afflicted with many torments and will not be called my daughter."

She replied: "You have shown me great favor, for now you no longer call me the devil's daughter."

Her father ordered her scraped with claws and her tender limbs torn apart. Christina took pieces of her own flesh and cast them into her father's face, saying: "Take, tyrant, and eat the flesh you begot."

Her father then placed her upon a wheel and set fire mixed with oil beneath it, but a flame leaping out killed fifteen hundred people. Her father attributed all these things to magic and had her cast into prison again.

When night came, he ordered his attendants to cast her into the sea with a great stone bound to her neck. When this was done, angels immediately took her up. Christ descended to her and baptized her in the sea, saying: "I baptize you in God my Father, and in me, Jesus Christ his Son, and in the Holy Spirit." He entrusted her to the archangel Michael, who brought her back to land.

When her father heard this, he beat his forehead and said: "By what sorceries do you do this, that you exercise them even in the sea?"

She replied: "Foolish and wretched man, I received this grace from Christ."

He ordered her returned to prison so that he might have her beheaded on the following day, but that night her father Urbanus was found dead.

A certain wicked judge named Dion succeeded him. He had an iron cauldron prepared, heated with oil, pitch, and resin, and ordered Christina cast into it. Placed within it, she praised God and suffered no injury.

The enraged judge ordered her head shaved and had her led naked through the city to the idol of Apollo. At her command, the idol suddenly collapsed, was shattered, and was reduced to dust. When the judge heard this, he was terrified and gave up his spirit.

A certain man named Julian succeeded him. He had a furnace kindled and Christina cast into it. She remained unharmed for five days, walking and singing in it with angels.

Julian then attributed this to magic and had two asps, two vipers, and two snakes sent against her. They caressed her and licked her sweat. He ordered a certain enchanter to provoke those beasts. When he did so, the serpents attacked and killed him.

Christina commanded the serpents to go to a deserted place, and she raised the dead man. Trajan [read: Julian] then ordered her breasts cut off; when this was done, milk flowed instead of blood. Afterward, when her tongue was cut out, she did not lose her speech.

At last Julian shot two arrows into her heart and one into her side. Thus, with the palm of martyrdom, she ascended gloriously to heaven.

Her baptism is marvelous, yet it is neither incredible nor impossible for God, because he can do all things and can justify people above the common law. Nevertheless, Vincent says in the *Speculum Historiale* that this should be piously believed.

[Running head: Eighth Title.]

§ XVIII: Saint Afra and Bishop Narcissus

At the same time when Diocletian raged madly against the Christians in Crete [read: the province of Rhaetia], Bishop Narcissus arrived in the city of Augusta. Not knowing where to enter as a fugitive, he went into the house of a prostitute named Afra, as Vincent relates in the *Speculum Historiale*, in the place cited above, from his deeds.

Narcissus entered with his deacon Felix. When Afra saw the respectable men who had arrived, she thought they were unchaste. She prepared supper and everything she was accustomed to prepare in the usual manner with the three girls she kept with her.

When the bishop came to take food, he began to pray and sing psalms. Hearing and seeing things she had never heard before, Afra was overcome with amazement and began to ask who he was. She learned that he was a bishop of the Christians, immediately fell at his feet, and said: “Lord, I am unworthy, and no woman more shameful than I can be found in this city.”

Bishop Narcissus replied: “Our Savior could not be defiled when touched by the most shameful woman; instead, his holiness washed and cleansed every stain. The sun too casts its light around sewers and muddy waters without defiling itself. Therefore, daughter, receive within yourself the light of faith, so that you may be purified from every sin and, once the demon has been driven away, rejoice in your entrance into everlasting brightness.”

When she reported his words to her girls, they replied: “You are our mistress. If we followed you into the defilements of crimes, why would we not follow you to the forgiveness of sins?” They were named Digna, Eumenia, and Euprepia.

The bishop and his deacon passed the whole night praying and singing psalms, and he had Afra and her girls as companions in doing so.

In the morning, when she was asked where the men who had entered her house were, she replied that they had gone away to sacrifice. Then she went to her mother and said: “A Christian bishop came to me, not knowing where he might go. Throughout the whole night he stretched his hands toward his God and made us pray with him.

“Around cockcrow, when the lamp went out and I could not relight it, the bishop said: ‘Come, my light from heaven; display your face, and we shall be saved.’ A light like the sun came from heaven, together with thunder. It did not withdraw, but remained until dawn began. When he finished his prayer, he made us answer, ‘Amen.’ The brilliant light gradually withdrew from our eyes.

“On the following day, those who were plotting against him showed themselves to me so that they might seize and kill him when he left. But I hid the men where I keep bundles of flax, fearing that the place might be searched. If you command it, mother, I shall arrange for them to come here, because he promised that I would become a Christian and that my sins would be erased.”

Her mother joyfully replied: “May God grant that the same thing also happen to me.”

When evening came, Saint Narcissus, at Afra’s request, moved to her mother’s house. Rejoicing, her mother held his feet for three hours, beseeching him to have her too cleansed from her sins.

He prescribed a fast of seven days and ordered them to explain plainly what they had worshiped. Hilaria, Afra's mother, replied: "My parents were Cypriots by birth and came from there with the rites of Venus. Venus cannot be worshiped except by women who have become prostitutes.

"Therefore, consecrating my daughter to the rites of Venus, I permitted her to remain in a brothel as though she were *servitium* [read: *servituram*, one who would serve] the goddess Venus and would please her by prostitution. I believed Venus would consequently favor me if I occupied my daughter with imitations of her divinity. For the more lovers a woman who serves Venus can have, the more fortunate the priests of Venus declare that she is able to please Venus."

Hearing this, the man of God Narcissus groaned and shed tears. He said to Felix his deacon: "Rise, brother, and let us lament over such worship. Let us ask the Lord that where iniquity has abounded, grace too may abound."

When they had prayed, a certain Egyptian appeared, blacker than a raven, naked, and covered over his whole body with elephantine sores. He began to bellow and say: "O holy Narcissus, what have you to do with my house? What have you to do with my servant girls, whom I have always had in my family? Your God loves clean souls and clean bodies. These women are mine and cannot belong to another."

Saint Narcissus said to him: "Tell me, condemned creature, do you know that my Lord Jesus Christ of Nazareth was seized, scourged, fastened to a cross, died, was buried, and rose on the third day? Do you know that this happened?"

The devil replied: "Would that I were permitted not to know it, for at the hour when he was crucified, our prince was bound with fiery chains."

Narcissus said: "What sin did my Lord commit that he should suffer so much?"

The demon replied: "He suffered not for his own sins, but for those of others."

The saint said: "Depart, therefore, from these women, because my Lord also suffered for those who run to his faith and grace."

The devil said: "Order me to remain here tonight."

The bishop replied: "If you can remain, remain."

Then the demon emitted the most dreadful howl in a harsh voice and never appeared again.

Earlier, however, the devil had begged the holy bishop: "Have pity upon me and give me at least one soul in my power."

Narcissus replied: "Swear to me in God's name that you will immediately kill the soul I give you."

The devil said: "I swear by him who conquered us together with our prince."

The bishop said: "Go, then, to the spring near the Julian Alps. Neither a person nor any other animal can drink its water because a dragon dwells there and kills with its breath everyone who approaches. Kill it and bring its soul under your power."

The devil cried out: "O lying bishop! Besides everything else, he has bound me by an oath to kill my friend, and if I do not kill him, he also forces me to go into the abyss."

The demon departed and killed the dragon, and the water of the spring became drinkable.

For several days, Narcissus instructed the women in the doctrine of the faith. He baptized Hilaria the mother with her daughter Afra, Afra's three girls, and all their loved ones.

Hilaria made her house into a church, and Zozimus, Afra's maternal uncle, was ordained priest there.

[Running head: Chapter One, Folio 254.]

Eighth Title: On the Persecution of Diocletian and Maximian

Chapter One (continued)

At last, after nine months, Narcissus departed for Spain. After he had won much people for God over three years, he afterward attained the glory of martyrdom with Felix.

After this, when a persecution arose in Crete [read: Rhaetia], Saint Afra was brought before the judge as a worshiper of Christ and was ordered either to offer sacrifices to the gods or to endure various torments.

Afra said: “The sins I committed while ignorant of God are enough for me. What you command I will never do. I have Jesus Christ before my eyes. Because I am not worthy to sacrifice to him, I desire to be sacrificed for his name, so that the body in which I sinned may be cleansed after suffering punishments for a long time.”

The judge said to her: “As I hear, you are a prostitute. Sacrifice, therefore, because you are estranged from your God.”

She replied: “My Lord Jesus Christ said that he descended from heaven to earth for sinners. The Gospel also testifies that a prostitute watered his feet with her tears and received pardon, and that he ate and drank with publicans without despising them.”

The judge further said: “Sacrifice to the gods so that you may be loved by many lovers and great riches may be conferred upon you.”

She replied: “I never receive accursed money. Even what I had, because it did not come from a good conscience, I spent by distributing it to the poor, so that the poor might pray to the Lord for me.”

Then the most wicked judge dictated the sentence: “We command that Afra, a public prostitute who has professed herself a Christian and refused to take part in the sacrifices of the gods, be burned alive.”

The attendants immediately seized her and led her to an island in the river called the Lech. They stripped her and bound her to a stake.

Lifting her eyes to heaven, she prayed: “Lord Jesus Christ, who came to call not the just but sinners to repentance, accept my repentance in this hour of my suffering, so that through this bodily fire prepared for me you may free me from the eternal fire that burns soul and body.”

The fire was lit and she was cast into it. She was heard saying: “I give you thanks, Lord Jesus Christ, who have deigned to receive me as a sacrifice for your name.” Thus she breathed out her spirit.

When her mother Hilaria and the three servant girls Digna, Eumenia, and Euprepia--her companions first in shame and afterward in conversion--heard this, they went to the island. They took Afra’s intact body and placed it in a tomb at the second milestone from the city of Augusta.

When this was reported to the judge, he sent attendants there to induce them to sacrifice with flattering words, or to kill them if they refused. When they came and the women entirely refused, they gathered a great quantity of wood around them beside the tomb, set fire beneath it, and departed. Thus they were all consecrated by martyrdom.

§ XIX: Saint Genesius

At the same time, the martyr Genesius suffered at Rome, as Vincent relates in Book XIII of the *Speculum Historiale* from his deeds. He was a master of the art of mimicry in the city.

One day he wished to present Emperor Diocletian with a play about the mysteries of Christian observance. For this purpose, while all the people and the emperor watched, he lay in the middle of the theater as though ill and demanded to be baptized. As part of the mime, he burst forth with these words: “Ah, how heavy I feel! I wish to become light.”

His companions in the play answered: “Surely we are not carpenters, about to send you to the plane?” These words stirred the people to laughter.

Visited by the Lord, Genesius said: “Madmen, I desire to die a Christian.”

They asked: “Why?”

He replied: “So that on that day I may be found like a fugitive [read: a fugitive in God].”

Diocletian heard this and could not restrain his laughter. Then, just as had been arranged, they had an exorcist and a priest enter. Sitting beside his bed, they said: “Why did you send for us, little son?”

No longer in pretense or falsehood, but from a pure heart, he replied: “Because I desire to obtain Christ’s grace, through which I may be reborn and freed from the ruin of my iniquities.”

When they had completed the sacramental mysteries and he had been clothed in white garments, soldiers seized him as though in play. In imitation of the saints, he was presented to the emperor to be examined concerning Christ’s name. But when he had been brought to a false suffering, he came to a true confession.

Ascending the pedestal where a statue of Venus stood, he addressed them in this manner:

“Listen, emperor, and all the army, the wise men, and the people of this city. I always abhorred the Christian name, mocked those who remained in its confession, and stirred up the fury of the people against them. I cursed my parents and relatives because of the

name Christian. I held Christians in such great derision that I diligently investigated their secret mysteries, not so that I might believe, but so that I might present you with a play and laughter concerning them.

“But as soon as this water was poured over me while I was naked in your sight, and when I was asked whether I believed and answered that I did, I saw a hand coming from heaven above me. I saw angels of God, radiant with a fiery appearance, standing beside me. They read out from a written book all the crimes I had committed from my youth and said to me: ‘This water wipes away all those things you acknowledge having done.’

“When I had been baptized, the book too became whiter than snow, so that no trace of writing appeared upon it. Thus, while I desired to please you earthly emperors, I pleased the heavenly King; and while I strove to draw laughter from everyone, I gave the angels cause to rejoice.

“Now, therefore, emperor and all you people, just as in your unbelief you laughed through ignorance at these holy mysteries, so cease this mockery with me. Believe that the Lord Jesus Christ is the true God, that he is the true light, truth, holiness, and salvation, and that through him you can attain forgiveness.”

The emperor, inflamed with fury, ordered all who had devised the play with Genesius brought before him and beaten severely with rods, thinking that they too believed in the same manner.

They began to blaspheme the holy name, saying reproachfully: “We devised the matter otherwise. This man has gone mad, abandoned his own merriment, and assumed the mourning of Christianity. Therefore, let him alone answer for what he alone has done.”

Raging against Genesius, the emperor ordered him beaten with clubs in the people’s sight. He handed him over to Prefect Plusianus [read: Plautianus], commanding that he be forced to sacrifice.

Placed by him upon the rack and urged to placate the king by sacrificing, Genesius said: “Truly, the king is the one whom I saw seeking heaven. Therefore I bewail my misery, because I previously erred with you and came too late to adore the true King.”

Plusianus [read: Plautianus] said: “And who is this king besides our king?”

Genesius replied: “Your king is a man who rules through the uncertain regions of the earth and for a fixed time. But the King whom I worship is God. He rules in heaven and over the whole earth and sea, and rules without end.”

After he had remained upon the rack for a long time, been torn with claws, and burned with lamps, he persisted in the holy confession and said to the judge: “If you multiply these torments a hundredfold upon me, you will not be able to take Christ from my mouth and heart.”

When all these things were reported to the emperor, he ordered Genesius killed. Thus, with joy, he merited the crown of martyrdom by beheading on the eighth day before the Kalends of September.

[Running head: Eighth Title.]

§ XX: The Wondrous Marriage of Julian and Basilissa

Vincent relates in Book XIII of the *Speculum Historiale* the wondrous marriage of Julian and Basilissa. Blessed Julian loved chastity from childhood and scorned the delights of the world.

When he was about eighteen years old, his parents urgently exhorted him to take a wife through whom he might preserve his lineage and escape the falls of youth. He answered: “What you urge lies within the power of my Lord, to whom I have committed myself. Therefore I ask for a respite of seven days, and I shall answer according to what the Lord inspires in me.”

Persevering day and night in prayer and fasting, he asked the Lord not to let him violate his promised virginity for any reason.

On the night of the seventh day, after he had surrendered his body, worn down by vigils and fasts, to sleep, an angel of the Lord appeared and said: “Act manfully, and let your heart be strengthened.”

Strengthened by these words, he left his chamber. Removing his parents’ sorrow with a joyful face, he said: “Behold, I shall do as you desire.”

A maiden was therefore sought who was wealthy and equal in nobility of birth, named Basilissa, herself the only child of her parents. The appointed wedding day came. The neighbors were invited, the streets were adorned with silks, and everyone’s ears were delighted by the sounds of musicians and the songs of virgins, so that even a man of iron would have been dissolved by sensual pleasure.

Amid these things, the bride, laden with gems and gold, was brought out of the bridal chamber. The young man joyfully entered the chamber with the maiden. When he had prayed, the room was filled with such an odor that the virgin seemed to herself to stand in a place where lilies and roses flourished.

She said to the young man: “I perceive a wondrous thing. Although it is winter, the fragrance of roses and lilies so ministers to me that, satisfied by them, I now shrink from the union of the marriage bed.”

Julian replied: “The fragrance that has appeared to you is the Lord Jesus Christ, lover of chastity, who gives eternal life to those who preserve bodily integrity.”

She said: “What salvation is better than to acquire eternal life by preserving virginity? Because I believe it is as you say, I desire to agree with you so that I may possess the eternal bridegroom.”

Julian then fell down in prayer, clung to the pavement, and cried: “Confirm in us, O God, what you have wrought, Lord.” Seeing this, the virgin did the same.

Suddenly the foundations of the chamber were shaken and an ineffable light flashed forth. On one side sat the eternal King with a multitude clothed in white; on the other was a multitude of virgins, over whom the glorious Virgin Mary held primacy.

From Julian’s side [read: from the King’s side] it was proclaimed: “You have conquered, Julian, you have conquered.” From the virgin’s side [read: from the Queen’s side] it was proclaimed: “Blessed are you, Basilissa, who have consented to saving admonitions.”

A book written in golden letters was shown to Julian, and he was told: “Come forward and read.” Julian began to read: “Let Julian, who has scorned the world for love of me, be numbered among those who have not been defiled with women. Let Basilissa, who has been joined to him with a whole heart, be numbered among those virgins over whom the Virgin Mary holds primacy.”

Thousands upon thousands standing there said: “Amen.” When the vision was withdrawn, Julian and Basilissa rejoiced in the Lord and passed the rest of the night awake in hymns and songs.

Why say more? They began to bear fruit in spirit, not in flesh, and two burning lamps were set upon a lofty lampstand. The King supplied eternal oil to them, and through them poured the doctrine of the fiery word into the ignorant.

No one could count the multitudes of souls who passed to the Lord through Saint Julian. Basilissa likewise sent to heaven companies of virgins and the chaste souls of women.

During the times of Diocletian and Maximian, when the fury of persecution bore down upon them, they devoted themselves to fasting and weeping and poured forth these prayers before the Lord:

“Lord God almighty, who know secrets, do not permit the integrity of your flock to be violated by the insatiable wolf. Grant, Lord, that you may set before yourself, undefiled, all whom you have made to serve you through us, so that we may exult and say: ‘Behold us and the children whom you gave us; none of them has perished.’”

On the following night, the Lord addressed Basilissa in a vision: “Basilissa, worthy of your name, it pleases me to fulfill what you have asked, so that while you are still alive you may send ahead to the heavenly kingdoms all the vessels you have purified for me. You will have half the allotted time in which to gather the wheat from every place where you sowed it. Once the harvest has been stored, you yourself will follow. Julian, however, will fight and conquer as a good athlete.”

After hearing this, she related everything to Julian. She gathered the virgins, explained the revealed limit to them, and diligently admonished them to make profession.

As she continued speaking at length, the place where they were was shaken, a light flashed forth, and a written inscription appeared: “Come, all of you, to the rewards prepared for you.”

Thus, within the promised time, all the virgins, about one thousand in number, passed to God. Afterward, appearing clothed in snow-white robes, they said to Basilissa as she prayed: “Behold, we await you, so that with you we may adore the Lord to whom you won us.”

Summoned by the Lord, she herself rested in peace, and Julian buried her devoutly. These things took place at Antioch, which is the metropolis of Syrian Mesopotamia.

As the force of the persecution increased, that city was compelled by order of Governor Marcianus to have each person erect an image of Caesar in his house.

When the governor heard of Julian’s faith and learned that he had many companions, he ordered his assessor to go to the place where Julian devoted himself to God with a multitude of ministers of the Church and of the faithful, men who withdrew from the fury of persecution but were nevertheless prepared to suffer unto death.

Julian said to the holy congregation: “Now, brothers, let us pray, because the persecutors are approaching.”

The governor’s assessor entered and said: “I think it cannot be unknown to you, Julian, that the decrees of the sacred rulers require there to be one worship of the gods among all people.”

Julian replied: “Let those who serve them hear the rulers’ commands. We, however, who have a King in heaven, do not obey an earthly ruler.”

When the assessor reported this to the governor, he ordered Julian presented to him and all the rest consumed by fire in that same place. This was done, and such grace was conferred upon that place that those passing by heard a multitude singing psalms there, and those who approached in sickness departed healthy.

[Running head: Chapter One, Folio 255.]

Eighth Title: On the Persecution of Diocletian and Maximian

Chapter One (continued)

When Julian was presented to the governor, Marcianus himself said: “You are Julian, a rebel against the commands of the rulers and defiant toward the gods, who gathers crowds of innocent people to yourself by magical *arribus* [read: *artibus*, arts].”

He replied: “It is manifest that the gods whom you worship are demons, which can destroy their worshipers but cannot free them.”

The governor, drunk with fury, cried to his attendants: “Stretch him out for blows and shatter all his limbs with knotted clubs.”

While this was being done, one of those beating him, a soldier of Caesar, lost an eye from a blow.

Hearing this, Marcianus said with a snarl: “Your magic art has grown so strong that you feel nothing and tear out the eyes of others.”

Julian replied: “O horrid and blind man, summon all the most approved priests of your gods. Let them invoke their gods’ names to see whether they can restore the eye torn from their worshiper. When they cannot, I shall give him sight by invoking the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.”

At the tyrant’s command, the priests of the idols gathered and invoked their gods to restore the man’s sight. The demons answered: “Depart from us, for we have been condemned to eternal fire. Julian’s prayers have such power with the Lord that, from the day he was put to punishment, our punishment has been multiplied a hundredfold. Since we are in darkness, how can we restore the sight we do not have?”

Nothing of this was hidden from Julian. After praying, he said to Marcianus: “Hasten. Your gods summon you, though not willingly but under compulsion.”

Entering the temple, Marcianus saw all the images shattered and reduced to dust. Blinded by the devil, he began to cry: “O sorceries that prevail so greatly that they overcome even the powers of the gods and reduce them to dust! Yet the patience of these gods is praiseworthy, because they patiently endure injuries inflicted upon them so that, by suffering, they may subject their rebels to themselves.

“Now, Julian, who boast that you have overcome the most patient gods, fulfill your promise and restore the lost eye in Christ’s name. But lest you practice this through magic, I order you drenched with a washing through which all enchantments are known to be driven away.”

When Julian was drenched, Christ changed the foul-smelling wash into the fragrance of balsam. Julian then made the sign of the cross, invoked Christ’s name, and restored the man’s eye.

Having received sight, the man immediately cried: “Christ is the true God. He alone must be worshiped and adored.” When the governor heard him speaking in this way, he immediately had him put to the sword. Thus Christ consecrated as a martyr one baptized in his own blood.

After afflicting Julian with diverse punishments and loading his whole body with iron chains, the governor ordered him paraded around the city under a *preconora* [read: *praeconia*, herald’s] proclamation: “Those who rebel against the gods and contemn rulers deserve these things.”

When they came to the place where Celsus, the governor’s only son, was studying, the boy said to his fellow pupils: “I see an unheard-of thing: that Christian whom they are leading, a multitude clothed in white speaking with him, and above his head a crown of gems and gold whose brilliance blinds the light of this air or sky. I also see three other men with whitening hair, keeping

watch over him by the flight of their wings like eagles. It seems to me that it is worthy to serve such a God, who protects his own in this way and surrounds them with such beauty."

Hearing this, his fellow pupils and teacher were disturbed. Rebuking him gently, they tried to recall him from his purpose. But he cast aside his schoolbooks and threw off the garments he wore, saying: "My mother poured me naked into this world; what belongs to the world I leave to the world."

Saying this, he set out through the city streets until he came to where Saint Julian was being tortured. Prostrate at his feet, he said: "I acknowledge you as the father of the second birth that Christ has shown me. I reject Marcianus, my begetter, as an enemy of truth. Clinging to you, I desire to suffer like things for Christ."

Seeing this, the ministers of punishment were silent from amazement. Everyone in the whole city streamed toward such a spectacle and *obstupescebat* [read: *obstupescebant*, stood astonished] at the governor's son clinging to the martyr and kissing his wounds.

When his parents heard this, they wasted away with grief and ordered that their son be separated from Julian and restored to them. But God's mercy aided through the martyr's prayers: if anyone wished to separate the boy from Julian's embrace, that person's hands and arms--*eorum* [read: *eius*]--were immediately contracted.

The governor then ordered them brought before him together. He said to Julian: "You strive through magical arts to take away the fruit of my hope, and by enticing spells you compel his tender heart to reject his parents' affection."

As he said this, the boy's mother arrived with an innumerable household, her hair unbound, her breasts bared, and shouting. Seeing this, the governor cried out with his garments torn and face lacerated: "Cruel Julian, look upon a father's and mother's grief and the lamentation of so great a household. Release this innocent boy by your magic arts, and I shall petition the emperors for you, so that you may depart free of guilt."

Julian replied: "I have no need of your intercession, nor do I desire to be released by your emperors. I ask only this of the Lord: that together with this lamb, born from the entrails of wolves, I may be received among the holy martyrs. Behold, the one who was born from you stands here. He has now been reborn by believing with me; let him give his answer to you and his mother."

The boy replied: "Roses are born from thorns. The rose born from thorns does not lose its sweetest fragrance, nor does the shrub that bore the rose lose the points of its thorns. Therefore, prick as you are accustomed to do, and permit me to offer the fragrance of sweetness to believers.

"Let those who are prepared to perish obey you; let those who strive to pass from darkness to light imitate me. For Christ I deny you as parents, and through temporal death I acquire eternal life. I cannot be dutiful toward you while being cruel to myself.

"Why do you delay? Like an unbelieving and cruel man, why do you not take the sword in your hands, not as a true Abraham, and offer your son as a victim? Your expressions are vain, your tears false. No one will be able to separate me from this confession of faith."

Harcianus [read: Marcianus] then ordered them cast into the lowest part of the prison. There, from the limbs of condemned men consumed by long decay, a swarm of horrible worms bubbled forth. But God's grace went before them as they entered, made the horrible place delightful, turned the darkness into light, and caused the bubbling punishment to vanish.

When the soldiers who had brought them to be committed to custody saw this, they said to one another: "It is shameful to return to what we were and to neglect the salvation we have found." They therefore rolled at Saint Julian's feet, confessing and praising Christ's name. The saint prayed that those whom he had won for Christ might receive baptism.

There were seven sons left by the deceased leading man of the city, who descended from the lineage of Emperor Carinus. Although they were Christians, the emperors, out of love for their father, had permitted them to serve the Christian religion without any persecution. They had with them a priest who celebrated the sacred mysteries for them.

Divinely commanded to go to the prison with the priest so that the converts might receive the grace of baptism, they did so. As soon as they touched the prison doors, every barrier opened. They entered and prayed to the Lord with blessed Julian.

When Marcianus heard this, he trembled. Bringing them out of prison, he said: "What has happened to you, little sons, that you desire to die without any persecution, when it has been granted to you to live according to your own judgment and worship your God?"

The eldest replied: "A mass of gold possesses the brightness of its nature, but unless it is broken into parts by the artisan's hands, by fire, hammer, and files, it is not fashioned into a diadem worthy of a king's head. So too we are Christians, but unless we follow Julian's footsteps, we cannot be the diadem of the eternal King."

The prefect ordered them taken back into custody. He informed the emperors, saying: "Most pious emperors, come to the aid of your laws; provide *numina* [read: *munimen*, protection] to the divine powers that remain, and present the magician Julian before

your eyes. He has shattered more than fifty images of the gods through whom the world flourished. He has also separated my son from me, changed the soldiers' minds, and made seven brothers ungrateful for your favors."

The emperor gave permission that, if Julian persisted in this confession, the whole province should be assembled, separate vats prepared, pitch, bitumen, and sulfur put into them, and each person shut within and burned with fire set beneath. If a magical incantation prevailed against this, the governor had permission to afflict them with whatever punishment he wished.

The governor had a seat prepared for himself in the forum and ordered the saints presented to him. While he was speaking to Saint Julian, a lifeless body was being carried through the street for burial.

The governor ordered the body set down and said to Julian: "Your master Christ is said to have raised the dead before he was crucified. It will be evident that he is the true God if you raise this man."

Julian replied: "What profit is it to a blind man if the sun rises? Although your unbelief does not merit this, nevertheless, because it is time for God's power to be manifested, lest you think us powerless, I possess the Lord's faithful promise that whatever I ask of him he will not deny me."

The saint poured forth prayer before everyone and said to the body: "I say to you, dry earth, in the name of him who raised Lazarus after four days: arise."

Immediately rising from the dead, the man cried: "O acceptable prayer! Where I was being led, and from where I have been brought back!"

Marcianus mockingly asked: "And from where have you been brought back?"

The man replied: "I do not know by what Ethiopians, whose stature was like that of giants, whose appearance was horrible, whose eyes were like fiery furnaces, whose teeth were like those of lions, whose arms were like beams, and whose nails were like eagles' claws. Rejoicing, they were leading me to hell.

"But while Julian prayed, God's voice said: 'For the sake of my beloved Julian, let the soul be returned to the body.' Then two men clothed in white came, snatched me from the hands of the impious spirits, and restored me to this place, so that through him who raised me after death I might acknowledge the one whom I denied while alive."

The disturbed governor ordered this man also shut in prison with the saints and the punishment ordained by the emperors prepared.

The governor sat before the tribunal while people of every sex and age ran to the spectacle. Thirty-one vats filled with pitch, bitumen, and sulfur were arranged over fires. The saints were ordered brought from custody. Saint Julian and the boy Celsus were held by the same chain, and all sang a hymn to the Lord.

Compassion inclined the spectators' minds, turned to weeping. Celsus said to his father: "When you see me unharmed after the fire, permit me to take counsel with my mother for three days. If you do this, you will lose neither me nor her."

Hearing this, his mother urged that it be done. The governor replied: "If you escape from the fire unharmed, which I do not believe will happen, I shall do what you desire."

Unable to bear seeing his son burned, he left the assessor behind and returned home with his wife, tearing his garments and wailing.

When the saints had been placed in the lighted vats, a multitude singing psalms was heard from the midst of the fire like the sound of many waters. After the fire was consumed, they appeared shining like gold and singing a hymn to God: "We have passed through fire and water," and the rest.

Hearing this, the governor ran to the spectacle and said to Julian: "I beseech you by your God to tell me where you learned such great power of enchantments."

Julian replied: "If anyone makes himself alien to all worldly actions so that he may hear only the Lord's voice saying, 'If anyone wishes to come after me,' and the rest; if he puts nothing before Christ's love and desires nothing other than what he promises, such a person will not only merit this grace in the present but will also establish eternal friendship with God."

The governor said: "And who is so foolish as to flee the joy of this world?"

Julian replied: "God is ready to give this to everyone, but few are worthy to receive it."

The boy Celsus then said: "During the three days granted me with my mother, let no one be present." The holy martyrs were shut in the civic prison with the boy's mother.

When they entered and poured forth prayer, the place was immediately shaken, a brilliance flashed, the customary fragrance appeared, and the voice of singers sounded.

Seeing and hearing this, the woman cried: “Never in my life have I experienced so sweet a fragrance. I am so filled by it that I forget all my griefs, and I know that nothing remains in my heart except that he for whom my son contends is the true God.”

The boy said to her: “Now I truly confess that you are my mother. You will not lose your son, nor I my mother, if with me you strive toward that gift for which the saints endure so much.”

His mother replied: “Know that I put nothing before the love of him whom you love. I believe him to be the true God, whom through your preaching I know to be the Creator of all things. I desire to be free of this earthly life so that I may merit to reach the eternal life with you.”

Saint Anthony the priest baptized her, and her son Celsus lifted her from the font. When Marcianus heard that his wife had converted, he angrily had her brought home.

The next day, sitting before the tribunal, he ordered twenty soldiers beheaded and the seven brothers handed over to the fire. He reserved for himself his wife, his son Celsus, Anthony the priest, and the man Anastasius who had been raised from the dead.

Gathering all the priests of the temples, he said: “Go and adorn the temple of Jupiter.” When this was done, he entered the temple and had the saints brought there before him.

He said to them: “Behold, the time has now come in which you may obtain salvation by offering sacrifice to the divine powers. Otherwise, I shall exercise diverse torments upon you.”

With all the priests of the idols standing by, Julian and Anthony knelt with their companions and prayed for the destruction of the temple and the shattering of the idols. When the prayer was completed, the temple was overturned, the idols were reduced to dust, their priests were crushed by the ruin, and a great part of the gentiles perished.

[Running head: Chapter One, Folio 256.]

Eighth Title: On the Persecution of Diocletian and Maximian

Chapter One (continued)

The governor cried out, saying: “O magical power! O unheard-of incantation, prevailing so greatly! Now I shall have no mercy. Before I have them struck with the sword, I shall satisfy myself with their punishments.” He therefore ordered all of them shut in prison.

While they were engaged in praising God during the night, a multitude of saints who had triumphed through martyrdom arrived, clothed in white robes. Among them were the twenty soldiers and the seven brothers who had already suffered martyrdom, and Saint Basilissa with her choir of virgins. In that multitude only one voice was heard: “Alleluia.”

Basilissa said to Julian: “The kingdoms of heaven have been opened; come.”

On the next day Marcianus ordered the fingers of their hands and feet bound with wood soaked in oil and fire set beneath them. When he saw them unharmed, he ordered the skin removed from the heads of Julian and Celsus, and the eyes of Anthony and Anastasius--the man who had been raised from the dead--dug out with iron hooks.

When he ordered Marcianilla, Celsus’s mother, put upon the rack, any minister who wished to touch her was struck blind. But the Lord healed the saints in such a way that it was as though they had suffered nothing.

The tyrant next ordered every kind of wild beast sent against them. But however fierce the beasts released upon them were, they licked the saints’ feet.

At last he ordered all those saints beheaded with criminals, and thus they received the crown of martyrdom from the Lord. Suddenly a great earthquake occurred; lightning descended and thunder sounded; the temples of the idols were shattered; a great multitude of pagans perished; and the tyrant escaped half-alive. Not long afterward, however, he expired while boiling with worms.

The saints’ bodies were honorably buried, and their souls appeared above their tombs in the form of flames. They suffered on the eighth day before the Ides of January.

On Saints Cyprian and Justina. § XXI

Vincent recounts from their acts in the *Speculum Historiale*, Book XIII:

There was a certain virgin in the city of Antioch named Justina, a Christian by religion. A certain scholar named Accladius frequently saw her going to church and fell in love with her. He sent many people to her and sought her as his wife. When she told everyone that she was betrothed to Christ, her heavenly bridegroom, he wished to seize her by force but could not.

Then, in anger, he approached Cyprian the magician, promising him two talents of gold and silver if by sorcery he could induce the virgin Justina to consent to him.

It is related that this Cyprian had been consecrated to the devil by his parents when he was still seven years old. Serving the devil in every way and possessing painted images of demons in his books of magic, by that art he turned matrons into beasts of burden. He was given over to every pleasure and crime, inflicted many injuries upon Christians, and surpassed the demons themselves in acts of impiety.

The devil, a spirit of fornication, changed himself into Justina's appearance in order to defile her reputation and mock Cyprian, who desired her and boasted of his own power. Thus the devil came to Cyprian in Justina's form. When Cyprian wished to kiss her and, thinking her to be Justina, said, "Welcome, Justina, beauty of all women," the demon could not bear even to hear Justina's name spoken by Cyprian and vanished like smoke.

The aforementioned Accladius approached Cyprian himself and offered him much money if he would bring her to consent to him. Taught magical art by the devil, Cyprian gave him a certain ointment and instructed him to sprinkle it around her house, so that the devil himself might come and extort her father's consent to accomplish the deed.

When this had been done, the virgin rose for prayer at about the third hour of the night and felt the assault of the tempter. She signed herself and her house with the sign of the cross and drove the demon away.

The demon came back to Cyprian in confusion. Asked why he had not brought the virgin, he said: "I saw a certain sign upon her and melted away."

Cyprian invoked another, stronger demon to bring her to him, but the same thing happened to that one. At last Cyprian summoned the king of the demons and said to him: "What is your weakness? Has all your strength and glory been overcome by one girl?"

He answered: "Now I shall bring her to you, together with a desire for corruption."

The devil then entered Justina's presence in the appearance of a virgin and said to her: "Today I was sent to you by Christ to live with you in chastity. But I see you are greatly troubled by abstinence."

The saint said: "The reward is indeed great, but the labor is slight."

The devil also said: "From the beginning God blessed Adam and Eve, saying to them, 'Increase and multiply,' and so forth. I therefore think that, if we remain in virginity, we shall fall under judgment because we contemn God's command."

Tempted by these words, the virgin rose. But, taught by the Spirit who it was that spoke, she fortified herself with the sign of the cross and breathed upon the demon. It appeared no more.

Whenever Cyprian too was changed by magical art into a woman or a bird and came near the door of Justina's house, he appeared neither as a woman nor as a bird, but as Cyprian. This must be understood to mean, not that he was really changed into another species, but that by the devil's operation the eyes or imaginations of people, and of Cyprian himself, were dazzled so that he seemed to have been changed. Justina did not suffer this illusion of the devil.

Next the devil assumed the form of a very handsome young man, entered her bed, and sought to rush upon her with embraces and kisses. But when she made the sign of the cross, the youth appeared no more.

Moreover, he introduced *frebres* [read: *febres*, violent fevers] into her body, together with phantasms of shameful acts, but through prayer she overcame the temptations.

Through demoniacs or images of the gentiles he also foretold that a very great plague would come upon draft animals and cattle and would remain for a long time unless Justina were given in marriage. Because of this, the citizens importunately begged her parents to give her in marriage and so escape so great an evil. They even threatened Justina herself with death if she did not consent to the matter. She agreed in no way. After seven years, however, the plague ceased through her prayers. This is certainly very marvelous, yet it is not incredible when God permits it.

At last the prince of the demons, confounded in everything, appeared to Cyprian.

Cyprian said to him: "Have you also been overcome, like your subjects? Tell me how you have been overcome by one Christian virgin, and what is the power of this victory."

He replied: "I cannot tell you. But I saw a certain terrible sign upon her and melted away."

When Cyprian told him to disclose what that power was and whose sign it was, the devil replied: “If you wish me to tell you what that sign is, swear to me by my powers that you will never depart from me.”

Cyprian swore. The devil said: “I saw the sign of the Crucified, namely the sign of the cross, and I melted away. As wax flows before the face of fire, so did I flow away.”

Cyprian said to him: “Then the Crucified is greater than you.”

The devil replied: “Yes, he is greater than all, because through him God had mercy upon the world. Whether they are transgressing angels or people who have deserted God, they are brought by angels before the face of the crucified Christ and thus receive the sentence of unquenchable fire.”

Cyprian said to him: “I must hasten to Christ, lest I incur such a punishment.”

The devil said: “You swore to me by the power against which no one can commit perjury.”

Cyprian said to him: “I contemn you and all who fear your powers. I deny even myself, and, signing myself, I say: Glory to you, Christ. Demon, depart from me.”

The devil fled and vanished.

Cyprian approached Antinius [read: Anthimus], the bishop of the city, fell at his feet, and said: “Servant of the Most High God, sign me and catechize me in Christ’s name.”

The bishop, thinking that he might have come to lead the Church into error, said to Cyprian: “Let those who are outside be enough for you, Cyprian. You can do nothing against God’s Church, for Christ’s power is unconquered.”

But when Cyprian related how Christ’s power and the prayer of the holy virgin Justina had driven the demons away from him, the holy bishop blessed God.

Cyprian went to his house, broke all the idols, and wept for his sins throughout the night. Approaching the bishop, he was catechized by him and afterward baptized.

After some time he was made a deacon. Grace against demons was given to him, and he healed the sick. He was then promoted to the priesthood. At last blessed Antinius [read: Anthimus], foreknowing his own departure, convened a synod of bishops and ordained Cyprian bishop. Cyprian afterward made Justina a deaconess and appointed her mother of a monastery of virgins.

After these things Eutolmius, count of the East, heard that Bishop Cyprian, together with the virgin Justina, was destroying the glory of the gods. He ordered them presented to him and said to Cyprian: “Are you Cyprian, who have caused many to go astray through the magical art of the Crucified?”

Cyprian replied: “He who is the true God saved me on account of the holy virgin Justina. For through the sign of the Crucified she put to flight the demons whom I sent against her. Even that most wretched devil himself was compelled by angels to reveal the mystery and power of the Crucified.”

The count ordered him suspended and torn with claws, and the virgin beaten with rawhide thongs and struck in the face by executioners. He then ordered a large iron pan made and pitch, fat, and wax put into it. When it had been heated violently, he ordered Cyprian and Justina put into it. But the fire became like dew to them, and, placed in the pan, they praised God.

Athnasius [read: Athanasius], a priest of the idols, asked the governor that he might be placed over the pan--that is, beside the pan--and that by invoking the gods the pair might be bewitched so that, their magical art notwithstanding, they would fail in the pan itself. When he had obtained this and came near the pan, he said: “Great is the god Hercules; great is Jupiter, father of the gods; and great is Asclepius, who gives health to human beings.” As he said this, the fire leapt forth and consumed him down to his bones.

At last the holy martyrs were beheaded and passed to Christ’s heavenly kingdom. Their bodies are said to have been translated to Rome.

The little book entitled *On the Penance of Cyprian* is placed among the apocryphal writings in Distinction XV, *Sancta Romana*. Certain phylacteries called the *Prayer of Cyprian*, in which mention is made of his penance, contain this material together with many characters and names of demons and must be rejected as superstitious.

Saint Vincent. § XXII

At the same time, under that same Datianus in Spain, blessed Vincent also suffered on the eleventh day before the Kalends of February, as Vincent recounts in the *Speculum Historiale*, Book XIII.

He was of very noble birth and, having been entrusted to letters from boyhood, shone most effectively in a twofold knowledge under blessed Valerius, bishop of the city of Caesaraugusta. Distinguished also for holiness, he received the *artem* [read: *arcem*, summit] of the diaconate from him. Because the bishop himself had a rather impeded tongue, after entrusting Vincent with the ministry of teaching, he devoted himself assiduously to prayer and contemplation.

When Governor Datianus ordered bishops and other ministers of the ecclesiastical order seized, Valerius and Vincent ran cheerfully to confess the divinity. Datianus ordered them taken to Valencia and there to endure the misery of hunger and the clanking of chains under prison custody.

After some days he ordered them brought out of prison and presented before him. By threatening torments, he invited them against their will to the worship of the gods.

Bishop Valerius remained silent, for he was a man of marvelous simplicity and innocence, learned indeed in knowledge but impeded in speech.

Vincent said: “Father, if you command it, I shall engage the judge with answers.”

Valerius said: “Long ago, dearest son, I committed to you the care of the divine word; now, for the faith for which we stand, I commit the answers to you.”

Vincent then said to Datianus: “Understand that in Christian prudence it is recognized as wicked to blaspheme by denying the worship of the Deity. Lest I draw you out any longer, we profess that we are worshipers of the Christian religion and servants and witnesses of the one true God. In his name we do not fear your threats and punishments; rather, for the truth we most gladly embrace death.”

Datianus then said angrily: “Remove this bishop from here. It is just that he undergo exile, since he has contemned the imperial edict. But fasten this rebel, who has come to offer a public insult, to the rack. Stretch out his limbs and tear apart his whole body.”

While Vincent was being tortured, Datianus said: “O Vincent, what do you say, when you look upon your pitiable body?”

Strengthened by God’s presence, Vincent said with a cheerful countenance: “This is what I have always hoped for and sought with all my vows. Do not diminish my glory. You alone accord with my vows. No one has ever been more friendly to me. Behold, I am now raised on high and, raised above the world, I despise all your princes. Arise, therefore; rage with the whole spirit of your malignity. While I am tortured, you will see that I can do more by God’s power than you who torture me can do.”

Datianus began to shout and to rage still more against the torturers and executioners, gnashing his teeth amid rods and clubs. While he lacerated God’s martyr, he lacerated himself still more.

At last the weary hands of the lictors gave way. While the entrails hung through the saint’s sides, Datianus himself, bloodless and trembling in his breast, failed and began to cry out with fierce and threatening eyes: “What are you doing, murderers, stubbornly holding back? You have often overcome men; you have broken the deep silences of parricides and magicians. But stay your right hands for a little while. Recover your strength, so that, like a renewed soldier, you may restrain the shameless enemy more harshly for punishment. Let a sharper claw search the innermost parts of his ribs, and let pain penetrating his inner organs make him return a groan, not contempt.”

Vincent then said with a smile: “Because the things I confess are true, torture the confessor still longer. For the gods you command me to confess are wooden and stone idols. Become a pontiff of the dead; I sacrifice to the one God, who is God blessed forever.”

Chapter One, Folio 257

Eighth Title: On the Persecution of Diocletian and Maximian

Chapter One (continued)

But the governor, burning with excessive madness and with every trace of humanity overturned in his face, directed only the point of his gaze and the poison of his eyes against the martyr’s body. Seeing blood flow from his whole body, his entrails exposed, and his joints torn from their settings, he said: “Have mercy upon yourself, Vincent. Do not now destroy the first flower of your budding age, but, even though late, gain exemption from the torments that remain.”

Vincent replied: “O poisonous tongue of the devil, I do not fear your torments. What frightens me more is that you pretend to wish to show mercy. Diminish none of the punishments, so that in everything you may confess yourself overcome. For the more grievously you think yourself to rage, the better you begin to show mercy toward me.”

Vincent was therefore taken from the rack and dragged to the fiery gibbet. Rebuking the executioners for delay, he hastened cheerfully to the punishment. For the savage tyrant had already ordered a bed with iron ribs brought forth and a heap of coals placed beneath it, so that the martyr might be fastened to it and burned.

The intrepid athlete of God therefore climbed voluntarily upon the apparatus of glowing iron. He was tortured, scourged, and burned, and the punishment increased as his limbs were stretched. The roughness of plates pressed down upon his breast and limbs was driven into them. As blood ran among the edges of the glowing iron, the sizzling flame was spattered with *a ruina* [read: *aruina*, grease]. Particles of salt crackling in the fire leapt across his limbs. The weapons of punishment were now hurled not merely against his bodily members, but into the very recesses of his entrails.

God's servant remained unmoved and, raising his eyes to heaven, prayed to God.

Datianus then said: "We are overcome. At least let the spirit that cannot be restrained be punished. Find, therefore, a dark place oppressed by a low roof. Gather fragments of potsherds there into a jagged bed, so that whatever part of his badly mangled body touches them as he lies down may be pierced by their unpolished points. Let even the turning of his sides renew the punishment, so that the members which seek escape by changing position always meet an obstruction. Furthermore, spread his legs apart and stretch them out, fasten his feet in the stocks, and leave him enclosed in darkness. Let no one be left there, lest he be encouraged even by the fellowship of someone's conversation."

The ministers carried out the command without delay. But when the guards of that prison began to sleep, its night received eternal light. Candles burned, radiating beyond the brilliance of the sun. The strength of the loosened stocks burst apart, and the rough potsherds became the softness and delight of fragrant flowers.

Refreshed by them, God's athlete rejoiced while singing a hymn to God, surrounded by a company of angels. He enjoyed their service and was soothed by their speech: "O Vincent, he who made you victor in the punishments keeps a crown prepared for you in heaven. Be secure now about the reward, for soon, when the burden of the flesh has been laid down, you will be added to our fellowship."

Praises were then given to God. As the organ of the voice resounded, sweetness modulated in angelic fashion spread far abroad.

The guards were suddenly disturbed and greatly astonished. Looking inside through a crack in the door, they saw the dark place shining with immeasurable light, and Vincent, freed from his bonds, singing psalms. Pricked by divine fear, they gave themselves to the Christian religion.

When these things were reported to Datianus, he became bloodless and said: "What more shall we do? We are overcome. Let the body therefore be returned to a bed and warmed with softer bedding. For I do not wish to make him more glorious if he dies amid the torments. Let a brief rest be granted, to refresh his bruised limbs, and when the gaping wounds have closed into scars, let him be renewed and subjected to exquisite and novel punishments."

But the excellent martyr of God, carried to a little bed and laid upon the softness of the bedding, was soon released into a precious death and returned his spirit to heaven.

Learning of his departure, Datianus said: "If I could not overcome him alive, I shall at least punish him dead. Cast him," he said to his ministers, "into an open field, so that the corpse may lack the honor of burial and, consumed by wild birds, may appear no more, lest Christians happen to come and, taking away his remains, claim the dignity of a martyr for him."

Thus the body, exposed without any covering, was honored by angelic watches and services. A crow suddenly arrived and with its wings drove away the other approaching birds. Moreover, a wolf hastened up and drove the other beasts away. Turning its neck back toward the sacred body, it gazed upon it, as though in astonishment at seeing, as is believed, the angelic guard.

Terrified when he heard these things, Datianus said: "I think I shall be unable to overcome him even when he is dead. But if he cannot be consumed on land, let him be submerged in the sea. The waters will conceal his victory, and fish, licking him at the bottom of the sea, will consume him as food. Let a millstone of no small weight also be bound to him, lest the moving wave carry the defeated man to foreign shores and he somehow attain the burial denied to him."

When the ministers had carried out the commands, the saint's body, which they believed was held in the depth of the deeper sea, reached the harbor before anyone could report that it had been cast out.

At last a certain holy widow, admonished in dreams, received true signs of the resting body. She secretly disclosed the vision to several Christians and, going with them to the place on the shore to which the wave had cast it by God's operation, they committed it to honorable burial.

When the persecution had ceased, it was raised from there with greater honor and laid outside the walls of the city of Valencia beneath the altar of a certain church.

Saint George. § XXIII

During the persecution of Datianus, as Vincent recounts in the *Speculum Historiale* in the place cited above, George, a soldier, came from Cappadocia to Diospolis, a city in Persia [read: Palestine]. Seeing the straits of the Christians, this most Christian man clothed himself in the others' garment and thrust himself into the midst of those sacrificing to the idols, saying in a loud voice: "All the gods of the nations are demons, but the Lord made the heavens."

Datianus was immediately filled with wrath and said to him: "By what presumption or dignity do you dare to say these things or call our gods demons? Tell me, nevertheless, where you come from and what you are called."

He replied: "I am a Christian, George by name, a Cappadocian by race. I have abandoned everything so that I may serve the God of heaven more freely."

When the governor could not incline him to his side, he ordered him suspended on the rack and his body torn upon it. He then had torches applied to his sides and, when fissures had opened in his entrails, ordered his wounds rubbed with salt. George remained unmoved, as though he suffered nothing.

Seeing that he could not overcome him by punishments, Datianus sought a magician named Athenasius [read: Athanasius]. He said to him: "Christians contemn torments by their magical arts. Can you, then, overcome them by your work?"

He replied: "If I cannot overcome this man's arts, I shall be guilty before you."

George was therefore brought out of prison, and the magician gave him a cup full of poison. When he had drunk it all, he received no harm from it. Again he gave him another cup full of a stronger poison. Making the sign of the cross first, George drank it as before and remained unharmed.

Pricked by this sign, the magician sought pardon from him, but on account of this he received from the governor a sentence of beheading.

After this the tyrant ordered George placed on a wheel surrounded by double-edged swords. When he had been set upon it and said, "O God, make haste to help me," the whole wheel was broken.

Afterward the tyrant ordered him put into a pan filled with boiling lead. Cast into it, he made the sign of the cross and was refreshed as though in a bath.

Finally, because he remained immovable in the faith, sentence was given. He was dragged throughout the whole city and received martyrdom by the cutting off of his head.

His legend is placed among the apocryphal writings in Distinction XV, *Sancta Romana*. This is not because he was not truly a martyr for confessing Christ's name--Ambrose also attests to that--but because of certain things recorded in it which are doubtful as to their truth: for example, the dragon slain by him; the king's daughter, who was to be devoured by that dragon, freed by him; and the statement that he told Datianus he was prepared to sacrifice if he would have the people gather at the temple, after which, through his prayer, the temple was set ablaze by heavenly fire and many thousands of people died, and other such things.

Saint Faith. § XXIV

Under Datianus, the holy virgin named Faith also suffered in the city of Agen. She was of tender age and a Christian from the cradle. Although a young girl in years, she was nevertheless white-haired in judgment and works.

Questioned by Datianus, she steadfastly confessed that she was a Christian. When she asserted that the gods of the gentiles were demons and could be induced to sacrifice neither by flatteries nor by threats, at the governor's command she was stretched out with her limbs spread apart upon a bronze grate, coals placed beneath it and fat cast into the flames. While she was tortured in this way, she converted many to Christ by her example.

Then Saint Caprasius, who was hiding near the city in the opening of a certain rock because of fear of the governor and who saw what was being done within the circuit of the walls, learned that the virgin was being tortured in this way and prayed to the Lord that he would make her victorious in the contest.

Again prostrate, he asked the Lord to deign to show him the reward of her martyrdom. He immediately saw what appeared to be a snow-white dove descending from heaven. It placed a crown shining with gold and gems upon the virgin's head, so that God's power might appear more clearly around her. By the flight of its wings and heavenly dew, that same dove so extinguished the fire that nothing of the blaze remained.

Seeing these things with spiritual eyes and now confident of the victory, Caprasius struck with his right hand the rock beneath which he had remained, and a spring immediately burst forth. By Saint Caprasius's merits, it furnishes a remedy of health to the sick even to the present day.

Caprasius therefore leapt forth, hastened to the place of the contest, and offered himself to Datianus as a Christian. When he was bent neither by flatteries nor threats, he was so mangled by the cruelty of the one giving the orders that, among others standing around, the brothers Primus and Felicianus were converted to Christ because of his patience. Together with Caprasius himself and the virgin Faith, they were struck with the sword at the neck.

Saint Felix. § XXV

In Spain too, in the city of Gerunda, Saint Felix suffered under that same Datianus, as Vincent attests in the *Speculum Historiale* in the place cited above.

While pursuing liberal studies at Caesarea and striving to appear more perfect than everyone, he heard, as if along the whole Spanish coast, that a grave persecution had arisen against Christians. He cast away all the volumes of laws he carried in his hands and said: “What have I to do with the philosophy of this world? I shall now hasten to that philosophy which has no beginning and knows no end.”

Passing, therefore, to Empúries, described in the source as the *Impuritana* city, he exercised himself in the divine books, bestowed alms upon the poor with a generous hand, was hospitable beyond measure, and also preached God’s word.

Afterward he transferred himself to the city of Gerunda. There he did similar things, so that people called him an apostle or prophet.

There was a certain Rufinus who reported these things to Datianus. Datianus gave him authority to imprison Felix bound in iron and, after trying persuasions upon him, either to honor him if he sacrificed or to torture him if he refused.

Rufinus came and ordered Felix apprehended. Wishing, like a greedy robber, to take his money from him and not knowing that Felix had already given all he owned to the poor, he began with flattering words to urge him to sacrifice. When Felix refused, Rufinus ordered him beaten with clubs.

While Felix gave thanks to the Lord God amid these things, Rufinus ordered him bound hand and foot, burdened at the neck with a great weight of iron, and enclosed in a filthy place to waste away with hunger and thirst.

But when the tyrant learned that Felix had not failed as he had supposed but remained unharmed, he had him brought back from prison and bound with iron chains to untamed mules. He made him be dragged through every street of the city until his whole body was lacerated.

Afterward, when Felix had been thrust into prison and lay there lifeless, a handsome young man--that is, an angel--appeared, comforted him, and healed his wounds.

Next, when the temple of the gods had been adorned and the sacrifices prepared, Rufinus invited Felix, brought out before everyone, to sacrifice to the gods with the other people.

Felix said: “Depart from the works of your hands and acknowledge the supreme God, who formed you from clay.”

At this utterance the whole crowd of pagans made an assault upon him in order to tear him apart. Rufinus delivered him to the executioners to be torn with claws and suspended head downward until, in the source’s damaged wording, ‘his *profocatae* cartilages breathed out blood’ [meaning uncertain].

Hanging in this way from the third hour until evening, he sang psalms and, comforted by God, felt no pain.

Taken back to prison, he was heard singing psalms with a great many others. A marvelous brightness and a *balsiminus* [read: *balsaminus*, balsamic] fragrance appeared.

When this had been reported to Rufinus, he had Felix cast headlong into the sea with his hands bound behind his back. But his bonds were loosed by divine power. He was seen walking upon the waves and singing “Alleluia” with the angels who held him. Thus he came to shore.

Hearing these things, Rufinus had him brought before him. He urged Felix to sacrifice, arguing that the gods had been favorable to him in such great punishments. But Felix refused and reproved him for his own perdition.

At last Rufinus ordered him again torn with claws down to the bones, and, thus shattered, led on a long journey so that, weighed down by the journey and the wounds, he might at least breathe out his spirit. While he was being led, Felix offered a prayer and rendered his spirit to God as it flew to the realms above.

Chapter One, Folio 258

Eighth Title: On the Persecution of Diocletian and Maximian

Chapter One (continued)

In Spain too, in the city of Complutum, under Datianus, is celebrated the birthday of Saints Justus and Pastor. While they were still boys being instructed in letters, they cast aside their tablets in the schools and ran voluntarily to martyrdom. Datianus immediately ordered them seized. As they strengthened one another most steadfastly by mutual exhortations, they were led outside the city and slaughtered by the executioners on the eighth day before the Ides of August.

At last the most cruel Governor Datianus, seeing that he could not overcome the Christians' devotion by torments, said to the assembled crowds of his attendants, as Vincent relates in the *Speculum Historiale*: "We accomplish nothing by laboring in this contest, for while we desire to overcome the Christians by raging more savagely, we minister abundantly to their victories.

"Let our plan, therefore, be hidden from them. Let the offices of the heralds traverse the whole city, so that the multitude which is concealed in homes may be driven from this city as though permission had been granted them to live by their own laws. But you, our fellow soldiers, occupy concealed places with your *armi* [read: *armis*, weapons] and then, suddenly leaping out against the unarmed enemy, overwhelm them in rivalry with one another."

Why say more? When the heralds' announcement had been given, hosts of Christians came forth in troops, voluntarily leaving open the enclosures of their homes. They rejoiced and sang psalms with one harmonious voice: "Glory to God in the highest," and so forth.

After this every gate of the city was barred, so that none of them might find a way to return. Armed men immediately leapt from their hiding places, rushed upon them with swords, and struck them down like lambs that offered no resistance.

Not even then were they satisfied by the slaughter of the innocent dead. By Datianus's command, the bodies of the slain were gathered into one place before everyone and burned.

Lest *qui* [read: *quis*]--that is, any Christian--secretly snatch away the martyrs' ashes for himself, Datianus ordered prisoners guilty of diverse crimes brought out of the prisons. Their heads were cut off, and their corpses were joined to the saints' bodies and burned with them. Thus they followed their head, Jesus Christ, who was crucified in the midst of thieves.

Because of their exceedingly great number, these martyrs were called the White Mass. Their passion is recorded on the ninth day before the Kalends of September, and this is written to have been accomplished in the city of Caesaraugusta.

Saint Theodore. § XXVI

In the city of Amasia on the Hellespont [read: in Helenopontus], in the time of Diocletian, blessed Theodore suffered.

This most Christian man, seizing an opportunity one night, entered the temple of Diana and set it on fire. When certain people heard this, they accused him before Governor Publius.

Brought before him and asked why he had done this, Theodore replied: "I do not deny what I did. To burn a stone, I set wood alight. Such is your goddess that she deserves to be burned."

The governor angrily ordered him beaten severely.

The saint said to him: "Even if you cut every limb from me, your madness will not be able to prevail against me."

He was then sent to prison, where he was nourished by the Holy Spirit. That same night the Savior appeared and comforted him. Then, out of joy, he began to sing psalms and glorify God.

A multitude of angels also came to him. Hearing their voices, the prison guards thought that certain Christians had entered to see him. But finding the door locked, they reported what had happened to the governor.

The governor came and found Theodore alone. He ordered restricted bread and scant water supplied to him, but the Lord provided for his servant.

Afterward the governor ordered him suspended and scraped. They scraped away his flesh so extensively that even his inner organs could be seen. While he was being scraped, he said nothing except: "I shall bless the Lord at all times."

Finally the judge ordered him burned with fire. The ministers and people therefore kindled the fire and cast him into it with two companions, Eutropius and Eleonicus. As they commended themselves to Theodore, he prayed to the Lord for their endurance.

The flame curved above his body in the manner of an arch or of a curtain when it is inflated by the wind, and many people perceived a most pleasant fragrance coming from him. They also saw heaven opened above him and heard a voice from heaven saying: "Come, Theodore, my friend; enter into the joy of your Lord."

He then returned his undefiled spirit to the Lord. His body was found whole and without any mark of burning, and it was buried. His martyrdom is celebrated on the fifth day before the Ides of November.

Saint Pantaleon. § XXVII

At that time Saint Pantaleon, son of the senator Eustorgius, also suffered in the city of Nicomedia. While he was still a boy learning medicine there, his teacher used to lead him to the palace, and everyone praised him for his appearance.

One day, when he was going alone to the palace, the priest Hermolaus saw him. Hermolaus was hiding with other Christians in his house. Observing the boy's well-ordered conduct, he called him to himself. After asking him about many things, he admonished him to believe in Christ, promising that in Christ's name he would heal every sick person without medicine.

Strengthened in the faith, the boy one day saw a child wounded by a serpent. Wishing to test Hermolaus's words, he prayed to God that the serpent would burst and the child escape. When this occurred, the boy Pantaleon ran to Hermolaus and sought baptism. Hermolaus joyfully granted it and kept him with himself for seven days, instructing him in the faith.

When Pantaleon returned home on the eighth day, his father asked: "Son, where have you been for so many days? You have greatly troubled me by your absence."

He replied that he and his teacher had been treating a sick man in the palace and that he had remained with him until the man was healed.

The next day he returned to his teacher and, when similarly questioned, replied that his father had bought a field and that this was why he had remained with him for so long. He was saying these things about himself, for he wished in this way to call his father back from idolatry.

One day he said to him: "Father, I ask you why one of the gods always stands, while another who sits never stands."

His father said: "By my salvation, you have raised a grave question for me, and I cannot answer it." From that hour his father began to doubt and ceased sacrificing to the idols.

In his father's presence, Pantaleon gave sight to a certain blind man by touching his eyes. Thus he converted both his father and the blind man who had received sight to Christ's faith. The priest Hermolaus baptized them.

After Pantaleon's father had broken all the idols, he passed to the Lord a short time later. Pantaleon then gave freedom to all his servants. He cared for them and for the other Christians and supplied them with food.

All the neighboring cities began to stream to him for the healing of their sick, abandoning the other physicians. Those physicians envied him. When they once found him treating a certain Christian, they accused him before Emperor Maximian.

The emperor had the blind man who had received sight brought before him. Asked how he had come to see, the man replied that the Lord Jesus Christ had given him sight through Pantaleon. Because of this confession of Christ, the emperor had him beheaded. Pantaleon, however, gave money to the executioner and buried his body beside the body of his father.

Pantaleon himself was then presented to Caesar. While he preached Christ, he asked Caesar to have some paralytic brought forward, so that the one in whose power the paralytic was healed might be regarded as God.

The priests of the idols accomplished nothing by praying. Pantaleon prayed, and the paralytic was suddenly healed. Seeing this, many believed, while the priests and physicians, gnashing their teeth against him, raged still more.

The emperor said: "Pantaleon, have you heard how much the old man Antinius [read: Antimus] recently suffered?"

Pantaleon replied: "He suffered many things but was not overcome. If an old man endured so much for God, how much more ought I, a young man, endure so that I may merit to be crowned with him?"

By Caesar's command, he was tortured on the rack and burned around the sides with torches. The Lord appeared to him, withered the hands of those beating him, and extinguished the torches.

Caesar then angrily ordered him cast into a pan filled with boiling lead. When the Lord appeared to him, the fire was immediately extinguished and the lead grew cold.

Next he ordered Pantaleon bound to a stone and cast into the sea. But, freed from it, Pantaleon swam to shore unharmed.

After this the emperor had the most savage beasts sent against him. They did not harm him in any way, and he stroked them with his hands like puppies. Many were converted to the faith by this, and the emperor had all of them beheaded together with the wild beasts.

After Pantaleon had been confined for a month, he was placed upon a wheel. But when the wheel was set in motion it broke and killed five hundred gentiles.

The emperor said to him: "Who taught you these things?"

Pantaleon replied: "Hermolaus."

Wishing to kill Hermolaus, Caesar said: “Can I see Hermolaus, so that he may teach me these things?”

By the emperor’s command, Pantaleon therefore approached Hermolaus and said: “Father, the emperor summons you.”

Hermolaus replied: “I am coming, son, for my time has come, just as Christ revealed to me yesterday.”

Seeing them, Caesar asked whether there were more Christians.

Hermolaus said: “There are also two other brothers, Herumpus [read: Hermippus] and Ypocrates [read: Hermocrates], who are Christians.”

They were brought forward. As they prayed together, an earthquake occurred and the idols fell.

Caesar said to them: “You see that the angry gods have shaken the earth.”

Pantaleon replied: “If the gods did this, why did they themselves fall and break?”

Caesar, enraged, ordered those three beheaded after many punishments had been inflicted upon them, and after some days he ordered Pantaleon beheaded as well.

But when the executioner appeared ready to strike him at the place of his passion, the man’s sword bent like wax. When the ministers saw this and sought pardon, Pantaleon arose and granted them his death. Thus, beheaded, he completed his martyrdom on the fifth [read: sixth] day before the Kalends of August.

Saint Cucufatus. § XXVIII

Saint Cucufatus, a man of the highest nobility and born of very wealthy parentage in the city of Quistilitana [read: Scillitana], suffered at Barcelona in that tempest. He had devoted himself to the study of liberal letters with Saint Felix, of whom it was said above.

Devoted to almsgiving, he departed from his own city. When he arrived at Barcelona and there applied himself diligently to preaching, he began to shine with the glory of miracles, healing the sick and casting demons from possessed bodies.

Hearing this, the proconsul Galerius ordered him presented before him. When Cucufatus stood before him, Galerius reproved him for not worshiping the gods.

Cucufatus replied: “To whom, most foolish of men, do you command me to offer worship? They were invented and constructed, not by God’s decision, but by the art of diabolical fraud and the stupidity of the most foolish people, people like you.”

Filled with excessive fury by this reply, Galerius delivered him to torturers, saying: “Torture this man until you wrench his spirit from him.”

Twelve soldiers tortured him for a long time. By their very harsh scourging, his body was ruptured and his entrails lay exposed.

The saint cried: “Lord Jesus Christ, show your power upon the unbelievers, so that when they see it they may either be converted and believe, or be destroyed and perish. And if the most impious Galerius, who rages so madly against your servant, is not predestined to life, quickly kill him with your sword.”

When this prayer was completed, the soldiers who were torturing him saw his intestines poured upon the ground and were struck blind. Galerius was consumed together with all his idols. The holy martyr’s entrails were restored to his abdomen, and he was very quickly healed by divine operation. Giving thanks to God, all the people praised God, saying: “You are the true God whom Cucufatus worships.”

When these things were related to Maximian, he wished Cucufatus brought to him bound in chains.

Asked by Maximian what God he worshiped, Cucufatus replied: “Why do you ask about God as though in doubt, as though there were several gods or he who is God were divided? I know no other God besides the true God, who made heaven and earth and whom I bless with my whole heart.”

Maximian said to him: “If your God is true, let him now free you from my hands and from the torments prepared for you.”

Cucufatus replied: “O most wicked man, I laugh at you and your father the devil, together with all the exquisite torments you may inflict upon me; and through the power of the name of my Lord Jesus Christ I despise them.”

The maddened governor then ordered him roasted upon a gridiron and, after he had been burned, drenched with mustard and vinegar. Christ’s soldier sang a psalm, saying: “Hear my justice, O Lord,” and so forth. When the psalm had been spoken, he was healed, while the ministers of the punishments were consumed by the fire.

After this the tyrant ordered a great fire made outside the city and Cucufatus thrown into it. When he was cast into it, the fire went out and he appeared unharmed.

When he had been shut in prison, an exceedingly great brilliance flashed forth. The prison guards saw this and were converted to the faith.

When morning came, the tyrant had him presented and beaten with iron cards and bull sinews. As the saint prayed that through God's power he might overcome everything and that the idols might be scattered, every idol was reduced to dust and he appeared unharmed.

Then all the people began to cry: "Great is the Christians' God, and most powerful is their deliverer."

Rufinus, who governed the city, had him beheaded, for Governor Maximian had died there by the will of God. Thus Cucufatus merited martyrdom by the cutting off of his head.

Saints Donatian and Rogatian. § XXIX

At that same time two young brothers, Donatian and Rogatian, flourished in the city of Narneticha [read: Namnetica, Nantes], as Vincent writes in the *Speculum Historiale*. Although Donatian was still situated in youth, he had already passed into the maturity of an old man.

When persecution arose, Rogatian, who was older by birth, ran to his brother, asking to be baptized before the persecutor approached. He did not obtain this because the priest was absent.

Both were seized and sent to prison. There Saint Rogatian, saddened that he had not been baptized, believed it would suffice for him if he received a kiss from his brother. Saint Donatian prayed to the Lord for him, that martyrdom might be to him in place of baptism.

This was accomplished. Both were placed upon the scaffold, suspended and lacerated, then pierced by a soldier's lance, and finally struck at the head on the ninth day before the Kalends of June.

Saint Pancratius

There was also Saint Pancratius, whom Vincent in Book XIII of the *Speculum Historiale* says suffered under Emperor Diocletian. But Jacobus de Voragine in his legends says that Pancratius suffered at Rome in the time of Pope Cornelius, who lived much earlier, namely in the time of Decius.

Born of very noble parentage in Phrygia, Pancratius was orphaned of his parents and remained under the care of his paternal uncle Dionysius. The two therefore returned to Rome, where they possessed an extensive patrimony. In their village Pope Cornelius was hiding with the faithful, and from this Cornelius the aforementioned Dionysius and Pancratius received baptism.

Dionysius rested in peace. When Pancratius was fourteen years old, he was presented to Caesar as a Christian.

Caesar said to him: "Little child, I advise you not to die an evil death. Because you are a boy, you are easily deceived; because you are proven noble and have shown yourself the son of a man most dear to me, I ask you to withdraw from this madness, so that I may regard you as my own son."

Pancratius replied: "Although I am a boy in body, I bear an aged heart. By the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, your terror has as much force among us as this picture we see. Your gods, whom you urge me to worship, were deceivers and ravishers of their own sisters; they did not spare even their parents. If today you learned that your servants were such men, you would immediately order them killed. I marvel that you are not ashamed to worship such gods."

Augustus, judging himself overcome by a boy, ordered him beheaded on the Aurelian Way.

At his tomb, as Gregory of Tours says, if anyone wishes to swear falsely, before reaching the rail of the church choir he either immediately goes mad, seized by a demon, or falls upon the pavement and loses his life.

Thus once, when there was a dispute between two men and the judge was by no means ignorant which was guilty, but proofs were lacking, the judge himself, led by zeal for justice, had both men approach Saint Peter's altar. He compelled the guilty man to clear by an oath the innocence he was pretending, asking the apostle to show the truth by some judgment.

When that man had sworn and suffered no evil, the judge, conscious of the swearer's malice and kindled with zeal for truth, said: "This old man Peter is either too merciful or yields to the younger saint. Let us therefore go to the young Pancratius and seek the truth from him."

When they came to his tomb and the guilty man did not fear to swear falsely, he could not withdraw his hand from it, and there he later expired.

[Running head: Chapter One, Folio 259.]

Eighth Title: On the Persecution of Diocletian and Maximian

Chapter One (continued)

Saints Adrian and Natalia. § XXX

Vincent relates concerning Saints Adrian and his wife Natalia in the *Speculum Historiale*, in the place cited above:

When Emperor Maximian was sacrificing to the idols in Nicomedia, a city of Greece [read: Bithynia], Christians from diverse places were dragged to punishments at his command. Neighbors dragged neighbors, and relatives their own household members, some from fear of punishment and others from love of the money promised to them.

Among them, twenty-three Christians hiding in a cave were found by those searching for them, bound in iron, and brought to Caesar. Freely professing themselves Christians, they were stretched out and beaten. Because they derided the threats all the more, their faces were battered with hard stones and they were thrust back into prison.

Then Adrian, chief of the military office, was pricked by their steadfastness and said to them: “I adjure you by your God, for whom you suffer so much, to tell me what recompense you await through these torments.”

They replied: “Eye has not seen, nor ear heard, nor has it entered into the human heart what the Lord has prepared for those who love him.”

Hearing this, Adrian immediately leapt into their midst and said: “Record me with these men, for I am a Christian.”

When the ministers quickly reported this to the emperor, Maximian, exceedingly angry, had Adrian brought before him, admonished him to return to his senses, and, when he refused to acquiesce, ordered him bound in iron and thrust into prison with the condemned men.

When Natalia, his wife, learned this from a messenger, she tore her garment and, weeping and wailing, asked the servant why her lord had been sent to prison.

He replied: “He saw certain Christians being tortured because they refused to sacrifice. Having himself enrolled with them, he said he wished to die with them.”

Until then she had concealed because of the persecution that she was a Christian. Rejoicing, she changed her garment and ran to the prison. Kissing her husband’s chains, she began to comfort him in every way, asking him to remain in what he had begun, to look upon none of this earthly glory but always to sigh for heavenly and eternal things, to fear no transitory torments, but to rejoice that he had escaped the infinitely greater punishments of hell.

After this, she kissed the bonds and feet of the holy martyrs and asked them to strengthen him. Bidding farewell to all, she went to her home according to her husband’s agreement, so that she might be summoned on the day of their passion.

After a little while Adrian heard that the day of his passion was at hand. Receiving permission from the saints to go and summon Natalia, as he had promised her with an oath, and giving a gift to the guards, he left.

When he reached his home, Natalia heard that Adrian was coming after having been released. Thinking that he had fled from prison, she began to weep very bitterly. Rising against him, she shut the door and said: “May it not fall to me to speak with the mouth of one who has denied his God. O wretched man, who separated you from the saints? Who seduced you, so that you withdrew from the assembly of peace? Why did you flee before the battle? Alas, I was not granted the space of a single hour to be called the wife of a martyr rather than of a transgressor. I had rejoiced for a little while, and behold, reproach will be mine forever.”

Hearing these and similar things, Adrian rejoiced. Made more ardent by the words of this one young woman, who had been married to him only fourteen months before, he most gladly desired martyrdom.

When he saw her grieving most heavily, he said: “Open to me, lady. I have not fled martyrdom as you think, but I have come to summon you, as I promised, so that you may be present at our passion.”

Not believing him, she said: “See how the transgressor seduces me, how this second Judas lies.”

Adrian said to her: “Open to me quickly, for I shall go and you will see me no more. Afterward you will mourn because you did not see me before my departure. For I gave the holy martyrs as sureties. If the ministers search for me and do not find me, the martyrs will have to endure both my torments and their own.”

She immediately opened the door. They prostrated themselves to one another and went with tears to the prison together.

Going around to each of the martyrs, Natalia wiped their putrefying wounds with precious linens and bound their limbs with linen cloths.

On the appointed day the emperor ordered them brought out. Those who had been weakened by punishments and could not walk were carried. Adrian followed with his hands bound behind his back.

Because the emperor was taking care that they not die from putrefaction before the torments prepared for them, Adrian was presented to him. Remaining in his confession, he was beaten most severely by four soldiers with hard pieces of wood and lacerated until his entrails poured out. Stretched upon the wood in this condition, he was enclosed in prison with the others. He was a delicate young man twenty-eight years old.

Blessed Natalia reported each of his replies to the martyrs. She comforted him as much as she could while he lay on his back bound with iron. The saints too, lying upon the pavement, crept toward him on their hands and offered him a kiss together with holy admonitions.

When the emperor heard that many matrons diligently ministered to them, he angrily commanded that they no longer be allowed to enter. Saint Natalia then cut off her hair. Ministering to them in male dress, she strengthened the other women to do the same by her example.

She asked this of her husband: that when he was in glory, he would make his first prayer for her, so that the Lord, keeping her untouched, would call her from this world very soon.

Hearing again what the matrons had done, the emperor ordered an anvil brought so that they might perish with their legs broken upon it.

Seeing the ministers come, Natalia feared that her husband Adrian might be terrified by the punishments of the others. She asked them to begin with him before the rest were punished.

When his feet had been cut off and his legs broken, Natalia asked him to permit his hand to be cut off, so that he might be equal to the other saints who had suffered more things.

When this was done and Adrian had emitted his spirit, the other saints voluntarily stretched out their feet to the executioners and in the same manner passed to the Lord.

At Caesar's command, the ministers carried their bodies to a furnace to be burned and cast them into the fire. Suddenly an earthquake occurred and so great a tempest arose in the air that a multitude of the ministers abandoned the bodies and fled, while many expired.

When the fire had been extinguished by rain, the faithful, together with the women, seized the unharmed bodies, carried them by ship to Constantinople, and buried them there. The Church celebrates their feast on the sixth day before the Ides of September.

Natalia returned home, having with her the hand of Saint Adrian as the consolation of her life. Without anyone's knowledge, she kept it honorably at the head of her little bed.

A certain tribune asked the emperor that Natalia be given to him in marriage, for she was exceedingly beautiful, very noble, and heaped with riches. When matrons spoke to her about this matter, she said that she rejoiced. As though to prepare herself, but in truth to flee, she obtained a delay of three days.

Meanwhile, in her chamber, she entreated God with tears that she might not be defiled. She fell asleep from sorrow and sadness. Behold, one of the holy martyrs stood beside her and gently comforted her. When she asked about her husband, he said that Adrian had appeared first of all before Christ's sight.

"But arise," he said, "board a little ship, and sail to where our bodies are. There God will visit you and lead you to us."

Waking, she boarded a ship with other Christians.

When the tribune who sought to have her as his wife learned this, he too boarded a ship and pursued them with many companions in order to seize them. But a tempest arose by God's will. Many of his companions were drowned, and he himself barely escaped.

At midnight the devil, appearing in the deceptive form of a shipmaster, cried to those who were with Natalia and asked where they were going.

They replied: "We are sailing from Nicomedia to Byzantium."

He said: "You are going astray. Proceed to the left, so that you may sail more directly."

When they had changed the sails, Saint Adrian appeared to them, seated in the ship, and warned them to sail as before lest they perish.

Natalia recognized her holy husband and rejoiced greatly when she learned that he was going before them.

At last they disembarked and came to the house where the bodies of Adrian and his companions had been secretly buried. While Natalia prayed there and fell asleep from the labor of the journey, Saint Adrian appeared, greeted her, and commanded her to come to eternal rest.

Waking, she related this to those standing nearby, bade them farewell, and emitted her spirit. The faithful received her body and buried it beside the saints' bodies. Many renounced everything and served God there forever.

Saints Cyriacus, Largus, and Smaragdus. § XLI [read: XXXI]

Vincent relates in the *Speculum Historiale*, in the place cited above, from their acts, that Maximian, wishing to please Diocletian by building baths from the ground up in his name, compelled every Christian to the labor, some to the stones and others to digging sand.

Then a certain rich and powerful man named Crason [read: Thrason] supplied food to them in their affliction through the most Christian men Cyriacus, Sisinius, Largus, and Smaragdus.

Hearing this, the holy Pope Marcellus rejoiced and ordained Cyriacus and Sisinius deacons of the Church.

One day, while they were carrying upon their shoulders the food Crason [read: Thrason] supplied, pagan soldiers seized them and brought them before the tribune, who enclosed them in public custody.

When Maximian heard this, he ordered them to dig earth while in custody and carry it on their shoulders to its place. There was an old man named Saturninus there whom they helped to carry, and thus they bore both their own burdens and his.

Hearing this, the tribune reported to Maximian that they returned glory to God with hymns and praises. Maximian had Sisinius presented before him and questioned him on many matters. When Sisinius ultimately refused to sacrifice, he delivered him to the prefect Laoditius [read: Laodicius].

After detaining Sisinius in prison for seven days, Laodicius had the prison official Apronianus bring him out. Suddenly a light flashed from heaven, and from it came a voice: "Come, blessed of my Father; receive the kingdom of God that..." and so forth.

Terrified at this voice, Apronianus fell at Sisinius's feet. Baptized by him, he came with him to the prefect and said with tears: "Why does the devil incite you to exercise such evils against God's servants?"

The prefect said: "Have you too become a Christian?"

Apronianus replied: "Woe is me, because I have wasted my days."

The prefect said: "Truly, you will waste your days," and ordered him beheaded.

He then ordered Sisinius and Saturninus thrust back into custody. Many gentiles who came to them were baptized.

After this, barefoot and bound in chains, they were brought before Loaditius [read: Laodicius]. He ordered a tripod brought so that they might offer incense to the divine majesties.

When blessed Saturninus saw it, he said: "May the Lord of the gentiles crush it." Immediately the bronze tripod dissolved like mud.

Seeing this, two soldiers, Papias and Maurus, cried: "Truly great is the Lord Jesus Christ whom these men worship."

The angry prefect ordered their faces battered with stones and them thrust into prison.

He then ordered the aforementioned saints raised upon the rack and flames placed against their sides. They were also stretched with sinews and struck with scorpions. Hanging upon the rack, they gave thanks to God. At last they were beheaded and buried on the Salarian Way.

After Papias and Maurus had been presented before him twelve days later, the prefect ordered them beaten with clubs because they refused to sacrifice. They said nothing except: "Christ, help us, your servants who hope in you." Then, raised from the pavement, they were beaten for a long time with leaded scourges and emitted their spirits.

When blessed Cyriacus had now been forgotten, many blind people received sight through him and the sick were healed.

At that time Artemia, Diocletian's daughter, began to be troubled by a demon. When her father entered her presence, the demon cried through her: "Unless the deacon Cyriacus comes, I shall not go out."

When Diocletian had sought him, Cyriacus entered her presence and said: “In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, I command you, unclean spirit: depart from her.”

The demon replied: “If you wish me to depart, give me a vessel into which I may enter.”

Cyriacus said: “Behold my body; enter it if you can.”

The demon replied: “I cannot enter your vessel, because it is signed on every side.”

When Cyriacus pressed him, the demon cried: “O Cyriacus, if you cast me out, I shall make you go to Persia.”

When the demon had finally been cast out, Cyriacus baptized Artemia in the presence of her mother Serena, who also admonished her to love the Christian religion. Diocletian too began to hold Cyriacus in favor and gave him a house.

After a short time Sapor, king of the Persians, sent to Diocletian, asking him to send Cyriacus because his daughter was troubled by a demon. Asked by the empress Serena, Cyriacus departed with Largus and Smaragdus.

When they came to Persia and, at the king’s request, Cyriacus entered the daughter’s presence, the demon cried through her: “What is it, Cyriacus? Are you weary?”

He replied: “I am not weary, but rather governed in all things.”

The demon said: “Nevertheless, I have brought you where I wished.”

When Cyriacus saw the girl being tormented, he prostrated himself, prayed, and said with tears: “Christ, whom you confessed, commands you to depart from her.”

The demon replied: “Give me a vessel into which I may enter.”

Cyriacus said: “The God of gods, my Lord Jesus Christ, commands you to depart.”

Behold, foaming in the air with a great howl, the spirit cried: “O terrible name that constrains me to depart!”

The girl was freed and baptized, as were all her relatives, the king himself, and four hundred and twenty persons of both sexes from his household.

The king offered blessed Cyriacus many gifts. He accepted nothing except the bread and water which he used with his companions, and said: “We do not offer Christ’s grace for a price, but esteem it by faith.”

After forty-five days they returned and were honorably received by Diocletian.

After Diocletian’s death, Maximian, called his son and moved by zeal concerning his sister Artemia, ordered Cyriacus thrust into custody. On the day of his procession, he ordered Cyriacus dragged naked and bound in chains before his chariot.

Then blessed Pope Marcellus came to him and said: “I appeal to your piety: why do you slaughter God’s servants, who pray for the commonwealth and for your kingdom?”

Maximian ordered the bishop driven away and beaten with clubs.

To the vicar Carpasius he said: “Torture with diverse torments the sacrilegious Cyriacus, who by magical incantations persuades people to confess Christ, if he does not offer libations to the gods.”

Carpasius therefore ordered Saints Cyriacus, Largus, Smaragdus, and Crescentianus presented before him. When they refused to sacrifice, he had liquefied pitch poured upon Cyriacus’s head. Cyriacus cried aloud and glorified God.

He ordered Crescentianus suspended upon the rack with others. After Crescentianus had long been stretched with sinews, beaten with clubs, scraped with claws, and had flames placed against his sides, he delivered up his spirit.

Four days later Carpasius ordered the others, because they refused to sacrifice, beaten upon the scaffold with clubs and sinews. That same day he reported to Maximian what he had done against God’s saints.

Enraged, Maximian ordered everyone who was bound in custody with blessed Cyriacus beheaded. Twenty-one persons of both sexes were led with him. Afterward, by Maximian’s command, Cyriacus and the others were beheaded on the Salarian Way.

Blessed John gathered their bodies by night and committed Saint Cyriacus to burial on the seventh day before the Kalends of April. Maximian also killed his own sister Artemia because of Christianity.

Eight days later, blessed Marcellus came with the blessed matron Lucina. They embalmed the martyrs’ bodies with spices, and Lucina placed them in a *panone* [read: *pavone*, palanquin] with her eunuchs. They were translated with blessed Cyriacus to the Ostian Way and deposited there by her on the seventh [read: eighth] day of August.

Concerning this Maximian, called the son of Diocletian, Vincent says in the place cited above that he does not remember reading this elsewhere, but that a certain Maximian was Diocletian's colleague in the empire is well attested.

Saints Macellinus [read: Marcellinus], Peter, and Artemius. § XXXII

At that same time in Rome, Macellinus [read: Marcellinus] the priest, Peter the exorcist, and Artemius also suffered. Vincent relates this from their acts in the *Speculum Historiale*, in the place cited above.

Artemius the jailer had often beaten this Peter for the faith of Christ and held him in chains. When Artemius's daughter was troubled by a demon and her father lamented her daily, Peter told him that, if he believed in Christ, his daughter would immediately receive health.

Artemius said to him: "I marvel at your counsel, because your God cannot free you although you believe in him and endure so much for him. How, then, will he free my daughter if I believe?"

Peter replied: "God is able to free me, but he wishes me to pass through temporal suffering to everlasting glory."

Artemius said: "If you wish me to believe in your Lord God, I shall double the chains and locks upon you; and if your God frees you, I shall believe in him, provided only that I first see my daughter healthy."

[Running heads: Chapter One, Folio 260; Eighth Title.]

Eighth Title: On the Persecution of Diocletian and Maximian

Chapter One (continued)

When Artemius had done this, Peter said: "Go to your house, for presently you will see me speaking with you."

When Artemius had gone away and told his wife Candida, Saint Peter appeared, clothed in white garments and holding the sign of the cross in his hands. They immediately fell at his feet and confessed God's power.

Their daughter was healed, and everyone who was in Artemius's house was baptized. A great many people came to that house so that, seeing manifest miracles, they might believe in Christ and be baptized.

Peter went to the priest Marcellinus, who baptized them all.

Artemius then went to the other prisoners, permitting anyone who wished to become a Christian to leave as a free man. When this took place and the report reached Judge Serenus, he ordered all the prisoners brought before him.

Artemius called them all together, kissed their hands, and told them that those who wished to go to martyrdom should come intrepidly, while those who did not wish to do so should depart unharmed.

When the judge heard that Marcellinus and Peter had baptized those who were in prison, permitted them to depart, and themselves voluntarily remained in prison, by the angry judge's command they were enclosed separately.

Marcellinus was laid naked upon broken glass and denied light and water. Peter, however, was confined in the tightest stocks in another prison.

An angel of the Lord came to Marcellinus, freed and clothed him, and led him to Peter. Freeing Peter too, the angel led them both to Artemius's house, so that for seven days they might strengthen the people of the faithful gathered there and on the eighth day present themselves to the judge.

When Marcellinus and Peter were not found in prison, the judge ordered Artemius, his wife, and his daughter brought before him and, because they refused to sacrifice, buried in the earth.

When they came to the place--namely, the crypt in which Marcellinus was celebrating Mass while other Christians protected him--Marcellinus said to the unbelievers: "Behold, we were able to harm you, free Artemius with his wife and daughter, and ourselves depart free. But we did neither. What has incited you to do this?"

The enraged gentiles then struck Artemius with the sword. Casting down the mother with her daughter, they buried them beneath stones.

They led Marcellinus and Peter to the wood which was then called Black but is now called White, and there they beheaded them.

The man named Dorotheus who beheaded them saw their souls, clothed in brilliant garments and gems, carried to heaven by angels' hands. Having thus become a Christian, he finally rested in peace.

Saints Sergius and Bacchus. § XXXIII

Under Emperor Maximian, Sergius and Bacchus also suffered, as Vincent relates after the foregoing accounts.

Because they were the chief officers of the palace, they were accused of Christianity before that same emperor. Not believing this, he led them with him to Jupiter's temple. While he sacrificed there, he saw that they remained outside the temple because they refused to be defiled by idolatrous rites.

When it was discovered that they worshiped Christ, their military dress was removed. Loaded with chains, they were led throughout the whole city. Brought back to the palace in this condition, they confessed Christ most fully and, bound with exceedingly heavy chains, were sent to Duke Antiochus.

Strengthened by an angel, they disputed against the errors of the idols. Sergius was sent to prison, while Bacchus was stretched with rawhide thongs and lacerated until blood flowed and his abdomen and liver were ruptured.

Provoking the tyrant still more, Bacchus finally expired at the voice of God calling him. He was thrown outside the camp to be devoured by beasts, but birds protected his unharmed corpse from the beasts until it was given burial by the faithful.

That same night, while Sergius mourned that he had been bereft of his companion, Saint Bacchus appeared to him in military dress and with an angelic countenance. He admonished him not to fail from grief, but to follow him courageously and attain the glory prepared for him.

On the following day Antiochus could not bend Sergius by his words to the worship of the gods. He had Sergius shod with nailed boots and made him run nine miles before his chariot. Afterward, however, he was enclosed in prison, where an angel visited and healed him.

Again the tyrant had him run another nine miles before his chariot in nailed boots. Because he remained immovable in the faith, sentence of beheading was given. With many people mourning his death, he flew happily to God.

Primus and Felicianus were Roman citizens. The priests of the idols accused them, saying: "Unless you cause these men to sacrifice, you will be able to obtain no favors from the gods."

Sought and found by the emperors' command, they were enclosed in prison. Immediately strengthened by an angel, they were released, and after some days they were presented before the emperors.

Because they persisted in the faith, they were led to Hercules's shrine. Refusing to sacrifice, they were cruelly lacerated and enclosed in prison, where an angel comforted them.

Brought out again and presented to Governor Promotus, they could not be overcome and were separated from one another.

The governor told Felicianus to take thought for his old age and sacrifice to the most unconquered gods. When he refused, he was beaten most severely with leaded scourges and said: "Although I now have eighty years of life, thirty years have passed since I learned the truth and chose to live for God, who can free me from your hands."

The governor ordered him bound and nails driven into his hands and feet, saying: "You will remain in this condition until you consent to us."

As Felicianus persisted there with a joyful countenance, the governor ordered him tortured in that place and given nothing for three days as he hung upon the stake. After three days he ordered him beaten with scourges and then taken back and placed in prison.

On the following day the tyrant ordered Primus brought before him and said: "Behold, your brother has consented to the emperors' decrees and, because he sacrifices, is a great man in their palace. If you do likewise, you will be his companion."

Primus replied: "Although you are a son of the devil, you have nevertheless spoken truly in part, for my brother consented not to empty men but to the heavenly Emperor. Through an angel teaching me, I know what you have done to him. Would that I may merit to be joined to him."

The angered governor ordered him beaten with clubs. Lifted upon the rack, his sides were burned with torches. While this occurred and he continually sang psalms, the governor ordered him taken down and boiling lead poured into his mouth.

He also ordered Felicianus to be present so that, as though terrified by his brother's suffering, he might consent to the sacrifices. Saint Primus, stretched out, drank all the boiling lead as though it were cold water and said: "Behold, my brother is not separated from me, whom you claimed had consented to the idols."

The enraged governor ordered them led into the theater and two lions sent against them. Rushing at them with force, the lions immediately fell at their feet and began to caress them. Bears sent against them afterward did the same.

Of the people--more than twelve thousand had gathered for this spectacle--five hundred men believed with all their households. Therefore, seeing that the saints could not be overcome, the governor ordered them beheaded outside the amphitheater.

Their bodies were thrown to dogs and birds, but remained unharmed by them. At night Christians took and buried them. The solemnity of their passion is observed on the fifth day before the Ides of June.

Saints Vitus, Modestus, and Crescentia. § XXXIV

Vincent further relates in the place cited above, from their acts, concerning Vitus, Modestus, and Crescentia, that Vitus was the son of Hylas, a pagan and a sacrilegious man. Modestus was his tutor, and Crescentia was Vitus's nurse.

While Vitus was still a boy, an angel of the Lord appeared to him, saying that the Lord had given the angel to guard him on every day of his life.

When he was twelve years old, believing in Christ and ministering to the needy as much as he could, his father Hylas, a nobleman but a pagan, studied how to turn him to the idols and often beat him when he refused.

Hearing this, Governor Valerian ordered Vitus brought before him. When he came and refused to sacrifice to the idols, the governor ordered him beaten with clubs. But the arms of those who wished to beat the boy immediately withered, and Valerian cried: "Woe is me, for I have lost my arm."

Vitus replied: "Let your gods heal you if they can."

The governor said: "Then you shall do it."

Vitus replied: "In the Lord's name, I shall," and Valerian was immediately healed through his prayers.

The governor said to Vitus's father: "Correct your son, lest he perish."

His father led him home. By every delight, the musicians' song, and the girls' dance, he tried to change his mind.

When he had enclosed him in a chamber, seven angels appeared, comforting him and singing, "Holy, holy, holy," and filling the chamber with a most pleasant fragrance.

Filled with that fragrance, his father and the household said: "The gods have come into the house." Looking through the door, his father saw the angels standing there and was struck blind.

When he lost his eyes, the whole *civitas lucania* [read: *civitas Lucana*, Lucanian community] was moved. Valerian hurried there and asked him how this had occurred.

He replied: "Looking inside my son's chamber, I saw fiery gods within, and I could not bear their countenance."

The father approached Jupiter's temple, offered sacrifice to recover his health, and accomplished nothing. Commending himself to his son for the restoration of his sight, he asked for help.

Vitus said: "I know that you do not believe, but because of the people standing by you will be healed."

When the father received his sight, he gave thanks to Jupiter. From then on he sought an opportunity to kill his son.

An angel appeared to Modestus and admonished him to go with Vitus to the harbor and, finding a little ship there, to cross to another region.

They went to the sea and found an angel in the form of a shipmaster, ready with a little vessel. Boarding it, they finally reached the place called Allectorius. When they came down upon the land, the angel disappeared.

While they remained there beside a certain river, food was supplied to them by eagles. They performed many miracles, and many people were baptized by them.

Meanwhile, Diocletian's son, troubled by a demon, cried: "Unless Vitus the Lucanian comes, I shall not go out."

After Vitus had been sought for a long time and found, they brought him to Rome. Brought to the demoniac, he freed him.

The emperor urged them to sacrifice to the gods. When they refused, they were thrust into prison, constricted by a very great weight of iron. But an angel appeared with immeasurable light and released them.

After this Vitus was brought out of prison and cast into a burning oven, but he emerged unharmed.

Next a lion was sent against him to devour him. Running up to him, it licked his feet. Because of this miracle many believed in Christ.

At last Vitus, Modestus, and Crescentia, who followed Vitus, were stretched upon the scaffold. Their bones were torn apart so that their entrails appeared.

A great earthquake occurred, together with thunder, from which the temples of the idols fell and killed many gentiles.

The saints, however, were found freed by an angel beside the river called Silex [read: Siler/Sele]. Praying there, they passed to the Lord. Their passion is celebrated on the seventeenth day before the Kalends of July.

Dorotheus and Gorgonius. § XXXV

Concerning Dorotheus and Gorgonius, as Eusebius attests in the *Ecclesiastical History*: when the flame of persecution, which took its beginning from the soldiers, had intensified its fires throughout peoples and priests, it is impossible to comprehend by number how many were made martyrs daily in nearly every city and province.

At Nicomedia, one of the nobles saw cruel edicts against God's worshipers hanging in the forum. Kindled by the fervor of faith, while the people watched publicly, he laid his hand upon the book of the wicked law, pulled it down, and tore it apart before everyone, while Augustus and Caesar were staying in that same city.

When the deed of this religious and illustrious man was reported to them, they immediately raged against him with every kind of cruelty. Yet they could not bring it about that anyone saw him sorrowful amid the punishments. Rather, he had a joyful and cheerful countenance. When his entrails had now failed amid the torments, his spirit nevertheless rejoiced in his face. His torturers were all the more tortured by this, because they exhausted every kind of punishment upon him but could not see him sorrowful.

Afterward, one of Dorotheus's companions, who served in the king's chamber and had always been regarded with the affection given to children, complained too freely about the remembered martyr's punishments. He himself was ordered brought forward publicly and compelled to sacrifice.

When he refused, he was ordered suspended and lacerated over his whole body with scourges. Because he remained immovable, with his entrails now stripped of skin, he was ordered drenched with vinegar and salt.

When he had bravely endured this kind of torment, he was ordered placed in the midst of a gridiron with coals beneath it. What remained of his body after the scourging was set upon it, and the fire was kindled not suddenly but slowly and little by little, so that the punishment might be prolonged.

The ministers of wickedness turned his body now this way, now that, renewing the torments, hoping to elicit consent from him. But he remained firm in faith and rejoiced in hope. When his flesh had been consumed and dissolved by the fire, he breathed out his final spirit in the faith.

Thus Peter--for this was his name--adorned by martyrdom on the fourth day before the Ides of March, truly proved to be an heir of Peter's faith and name.

His instructor in discipline and master in the offices performed at the palace was Dorotheus, prefect of the king's chamber. With him in office and equal in faith and magnanimity was Gorgonius. Through their excellent instruction, almost all the ministers of the chamber persevered vigilantly and freely in God's faith.

When Dorotheus and Gorgonius saw Peter being tortured with such savage punishments, they steadfastly and freely said to the emperor: "Why, emperor, do you punish in Peter a conviction that thrives in us all? Why is that treated as a crime in him which we all confess? This is our faith, this our worship; our mind and conviction are one and the same."

The emperor ordered them brought forward. After they had been afflicted with punishments like the earlier men, he finally ordered them killed by hanging from a noose.

[Running heads: Chapter One, Folio 261; Eighth Title.]

Eighth Title: On the Persecution of Diocletian and Maximian

Chapter One (continued)

Then Autimus [read: Anthimus], bishop of that same city, also persevered in confessing the Lord and merited the glory of martyrdom by the cutting off of his head. Almost the whole multitude of his flock followed him as a good shepherd who went before them on the road of martyrdom.

Concerning Many Martyrs Together

Eusebius also says in the *Ecclesiastical History* that in those same days it happened at Nicomedia that some part of the palace was consumed by fire. Because the emperor suspected that this had been done by our people, he was kindled with fury and ordered all of them gathered in heaps, some slaughtered by the sword and others burned.

When the ministers asked each person whether perhaps they would sacrifice or wished to be dismissed, neither men nor women even allowed themselves to be questioned. Rather, they voluntarily rushed into the flames or competitively offered their necks to the swords.

When the excess of cruelty now horrified the spectators, the ministers of wickedness carried part of the people in little boats into the middle of the sea and there cast into the deep those who persisted in the conviction of faith.

Cruelty burned so fiercely among them that they even dug up imperial servants who had been made martyrs and buried, and cast their bodies into the sea, saying: “Lest perhaps they be made gods of the Christians and those who refused to adore our gods should adore our servants.” For they think that among us divine honor is bestowed upon martyrs.

While these things were being done at Nicomedia, *Haut* [read: *Haud*]--no less vigorously--in the province of Melitene and in Syria were all the leaders of the churches compelled by imperial edicts to be thrust into prisons and bound in chains.

Together with them, men and women from the people, noble and ignoble, were seized. Everywhere there was a pitiable spectacle: suddenly silence and solitude were found in the city, while the prisons were crammed full.

When word reached the rulers that the prisons were overflowing and that the punishments of the innocent left no place for criminals, new edicts were again sent: if anyone among those confined wished to sacrifice, he might depart free; but anyone who refused should die by diverse kinds of punishment.

Who could comprehend how great multitudes of martyrs then arose throughout the individual provinces? We cannot worthily commemorate even the contests of those which we ourselves saw in Palestine or Tyre. For we relate not what we heard but what we beheld with our own eyes.

Diverse kinds of torments were devised in succession. First they were torn over the whole body with scourges; after this they were delivered to the beasts, and every cruelty of people, beasts, and elements was armed against them.

For these things, God’s worshipers were placed naked in the middle of the arena. Art increased the fury of the beasts within their cages. Thus made fiercer than themselves, they burst from their enclosures, suddenly filled the stadium, surrounded the congregation of martyrs situated in the middle, went around it repeatedly, and prowled about it. Sensing that the protection of divine power was present with them, they *ascendunt* [read: *abscedunt*, withdrew] far from the martyrs.

But immediately the fury restrained in the beasts passed into the people. No spectator perceived God’s present power or the divine aid attending them.

Men whose craft it was were sent to incite the beasts against those whom divine grace defended. But to show everyone that ferocity was not lacking in the beasts, but that divine protection attended God’s worshipers, the beasts tore apart with incredible speed those very men sent to incite them.

When none of them now dared approach, the martyrs themselves were ordered to provoke the beasts against themselves with moving hands. But not even in this way could they be made to suffer. For if some beast happened to be roused, when it came to the nearest martyr, it immediately turned back upon itself and retreated.

Then immense astonishment and fear invaded everyone seated at the spectacle. Yet God was still tested by human beings. Other criminals were ordered *subrigi* [read: *subigi*, cast] before the beasts, and all of them perished in a moment, torn apart and scattered into the air by the beasts.

Even when roused in this way, the beasts caused God’s worshipers no injury, for the divine Spirit fortified them like the strongest walls.

Those beasts were ordered removed and others sent in. When these likewise brought nothing sorrowful upon the saints, the people, fiercer than the beasts, were sent against the martyrs and accomplished by swords what they had been unable to accomplish by beasts.

So that in every respect they might show themselves more wicked than beasts, they prohibited the corpses from being committed to the earth and ordered them given to the waves.

Saint Lucy, Virgin and Martyr. § XXXVI

Saint Lucy, virgin and martyr, suffered in the city of Syracuse in Sicily at the end of the reign of Diocletian and Maximian, as Vincent relates in the *Speculum Historiale*, Book XIV, chapter two.

When the name of the blessed martyr Agatha became widely celebrated throughout Sicily, it happened that Lucy, a most noble virgin of Syracuse, went with others to the virgin's tomb, her mother accompanying her. Her mother had suffered a flow of blood for four years and could be cured by no physicians' remedy.

While mother and daughter lay praying together before the tomb and sought aid with tears, Lucy was overtaken by sleep. She saw Agatha standing amid angels, adorned with gems, and saying to her: "My sister Lucy, virgin devoted to God, why do you seek from me what you yourself can immediately provide for your mother? For your mother's faith has come to her aid. And just as the city of the Catanians is exalted through me, so through you the city of the Syracusans is adorned by the Lord Jesus Christ, because in your virginity you have prepared a pleasing dwelling for Christ."

Awakening after hearing these things, Lucy said to her mother: "By the one who has healed you through her prayers, I beg you not to name a carnal bridegroom to me. Instead, give to my Lord Jesus Christ--the author of my integrity and virginity--everything you were going to give me as I went to the author of corruption."

Her mother replied: "You know better than I that everything which is mine can become nothing. First close my eyes, and then do whatever pleases you with these possessions."

Lucy said: "The person who gives God what she cannot take with her is not sufficiently dear to God. If, however, you wish to be pleasing to him, give him now what you can use while you live."

As the virgin spoke in this way with her mother, property was sold every day and every day the proceeds were spent upon the needs of the poor.

When this came to the knowledge of her betrothed, he brought an action before the tribunal of the consular official Pascasius, saying that his betrothed was a most Christian woman and acted contrary to the laws of the august rulers.

Pascasius rebuked her and began to invite her to the demons' sacrifices.

She replied: "This is an undefiled sacrifice: to visit orphans and widows in their tribulation."

He said: "Words will cease when blows are reached."

She replied: "God's words cannot cease. For he himself says, 'It is not you who speak, but the Spirit of your Father who speaks in you.'"

Pascasius said: "Then the Holy Spirit is in you?"

She replied: "Those who live chastely are the temple of the Holy Spirit. For the Apostle says, 'You are God's temple, and the Holy Spirit dwells in you.'"

Pascasius said: "I shall have you taken to a brothel, so that when you have been handled there the Holy Spirit may flee from you."

Lucy replied: "The body is never defiled culpably except by the mind's consent. For if you have me violated against my will, my chastity will be doubled for my crown." This judgment, as very notable, is set down by Gratian in Cause XXXII, Question V, section one.

Pascasius then delivered her to procurers, saying: "Invite the people to her, and let her be abused until she is reported dead to me."

When the procurers began to try to drag her to the brothel, the Holy Spirit fixed her in place with such weight that she could not be moved from there in any way.

Many people approached and tried to drag her together, but failed in their sweat. They also put ropes around her hands and feet, and everyone began to pull her, but she remained immovable like a mountain.

Many pairs of oxen were added so that, bound by the ropes, she might be dragged by them, but she could not be moved at all.

Distressed and failing from grief, Pascasius had a great fire kindled around her, so that pitch, resin, and boiling oil were cast upon her.

She stood immovable and said: "I asked my Lord Jesus Christ that this fire not be permitted to master me, and I sought a delay of my martyrdom so that I might remove the fear of suffering from believers and remove the voice of insult from unbelievers."

Pascasius's friends could not bear his anguish and had a sword plunged into her throat. Though struck, she spoke for as long as she wished and addressed the surrounding people, saying: "I announce to you that peace has been given to God's Church, that Diocletian has been cast from the throne, and that Maximian has died today."

As she spoke these and other things, Pascasius was led in iron bonds before her eyes. Reports from the people had run to the senate that he had plundered the province. Brought to Rome and heard by the senate, he received a capital sentence.

The virgin was not moved from the place where she had been struck, nor did her spirit depart from her until priests first came and gave her the sacred mysteries, namely the Eucharist. When everyone said “Amen,” she emitted her spirit.

Another Saint Lucia, Widow. § XXXVII

The same Vincent in Book XIII relates from her acts concerning a certain other martyr named Lucia--not a virgin but a widow--who suffered at Rome with Geminianus in the time of Diocletian, though in earlier years and under the father of this Pascasius.

This holy woman had remained in widowhood for thirty-six years and at the time of her martyrdom was seventy-five years old.

When the emperors’ edict against the Christians had been issued, she said to her son, named Cuppius [read: Euprepius]: “Behold, the time is now prepared for the palm. Let us abandon the images, which can destroy us but cannot free us, and adore the Lord Jesus Christ, who can save and condemn soul and body.”

Her son replied: “Mother, you are mad to call him God who was scourged and crucified with thieves.”

She rebuked him for speaking such things against his Maker. Her son then approached the emperors and accused his mother of Christianity.

Brought forward by the emperors’ command, after many interrogations she remained most steadfast in confessing the faith and said: “I am prepared for the beasts, the fire, and whatever punishments you desire.”

Enclosed in prison, she prayed. A marvelous fragrance spread, and a voice was heard: “Rejoice in the Lord, rejoice, because you have merited to receive what eye has not seen, nor ear heard, nor has entered into the human heart.”

As she gave thanks she was lulled to sleep, and afterward the Lord comforted her.

To abbreviate the history, which is quite long and marvelous: the emperor, sitting at his tribunal outside the city because his house or palace had collapsed, had her brought from prison, stretched out, and battered with knotted clubs.

But the man beating her was turned to stone, and the emperor, withered almost to death, cried: “God Jupiter, help me!” Immediately Jupiter himself fell from his place and was shattered.

Lucia said with a smile: “Let your god Jupiter heal you.”

The emperor said: “Make me well.”

She replied: “If you believe, I shall do so.”

The emperor said: “By the Crucified himself, I shall believe if you heal me.”

Lucia said: “I know your deceit. But because you have named the Crucified, I shall show mercy to you.”

He immediately became well and cried: “I give you thanks, Jupiter!” Running to Jupiter’s temple, he worshiped; the temple split and was torn apart.

Afterward he ordered Lucia enclosed in prison. He had a bronze pot prepared, filled with pitch, lead, and resin; with fire placed beneath it, he had its contents liquefied. She was cast naked into it and left there for three days and nights, but she was harmed in no way.

Hearing this, the emperor ordered her loaded with iron and lead and led around every street of the city.

As she was led, she happened to pass near the house of a certain noble named Geminianus, who had many images in his house.

While she was driven past swiftly, behold, a snow-white dove descended from heaven and three times made the sign of the cross above Geminianus’s head. Looking into heaven, he saw it opened and the seat of God.

Immediately pricked in heart, he abandoned everything and ran to the place where the saint was being tortured. He fell at her feet and said: “I recognize you as the mother of grace whom the Lord has shown to me. For when you passed before the door of my house, I looked into heaven and saw the one in whom I must believe.”

At midnight a certain holy priest named Prothasius, admonished by an angel, approached the prison where both were held. When the locks opened, a great light appeared and a most pleasant fragrance came forth. A spring flooded within the prison, and Geminianus was baptized by Prothasius. Saint Lucia raised him from the font, and they began to be one in soul and spirit, enduring one contest for the Lord.

After three days both were brought before Diocletian's tribunal. When Saint Lucia answered nothing under questioning, Saint Geminianus made the sign of the cross upon himself and began to rebuke the emperor very sharply for raging so greatly against Christ and Christians.

The emperor, roaring like a lion, ordered them afflicted with every torment. Amid the torments an angel appeared to them and placed crowns of gold and gems upon them.

When the saints did not fail from the torments, Diocletian withdrew and left a certain man named Pyropogon as his vicar.

Pyropogon ordered everyone to come to worship the gods at a designated place, namely the Lateran. When Saint Lucia and Geminianus came to the place, they cried: "The idols of the gentiles are silver and gold," and so forth.

[Running heads: Chapter One, Folio 262; Eighth Title.]

Eighth Title: On the Persecution of Diocletian and Maximian

Chapter One (continued)

The judge ordered their necks battered. An earthquake occurred; several buildings fell, and those ruins crushed the judge together with many others. The saints, however, remained unharmed.

Then, after a year, angels took them and carried them to Sicily. Coming to a certain river of deep waters, by God's power and after offering prayer they crossed over its waters with dry footsteps.

When they came to a certain place full of evil spirits, all those wicked spirits departed from the place with a cry. There they healed many sick people.

But Judge Apofrasius had those whom they had healed--and who magnified both them and God--beheaded. Because of this crime, he was seized by the devil and ended his life most wretchedly.

At last, when Saint Lucia was sought for death by the consular official Pascasius, father of the Pascasius who made the virgin Lucy a martyr in the city of Syracuse, as was said, she was placed in prayer and returned her spirit to God. Geminianus was beheaded by command of the tyrant.

The same Vincent in Book XIII of the *Speculum Historiale* relates concerning a certain other virgin and martyr of Roman nationality, named not Lucia but Luccia.

She was seized by the people of a certain man named Antria, king of the barbarians, and led into that country as a captive. That barbarian king wished *volare* [read: *violare*, to violate] her.

She said to him: "Do not use force against me, for I have a great bridegroom who will avenge my injury upon you." She was a Christian and spoke of Christ as her bridegroom.

The angered king said: "Who is your bridegroom, or what power has he, that he may avenge this injury?"

She replied confidently: "I have as my defender the God to whom I have devoted myself, who is in heaven and has power over all flesh."

Hearing these things, the king was terrified and began to wish to honor her as a goddess. He immediately ordered a private chamber made for her and maidens given for her service.

Day and night she devoted herself to God in vigils and prayers, asking especially for the prosperous condition of that king and his house.

The barbarian king's devotion toward her increased daily. Whenever he went out to wars, he asked her to petition her God for victory over his enemies. Because of this, through her prayers he always returned victorious from battle.

When twenty years there had been completed, it was revealed to Luccia that she should return to the city and there complete her course through martyrdom.

When she related the vision to the king, the king, inspired by God, said: "If you withdraw yourself from here, it is not expedient for me to remain, for my adversaries, whom I overcame whenever you prayed, will come and kill me."

She replied: "If it pleases you, come. For I believe in my God that he will adopt you as his servant."

The king therefore disposed of everything, left the governance of the kingdom to his son, abandoned all things, and came to Rome with Christ's handmaid.

Diocletian's persecution was already raging. After a few days Luccia was seized and brought to punishment.

Hearing this, Antria voluntarily hurried forward and placed his neck beneath the sword with hers, professing himself a Christian. Thus both were beheaded and received into paradise, together with twelve others, on the seventh day before the Kalends of July.

The Passion of Saint Catherine. § XXXVIII

The passion of Saint Catherine occurred a little after the reign of Diocletian, namely under Maxentius, son of Maximian Herculius. As Hugh says, he was made emperor by the praetorian soldiers--or rather, he usurped the empire. Constantine the Great made war against him and overcame him, as will be stated below.

This persecutor of Christians, Maxentius, entered Alexandria and compelled everyone to sacrifice to the idols, afflicting those who refused with diverse torments.

In that city was the most devout virgin blessed Catherine, beautiful in body but more beautiful in faith. She was the only daughter of King Costus. Orphaned of her parents, she had succeeded to their kingdom and riches. She was very learned in the liberal arts and eighteen years old.

While she was residing in her palace, she heard a considerable tumult of people and the lowing of animals that were being led for sacrifice to the temple where the emperor remained intent upon sacrifices.

Learning the cause of this din and clamor, she commended herself to God and, accompanied by a fitting household, entered the temple to see the emperor. She reproved him for the vain worship of the gods and made many assertions concerning the incarnation of God's Son.

Caesar, astonished and unable to answer her words, said: "Permit us to finish our sacrifice, woman, and afterward we shall give you answers." He ordered her taken to the palace and guarded with every diligence.

When the sacrifice had been completed, he returned to the palace and ordered Catherine presented before him.

As she stood there, he said: "We have heard your eloquence and marveled at your wisdom. But, being occupied in the gods' sacrifices, we could not fully understand your discourse. First, therefore, explain your lineage again."

The saint replied: "I shall acknowledge my lineage to you. I am Catherine, daughter of King Costus. Although born in purple and educated to no slight degree in the liberal disciplines, I nevertheless contemned all things and fled to our Lord Jesus Christ.

"I assert that the gods you worship are demons and can help neither you nor others. O how unhappy, therefore, are the worshipers of such divine powers, who, when invoked, are not present in need, do not assist in tribulation, and do not defend in dangers."

The angered emperor said: "If it is as you assert, then the whole world is wrong and you alone speak the truth. Even if you were an angel or a heavenly power, no one ought to believe you, much less since you are a frail woman."

She replied: "I beg you, Caesar, do not permit yourself to be overcome by fury, for dire disturbance does not remain in the mind of a wise person."

Seeing that he could not resist her wisdom, the emperor ordered the virgin guarded. He immediately sent messengers throughout diverse places so that all grammarians, rhetoricians, and men most learned in worldly wisdom who excelled in reputation should gather at Alexandria. They would receive great rewards if they overcame a certain girl who spoke against the worship of the gods.

Fifty wise men therefore came from diverse cities and gathered in Alexandria. When they asked the emperor more particularly about the cause, he said: "There is among us one girl of incomparable judgment and prudence who refutes all our wise men and asserts that our gods are demons. If you overcome her, you will return to your own homes with great honor."

One of them replied with indignant and wrathful voice: "O great counsel of the emperor, who has summoned so many wise men from such remote regions for a contest with one girl, when one of our little pupils could most easily have confounded her."

The emperor replied: "I do indeed possess the power to compel her to my sacrifices, but I judged it better that she be refuted by reason."

They said: "Let the girl be brought forward, so that, overcome in her rashness, she may acknowledge that she has never seen wise men."

The impending contest of disputation was announced to Catherine. She commended herself and her cause wholly to the Lord. An angel comforted her so that she might act steadfastly, predicting that not only would she not be overcome by the wise men, but that she would overcome them all, convert them to the faith, and send them through martyrdom to heaven.

When Catherine had been brought before those orators, she said to the emperor: “By what judgment, emperor, do you set fifty orators against one girl, promising that they will be rewarded for victory, while you compel me to fight without hope of reward? Yet the Lord Jesus Christ, who is the hope and crown of those who contend for him, will be my reward.”

In the disputation the wise men strove to show that it was impossible for God to become a human being or to suffer. By effective persuasion the virgin demonstrated the contrary: that it was not impossible for God to become human and that he endured the passion, not in his deity, but in the flesh he had assumed. She attested that this was also found in the books of the philosophers and sibyls.

“For Plato too,” she said, “maintains that God is to be circled about--that is, with respect to the incarnation--and cut down--that is, in the passion, through the separation of soul from body. The Sibyl too says: ‘Blessed is that God who hangs from the lofty wood.’”

As the virgin disputed with the wise men by the most effective reasons and concluded by manifest demonstrations that the gods were false, they were astonished. Having nothing to say in opposition, they became completely mute.

The emperor was filled with excessive fury and began to reprove them for permitting themselves to be so shamefully overcome by one girl.

One of them, more learned than the others, replied: “Know, emperor, that never before could anyone stand against us in disputation without being immediately overcome. But this girl, in whom God’s Spirit speaks, has turned us to such wonder that we neither know how nor dare at all to say anything against Christ. Therefore, emperor, we steadfastly confess that unless you bring forward a more convincing judgment in favor of the gods we have worshiped until now, behold, we all turn to Christ.”

Hearing this, the emperor, drunk with fury, ordered a fire prepared in the middle of the city and all those orators burned.

In the interval the virgin comforted them and instructed them in the faith as well as she could. When they grieved that they would die without baptism, she consoled them, explaining that their passion would be their baptism and crown of glory.

The fifty wise men were cast into the flames and there returned their spirits to God. Their bodies, however, were unburned--indeed, even their hair and garments remained unharmed.

After these things the tyrant addressed Catherine: “O noble virgin, take thought for your youth. If you sacrifice to the gods, you will be second after the queen in my palace, and an image of you will be fashioned in the middle of the city and adored by all as a goddess.”

The virgin replied: “Cease to say such things, which it is a crime even to think. I have handed myself over as a bride to Christ. He is my glory, he my love, he my sweetness. Neither flatteries nor torments will be able to recall me from his love.”

Raging in fury, he ordered her stripped and beaten with scorpions. After she had been beaten, he ordered her enclosed in a dark prison and tortured by hunger for twelve days without food or drink.

While she remained enclosed in prison, heavenly light poured forth and shone; fragrance spread; and the sweet hosts of heaven sang praises. The bridegroom loved the bride. The Savior visited her, saying: “Acknowledge, daughter, your Creator, for whose love you have undergone a laborious contest. Be steadfast, for I am with you.”

During those days the Lord supplied her food through a dove.

Meanwhile the king had departed beyond the borders of the region because certain affairs of the kingdom pressed upon him. His wife the queen had heard marvelous things concerning the virgin and was kindled with a very great love for her. She disclosed to Porphyry, commander of the soldiers and a man most faithful in secret matters, her desire to have a conversation with the virgin. Since he also desired this, they agreed to enter secretly by night.

When the queen entered, she saw the place shining with marvelous brightness and angels anointing Catherine’s wounds.

Catherine began to preach the joys of eternal life promised to the faithful. Teaching the faith, she converted the queen to Christ and also predicted her martyrdom. Thus she prolonged the discourse until midnight.

Hearing these things, Porphyry fell at the virgin’s feet, believing in Christ, together with two hundred soldiers who heard these things from Porphyry.

When his affairs had been completed, Maxentius returned to Alexandria and asked about the virgin. The ministers were sent to the prison to report what had happened to her and whether she was alive. They reported that she was alive and healthy, and he had her brought before him.

Seeing her vigorous and beautiful, though he believed her consumed by hunger, and thinking that the ministers had supplied her food contrary to his command, he began to wish to torture the guards.

Catherine, pitying them, said: “I received food not from human beings but from my Lord Jesus Christ.”

The emperor said to her: “Recall what I told you. We do not desire to retain you as a servant. Rather, you will triumph as a powerful and chosen queen in my kingdom.”

She replied: “Pay attention, I beg you, and discern by the true reason of your own judgment which I ought more to choose: one who is powerful, eternal, glorious, and beautiful, or one who is weak, mortal, ignoble, and deformed.”

The indignant tyrant said: “Choose one of two things: either sacrifice to the gods or die by diverse punishments.”

She replied: “Do not delay whatever torments you can devise, for I desire to offer my flesh and blood to Christ, just as he offered himself for me.”

A certain prefect then advised the tyrant to have four wheels made within four days, surrounded by iron saws and very sharp nails. Revolving against one another, so horrible an apparatus would cut apart the virgin placed upon it and instill fear in the other worshipers of Christ.

When the wheels had been prepared and the virgin was to be placed upon them, she prayed to the Lord that for the praise of his name and the conversion of those standing around he would scatter that machine.

This was suddenly accomplished. The machine broke apart with such force that four thousand gentiles, struck by its fragments, perished.

The queen, who watched these things from a window above, could no longer conceal herself. She descended and reproved the emperor more harshly for so great a savagery.

Perceiving that she had converted to the faith, the tyrant, carried away by furies, commanded that, if she refused to sacrifice to the gods, her breasts should first be torn off and then she should be beheaded by the attendants.

As she was led to punishment, she commended herself to Catherine so that Catherine would pray for her.

Catherine comforted her, saying: “Do not fear, O queen beloved by God, for today you will exchange a temporal kingdom for an eternal one, and in place of a mortal bridegroom you will receive an immortal one.”

[Running heads: Chapter One, Folio 263; Eighth Title.]

Eighth Title: On the Persecution of Diocletian and Maximian

Chapter One (continued)

Made steadfast by these words, the queen urged the ministers not to delay what they had been ordered to do. They tore off her breasts outside the city and beheaded her. Porphyry buried her body.

On the following day the tyrant asked who had buried the queen’s body. When he wished to torture certain people to discover the matter, Porphyry leapt into their midst and said: “I am the one who buried the queen and received Christ’s faith.”

Maxentius became senseless and emitted a terrible bellow, saying: “O wretched and pitiable me! Behold, Porphyry, who was the only guardian of my soul and the consolation of all my labor, has been deceived.”

When he related this sorrowfully to his soldiers, they replied to him: “We too are Christians and are prepared to die for Christ.”

Maxentius, drunk with wrath, ordered all of them beheaded with Porphyry and their bodies thrown to dogs.

At last, summoning Catherine, he said: “Although by magical art you caused the queen to die, nevertheless, if you return to your senses, you will be first in my palace. Today, therefore, either sacrifice to the gods or lose your head.”

She replied: “Do whatever you have conceived in your mind. You will see me prepared to suffer everything for Christ’s name.”

When sentence of beheading had been given against her and she came to the place of her passion, she prayed, saying: “O hope and salvation of believers, O glory and honor of virgins, good King Jesus, I beg you that whoever remembers my passion and invokes me either at the departure of the soul or in any tribulation may obtain the effect of your propitiation.”

A voice came from heaven: “Come, my beloved. Behold, heaven’s gate is open to you. I also promise help from heaven to those who keep the memory of your passion.”

She was beheaded, and milk flowed from her body in place of blood. Angels took her body from that place and carried it to Mount Sinai, twenty days’ journey distant, and buried it honorably there.

Oil is said to flow from her bones and heal the sick. She suffered about the year of the Lord 310.

Blessed Agnes. § XXXIX

Most blessed Agnes, whose passion celebrated at Rome Ambrose describes, lived around these times, as is evident from her history.

Born of noble Roman citizens, she was young in body, being thirteen years old, but aged in mind; beautiful in face but more beautiful in faith.

While returning from school, she was loved by the prefect's son. He promised her gems and innumerable riches if she would not refuse consent to marriage with him.

Agnes is reported to have given him this reply, Ambrose says: "Depart from me, food of death, for I have already been forestalled by another lover. His mother is a virgin; his father knows no woman. The sun and moon marvel at his beauty. Angels serve him. His resources never fail; his riches never wither. By his fragrance the dead revive; by his touch the sick are strengthened. His love is chastity; his touch, holiness; union with him, virginity. His nobility is loftier, his power stronger, his appearance more beautiful, his love sweeter, and every grace more elegant.

"He has pledged my right hand with his ring and encircled my neck with precious stones. He has clothed me in a robe woven with gold and adorned me with immense necklaces. He has placed a sign upon my face, so that I may admit no lover other than him. His blood has adorned my cheeks. His body has now been joined to my body. He showed me incomparable treasures which he promised he would give me if I persevered in him."

Hearing these things, the mad young man was laid upon his bed, and the physicians disclosed that he was sick from love.

When *pater virginis* [read: *prefectus*, the prefect] repeated these same things to her and she asserted that she could not violate fidelity to her first bridegroom, the prefect, father of the young man, began to inquire who that bridegroom was of whose power Agnes boasted.

When someone asserted that she called Christ her bridegroom, the prefect first pressed her with flattering words and then with terrors.

Agnes said to him: "Do whatever you wish, for you will not be able to obtain what you seek."

The prefect said to her: "Choose one of two things: either sacrifice to the gods with the virgins of the goddess Vesta, or fornicate with prostitutes."

Agnes replied: "I shall neither sacrifice to your gods nor be polluted by the filth of others, for I have with me an angel of the Lord as guardian of my body."

The prefect ordered her stripped and led naked to a brothel. But the Lord gave such thickness to her hair that she was better covered by her hair than by garments.

When Agnes entered the place of shame, she found the angel of the Lord prepared. He surrounded the place with excessive brightness and prepared for her a most white robe.

The prefect's son came to the brothel with other young men and was the first to invite them to approach her. Thus the brothel became a place of prayer, so that whoever entered departed purer than he had been when he entered, because he gave honor to the immense light--*immenso lumine ... honore* [read: *immenso lumini ... honorem*]. Those who entered, terrified and pricked by the miracle, returned.

Calling them wretched and mad, the prefect's son entered raging. When he wished to touch her, he was suffocated by the devil and expired, rushing into the light without giving honor to God.

Hearing this, the prefect came to her with great lamentation and inquired more diligently into the causes of his death.

Questioned, Agnes replied: "The one whose will he wished to fulfill received power over him and killed him. For his companions, who were terrified when they saw the miracle, returned unharmed."

The prefect said: "It will appear from this that you did not do it by magical arts if you can obtain that he be raised."

She replied: "Although your perfidy does not merit this, nevertheless, so that the power of our Lord Jesus Christ may be acknowledged, withdraw from here so that I may pray."

As she prayed, the young man was raised. Having been raised, he began to run throughout the city and cry: "True and one is the God whom the Christians worship, who raised me from the dead."

Disturbed by this, the priests of the temples stirred up a sedition among the people, crying and saying: "Away with the sorceress! Away with the malefactor who changes minds and alienates souls!"

The prefect, astonished by the miracle, wished to free her, but, fearing proscription, he left his vicar behind. Because he could not free her, he departed sorrowfully.

The vicar Aspasius ordered her cast into a great fire. When this was done, the flame divided into two parts and burned the seditious people.

Aspasius then ordered a sword plunged into her throat. Thus the Bridegroom, white and ruddy, consecrated to himself his bride and martyr.

When Christians and her parents buried her body with joy, they scarcely escaped the pagans who threw stones at them.

Emerentiana, a virgin and her companion who was still a catechumen, stood beside her tomb and steadfastly reproved the troubling gentiles. They stoned her, and she was baptized in her own blood; hence the Church keeps her solemnity.

Immediately an earthquake, flashes, and lightning arose, so that very many pagans perished. Because of this, from then on those coming to Agnes's tomb did not harm it.

On the eighth day, while her parents kept vigil beside the tomb in prayer, they saw a choir of virgins radiant in shining garments. Among them they saw blessed Agnes shining in a similar garment, with a lamb whiter than snow standing at her right.

She said to them: "See that you do not mourn me as though dead, but rejoice with me, because with all these I have received the most brilliant seats."

Constantia, daughter of Constantine, was afflicted by severe leprosy. Hearing this vision, she went to Agnes's tomb and applied herself to prayer.

When she fell asleep, she saw blessed Agnes in a dream saying to her: "If you believe in Christ, you will immediately be freed."

Waking and believing, she was healed at once and made sound, bringing joy to her father and the whole household. Receiving baptism, she built a basilica over blessed Agnes's body. Serving God there in virginity, by her example she consecrated many virgins there.

Blessed Margaret. § XL

Blessed Margaret, an Antiochene by nationality, was born of gentile parents and entrusted to a nurse. Diligently reared by her, when she reached adulthood she voluntarily had herself baptized.

Because of this she became very hateful to her father, a patriarch of the gentiles. Her mother having died, she remained with her nurse, guarding and pasturing her sheep.

When she reached the age of fifteen and was very beautiful in body, it happened one day that a certain unbelieving seneschal of the emperor named Olibrius passed through the places where she pastured the flock. Seeing the virgin, he burned violently with desire for her and ordered her brought before him.

When she had been presented, he asked her name, religion, and lineage.

She steadfastly replied that she was called Margaret, was noble in lineage, and Christian in religion.

Olibrius said: "The first two agree with you, but the third is exceedingly discordant: that a girl so beautiful and so noble that you are deservedly called Margaret should believe in a crucified man who could bring aid neither to himself nor to others."

Margaret then answered so correctly and prudently concerning the Christians' faith and the gentiles' unbelief that, overcome by her reasons and ashamed, he ordered her bound and committed to prison.

On the following day she was brought before him and commanded either to consent to sacrifices or perish by diverse punishments.

When she refused, she was stripped, suspended, and lacerated with the sharpest rods until blood flowed and those beating her failed.

Strengthened by God's power, she neither sighed nor groaned nor even assumed a sorrowful countenance.

Because she still preached the Lord, the governor thought himself mocked and ordered her flesh furrowed with iron combs down to the bones.

While this was done, the people wept for her, moved by compassion. The tyrant himself, as if advising her piously, urged her to give consent lest she lose so great a beauty of youth.

She said: "O evil counselors, this torture is the soul's salvation."

To the tyrant she said: "Shameless dog, insatiable lion, you have power over the flesh, but Christ preserves the soul."

The tyrant said: “I shall no longer spare; I shall no longer show mercy. She mocks those who advise her, blasphemes the gods, and contemns torments.”

She was therefore returned to prison so that, after other punishments had been devised, she might be punished more harshly.

But the darkness was immediately irradiated with immeasurable light. The devil appeared in the form of a dragon as though about to devour her, but when she suddenly opposed the sign of the cross, he vanished. Jacobus de Voragine, however, calls this account of the dragon apocryphal.

The devil next appeared to her in human form to persuade her to consent to the governor and so escape harsher torments.

After praying, she recognized him as the devil, seized him by the head, cast him to the ground, and, placing her foot upon him, said: “Lie down, proud demon, beneath a woman’s feet.”

He cried: “O Margaret, you have mocked me enough. Permit me now to depart.”

She replied: “I shall not release you unless you tell me why you tempt Christians in so many ways.”

He answered that hatred against virtuous people was natural to him. Although he was often repelled by them, he nevertheless always stood hostile to them in the hope and desire of seducing them. He envied that the happiness he had lost was granted to us, and because he could not recover it, he strove to take it away from others.

When he had said these things and the virgin raised her foot, he immediately vanished like smoke.

On the following day the virgin was presented to the judge. Refusing to sacrifice in the presence of the people, she was stripped. Torches were applied to her sides, and her freshly lacerated flesh was burned to its innermost parts, so that everyone marveled how so frail a girl could endure such torments.

But the senseless judge ordered a cask filled with cold water and Margaret, bound, held in it for a long time, so that the changed punishment would be graver rather than a refreshment.

When she was put into the water, a great earthquake occurred, by which all who were present were disturbed. The virgin emerged unharmed, and many were converted to Christ by this miracle.

Fearing that the number of believers would be increased by miracles of this kind, the tyrant ordered the virgin beheaded. He also had those who had converted to the faith killed by various punishments.

Blessed Margaret was brought to the place of her passion. She prayed first for herself, then for all Christians, also for her persecutors, and furthermore for women in childbirth who commended themselves to her, that they might receive assistance. She was beheaded on the thirteenth day before the Kalends of August.

It is therefore marvelous that some celebrate her feast eight days earlier. This perhaps is because, according to them, she completed her martyrdom on such a day. Under which emperor she suffered is not expressly stated, according to Vincent in Book XIV of the *Speculum Historiale*.

Under the aforementioned tyrant Olibrius, Vincent in the place cited above tells of a certain virgin named Regina, the only daughter of a gentile father, fifteen years old, who was tortured for the faith by almost similar torments and finally beheaded.

Saint Christopher. § XLI

Concerning Saint Christopher, about whom it is likewise uncertain at what time he suffered, Vincent relates in the place cited above that he was tall in stature and terrible in countenance.

Having become a Christian, he came to Samos, a city of Lycia where a certain persecutor of the faithful named Dagnes reigned. Because he did not know the language of that region, by prayer he obtained the ability both to understand and to speak their language.

Coming to the place where martyrs were being tortured, he reproved the judges and torturers for their cruelty against the Christians. Because of this, one of the judges struck him with a slap.

[Running heads: Chapter One, Folio 264; Eighth Title.]

Eighth Title: On the Persecution of Diocletian and Maximian

Chapter One (continued)

Christopher said to him: “If I were not a Christian and did not wish to suffer injuries and torments for God, I would at once have avenged the injury done to me.”

When the judge had reported this to the king, Christopher meanwhile addressed the people. During his preaching he planted in the earth a certain staff that he carried in his hand, and, for God’s honor and the people’s conversion, obtained that it produce flowers and fruit. At this miracle many were converted and baptized.

Hearing these things again, the troubled king sent soldiers to bring him bound. When they approached him, they did not dare draw near.

He said: “What do you want, or whom do you seek?”

They replied: “The king sent us to you so that we may lead you bound before him.”

He said: “*Si* [read: *Nisi*, Unless] I will it, I cannot be led, whether bound or free.”

They said: “Therefore, if you do not wish to come, go wherever you please.”

“It shall not be so,” he said, “but I shall go with you.”

After converting them by preaching on the way and having them baptized, he at last stood before the king.

Marveling at his great size, the king asked about his lineage.

Christopher replied: “My face indicates my lineage, for I am from the region of Canaan. By my parents I am called Reprobus, but, rejecting this name at baptism, I am now called Christopher.”

The king said to him: “What a foolish name you have imposed upon yourself, derived, namely, from the crucified Christ, who can aid neither himself nor you. Yet I tell you one thing: if you sacrifice, you will obtain great riches and honors from me; but if not, you will be consumed by many torments.”

When he refused to consent, the king ordered him suspended on the rack and lacerated with claws until his ribs were laid bare.

At a suggestion made to the king concerning this, he sent to Christopher two beautiful and wanton women. When he was pressed by those prostitutes’ clapping of hands and embraces, the saint rose from prayer and said: “What do you want, and why have you been brought in?”

Unable to bear the brightness of his face, but terrified and pierced in heart, they said: “Have mercy upon us, Saint Christopher, so that we may be able to believe in the God whom you preach. For we were brought in for this purpose: just as we have deceived many by lusts, so we were to draw you to idolatry.”

God’s saint spoke gently to them and converted them to Christ by his preaching.

Hearing of their conversion, the king ordered them summoned to him and said: “Have you too withdrawn from our gods through his magical arts? But I swear by the gods that unless you sacrifice, you will perish by an evil death.”

They told him to gather everyone at the temple and have the public squares cleaned. Believing from these words that they wished to sacrifice, the king gathered all the people.

Coming to the temple and ascending to the idol of Jupiter, they said: “If you are a god, command what we should do, for the king has ordered us to sacrifice.”

When the idol said nothing, they bound all the idols, threw them to the ground, and shattered them. They said to the bystanders: “Go and summon physicians to heal your gods.”

Hearing this, the king said: “I warned you to adore the gods, not to shatter them. But I swear by their power that I shall make you die by diverse torments.”

They replied: “Fool, if they were gods, why did they allow themselves to be shattered by the frail sex?”

At the king’s command Aquilina was therefore suspended, and, after a huge stone was tied to her feet, all her limbs were torn apart. When she had died, her sister Niceta was cast into the fire with her hands and feet bound. Emerging unharmed, she was beheaded.

The king next ordered Christopher bound in iron chains and beaten with rods, then bound and burned in a fire in the middle of the city. But, remaining unharmed in the fire itself, he exhorted the people.

The king afterward had a millstone bound to his neck and had him dragged through the city, bound to a stake, and shot with arrows. One arrow, however, turned backward and struck the eye of the jeering king.

At last Christopher was beheaded. When the king anointed his eye with Christopher's blood, it was healed.

Jacobus de Voragine adds to the foregoing an account of Christopher's conversion. When Christopher was immense in body like a giant, he sought the greatest prince with whom he might remain.

Hearing the reputation of a certain king who was said to be most powerful, Christopher approached him, was honorably received by him, and was urged to remain at his court.

But one day, while a certain entertainer was telling a tale before the king in which he often named the devil, the king, being a Christian, suddenly made the sign of the cross upon himself.

Christopher, who was not yet a Christian, wondered why he did this and asked him. When the king explained that he feared the devil might harm him, Christopher said: "Therefore the devil is a greater lord than you, since you fear him. Farewell, then, for I wish to find the devil, with whom I may remain."

As he passed through the desert seeking the devil, the devil appeared to him in the form of a great and terrible lord with a retinue of many soldiers.

When he asked Christopher what he wanted or where he was going, and Christopher replied that he was seeking the lord devil, the devil said: "I am the one whom you seek."

Christopher offered to remain with him in his service. As he traveled with him, they found on a certain road a wooden sign of the cross erected there. On account of it, the devil left the direct road and led him through pathless and thorny places, afterward returning with him to the direct road.

Wondering at this, Christopher asked the reason why he had left the good road. When the devil was unwilling to give a reason and Christopher declared that he would withdraw from him unless he disclosed it, the devil replied that he feared that sign because of someone crucified upon it who had overcome him.

Christopher said: "Then he is greater than you. Therefore, I wish to seek him, Jesus Christ."

After questioning many people about him, Christopher was directed to a holy hermit. The hermit instructed him in Christ's faith and in the conduct Christians must observe, among which were that one ought to fast, pray, and do other such things.

When Christopher said that, because he was not accustomed to them, he could not do them, the hermit finally told him and enjoined upon him, in service of so great a king and lord, that, because he was immense in body, he should remain beside a certain river whose water was deep and in whose crossing many were drowned. He was to carry upon his shoulders those who wished to cross.

Christopher accepted this. Making a small dwelling of wood beside the river, he carried everyone across.

One night a little boy cried out, calling him to carry him across the river. Christopher went out of his dwelling but found no one. The boy did this three times. On the third occasion, however, Christopher saw the little one, who was the Lord Jesus Christ in the form of a boy.

Placing him upon his shoulders, Christopher crossed the river. The waves swelled, and the boy weighed so heavily that it was as if he bore the greatest possible weight upon himself and was almost in danger.

When he had crossed the river, he set down the little boy and said: "Truly, boy, you placed me in great danger. You weighed so much that it was as if I bore the whole world upon me."

The boy said to him: "Do not marvel, for upon your shoulders you bore him who governs the whole world. For I am the Lord Jesus Christ, whom you serve in this work, and great is your reward."

From then on Christopher proceeded to preach, as has been said.

Vincent does not write these things in the place cited above, either because he wished to abbreviate or because perhaps he did not regard them as authentic, although the Church celebrates Christopher's martyrdom.

Saint Antoninus. § XLII

Vincent relates in the place cited above that Antoninus was born in the town of Appamia and was noble in lineage. From infancy he began to excel in good virtues. Instructed in sacred letters, he read the sacred precepts and strove to fulfill them.

When he burned with desire for martyrdom, he departed from the town of Appamia and, seeking Christians, found very many. While he stayed among them, he was promoted to the priestly order.

While traveling and preaching, he burned with thirst from the labor of the journey and prayed that God would assist his necessity. He confidently struck the ground with a staff, and immediately a spring flowed from it. He was refreshed from it, and that water also furnished health to the sick.

Returning to Appamia and persisting in his religious purpose, he preached and did not cease to reprove the unbelief of the gentiles.

When diabolical rage against him grew inflamed in the hearts of the sacrilegious, Antoninus, filled with the divine Spirit, predicted his impending martyrdom to the few Christians who were with him.

When the Christians visited for prayer the sacred places where the bodies of the martyrs rested, Antoninus was with them. But, withdrawing from them, he made known that he would go farther away for prayer and would by no means return.

Sensing that the gentiles lying in wait for him were approaching, he voluntarily offered himself. Seized by them and beaten along the road, he was led as far as the river flowing at the foot of Appamia. There he was beheaded. They tore apart his head and his entire body and cast them into the river so that the Christians would not find him.

In a marvelous manner, however, the blood that flowed from his body coagulated amid the clashing waters, and the waters' force dispersed none of it.

When the faithful heard of his consummation, they came to the place and honorably buried the body they found.

The severed head, however, after being cast into the river, was immediately received by angels, placed in a small *manseolo* [read: *mausoleo*, mausoleum or shrine], and set in a little boat divinely prepared. Guided by angels in the likeness of two eagles, it came to the appointed place.

A certain Festus, a prince of that region, understood through the Spirit that it was Saint Antoninus's head, received it devoutly, and built a church for it.

Saint Romanus. § XLIII

A certain outstanding martyr, a Roman named Romanus, as Vincent reports in Book XIV of the *Speculum Historiale*, suffered under Galerius. Galerius was made Caesar by Diocletian and, after Diocletian's death [read: abdication], ruled with Constantine for a time, as will appear below.

When this tyrant had sent an edict everywhere that whoever wished to live must deny Christ, Romanus, a man of keen intellect and outstanding character, comforted the minds of those who were afraid and urged them not to yield to the storm.

Thus the Christian flock, conspired together and allied, determined either to protect the faith or willingly to die.

When it was reported to the judge that Romanus was the leader of the rebellious populace, the prince ordered him seized and, as though he alone were the instigator of them all, made to answer the charge on behalf of the defiant people. But, not resisting, he asked to be bound and voluntarily twisted his hands behind his back.

The tyrant said to him as he stood there: "Infamous monster, agitator of the city and storm of the fickle populace, you disturb mobile minds. It is just, unless I am mistaken, that you should be the first to pay the penalty for the slaughter soon to come, and that you yourself should bear what you urged others to bear."

He replied freely: "I embrace it, prefect, and do not withdraw, so that I alone, as a worthy sacrifice for the faithful people, may undergo whatever your cruelty commands."

The soldiers then cut both sides of the man with a blade. They plowed long wounds along his limbs, cutting oblique lines across straight ones and straight across oblique, until his breast grew white with the bones laid bare.

Remaining calm amid these things, Romanus said: "Prefect, all this laceration does not grieve me. What grieves me is that error has taken possession of your breast and that you drag these lost peoples with you."

The martyr had scarcely finished his words when the raging Asclepiades, who had ordered the martyr tortured, interrupted: "Let the executioner turn his blow upon the speaker's mouth and transfer his hand, sharp furrows, and cords to the jaws. Let the very seat of his wordiness be ruptured, so that through perforated bellows he may lose the air that gushes forth."

The impious executioner fulfilled the commands. With scraping claws he cut both cheeks and cut the face with *votis* [read: *notis*, marks or wounds]. The skin was torn piecemeal from the shaggy beard, and he split the entire face as far as the chin.

Amid the flowing blood the martyr said: "I owe you great thanks, prefect, because, now that you have opened many mouths, I speak Christ through them and Christ's glory. Behold, as many mouths praise him as there are wounds.

“But since I am now no longer permitted to contend with you, let us consult a deeper reason close at hand. Let the simple judgment of the natural senses be questioned, inexperienced and without the art of deceit. Bring a child of about seven years or younger, so that we may ask what newborn infancy follows and what fresh vigor understands.”

Embracing this proposal, the prefect ordered one recently weaned child from the crowd of infants to be present.

Romanus said to him: “What seems to you, little son, to be true and fitting: to worship one Christ and the Father in Christ, or to adore gods of a thousand forms?”

The child smiled and answered without delay: “Whatever people may say, there must be one God, and truly only one. Since this one is Christ Jesus, he is the true God, for even children do not believe in many kinds of gods.”

The tyrant was stunned and wavered in shame. It did not become him to inflict the force of the law upon an innocent age, yet his fury did not permit him to spare one who said such things.

He said: “Who is the author of this declaration for you?”

The child replied: “My mother and my mother’s God. As a little child I drank milk from the twin fountains of her breasts; I also drank belief in Christ. Taught by the manifest Spirit, she imbued me with what would nourish me even among the cradle itself.”

Asclepiades then cried: “Therefore let that very mother be present and witness the sad outcome of her teaching.”

He immediately ordered the child stripped and beaten with rods, and his tender back cut by harsh blows. Finally, he commanded both to perish: the child to be beheaded by the sword and his teacher Romanus to be consumed by fire.

The executioner demanded the child; his mother surrendered him. She did not linger with tears, but merely impressed one kiss upon him.

She said: “Farewell, sweetest son, and when you have entered Christ’s blessed kingdoms, remember your mother, now a client of her own son.”

While the executioner struck the little neck with his sword, the woman, taught to sing, sang a hymn from the song of David: “Precious is the death of a saint in God’s sight.”

When Romanus was then thrust upon the pyre with his arms twisted behind him, he said: “I know that I shall not now be burned, nor has this kind of passion been assigned to me, but it remains for a great miracle to occur.”

His words were followed by the immense crash of a falling cloud, and a torrent pouring down in waves overwhelmed the fires.

[Running heads: Chapter One, Folio 265; Eighth Title.]

Eighth Title: On the Persecution of Diocletian and Maximian

Chapter One (continued)

Hearing this, the judge angrily attributed the deed to the mockery of magical art. He then ordered the martyr dragged through the forum and thrust into the nocturnal darkness of prison.

There a wicked executioner crushed his neck with a rope. Thus, his passion completed and his soul released from the body’s bonds, he sought heaven.

Saint Marinus the Boy. § XLIV

Vincent tells a marvelous passion of Saint Marinus the boy in Book XIV of the *Speculum Historiale*. He was the son of a certain senator of the city of Rome. Inflamed with the desire to undertake martyrdom, he was seized by Martianus.

Although this Martianus is called an emperor in a history of this kind, according to Vincent he seems rather to have been a governor.

When questioned about his lineage or condition, Marinus freely professed himself a Christian, contemned the sacrifice he was urged to make, and did not fear threats. At the tyrant’s command he was stretched out and cut on the back and belly with the hardest straps. Afterward he was thrust into prison.

On the following day he was suspended on the rack, and his body was lacerated with claws.

Then a wooden saw was constructed with a stone placed upon it from above so that, when set upon him, it would divide his limbs. It harmed him in no place.

After this the tyrant ordered him placed upon a gridiron with fire set beneath it, but immediately a stream came forth from the earth and extinguished the fire.

The tyrant added a frying vessel placed over a fierce fire and had him put in it. Placed in it, Marinus glorified God and said to the tyrant: “You have prepared meat for eating. Now take some portion of yours and eat until the others are prepared.”

As he said these things, dew descended from heaven and extinguished the fire.

He was next sent headfirst into a cauldron full of pitch kindled by fire, so that he would die with his head immersed in it. He voluntarily threw himself into the cauldron, but the cauldron was split into two parts and the pitch poured out. The saint, standing in the middle, glorified God.

Not content, Martianus ordered an arena prepared and had Marinus placed there, and a lion and a leopard sent against him to devour him.

Truly incited, they came out of the cage to the holy boy. The lion clasped his shoulders caressingly, while the leopard lay at his feet.

The tyrant said: “What is this illusion that I see?”

He ordered the beasts returned to their cage. No matter how much they were harassed to do this, they could not be moved from the saint’s feet. But when the saint commanded them, they returned to their place.

The tyrant again had a lioness and a she-bear sent against him. Running toward him, they tore his garments, fell at his feet, and died.

Afterward he had a leopard sent in with a *trigide* [read: *tigride*, tigress]. Climbing to his neck, they embraced him; one of them kissed him, while the other wiped the sweat from his face.

The tyrant also ordered a bull brought in and cauterized on the back so that it would rage more violently, and the boy himself bound to its horns. With its horns burning, the bull did not feel the fire or heed the cautery, but licked God’s saint with its tongue.

After these things Martianus had him placed in a burning pile of wood. The fire touched nothing of him.

Removing him from it, they sent him into a fiery chimney or furnace, but two angels descended to him. He blessed God with them and experienced no pain.

He was then brought to the temple of the idols. When he had prayed, all the gods fell and were reduced to dust.

Seeing this, the Roman people cried: “Truly, great is the Christians’ God.”

Therefore, confounded in every way, Martianus ordered him beheaded.

The exultant saint said: “Come, Father of glory, receive the head of your boy.”

His father and mother also exhorted him to finish his course in a blessed contest, knowing that he would receive the crown of victory.

Having prayed, he signed himself with the cross, gave peace to the brothers, bent his knees, and rendered his spirit to God.

A scoffer, however, struck him when he was already dead and cut off his head.

Martianus ordered his body cast among the bodies of robbers and guarded lest the Christians take it. But a flood of waters arose, together with a multiplication of thunder and lightning. Terrified, the attendants fled, and the faithful took the body and delivered it to burial.

Struck by God with the terrible judgment that worms boiled forth from his mouth, Martianus was compelled to confess that the true God was the Christians’ God, and he expired miserably.

Lucian. § XLV

Lucian, a priest of Antioch, suffered under Emperor Maximinus, who succeeded Diocletian and for some time ruled together with Constantine, as will be said below.

As Vincent relates in the book cited above, Lucian was outstanding in conduct, continence, and learning.

When he had been brought before the judge’s tribunal, the governor said to him: “Why do you, a reasonable and prudent man, follow a sect for which you can give no reason? Or, if there is some reason, let us hear it.”

Then, when permission to speak had been given him, he is said to have delivered a discourse concerning our faith. When it was finished, he added:

“The very place at Jerusalem supports these things, as does the rock of Golgotha, rent beneath the *honore* [read: *onere*, weight] of the gibbet. That cave too, after the gates of hell had been struck down, returned the body reanimated so that it might be borne thence more purely to heaven.

“But if these things, which possess substance upon earth, still seem to you less worthy, receive also an *astimulatorem* [read: *astipulatorem*, faithful supporter] from heaven. I bring forward the sun itself as a witness to these things for you. When it saw this being done by the impious on earth, it hid its light in heaven.

“Search in your annals. You will find that, in the time of Pilate, while Christ was suffering and the sun had fled, darkness interrupted the day.

“If you give no credence to the earth, to heaven, or to the blood of those from whom you seek the truth through torments, how will you believe my words and arguments?”

When by these words he had almost begun to persuade his hearers, he was ordered seized, cast into prison, and killed in an uprising of the people.

Jerome also speaks thus of him in his book *On Illustrious Men*: “Lucian, a most eloquent man and priest of the church of Antioch, labored so greatly in the study of the Scriptures that even now certain copies of the Scriptures are called Lucianic. Treatises of his concerning the faith and brief letters to several people circulate. He suffered at Nicomedia for his confession of Christ under the persecution of Maximinus.”

Eusebius also relates in his *Ecclesiastical History* that there was a venerable woman, beautiful alike in beauty and modesty, of noble lineage and wealthy. She had two daughters, beautiful virgins instructed according to the rule of their mother’s modesty, whom their mother had educated in the fear of the Lord.

When the mother and daughters were sought with the greatest diligence, they arranged their absence in order to turn aside the violence of the storm. Finally found, the mother and daughters were seized by soldiers and pressed to come to Antioch.

As they traveled, the mother said to her daughters: “My sweetest daughters, you know how I educated you in God’s discipline. You know that from your earliest years God has been our father, God our nourisher, and God our teacher. You have loved the good of chastity together with me so much that not even your eye has ever been stained by a more wanton sight.

“Therefore, bodies that even the public air itself scarcely knew are to be prostituted in public brothels. I beg you, daughters, the faith in God within us is not so small that we fear death, nor is chastity so despised that we desire to live with dishonor.

“Rather, if what you hold in all things is pleasing, follow your mother’s example in this as well. Let us anticipate and forestall the assault of the shameless.”

When she saw her daughters inflamed toward this purpose, they came to a certain river situated on their journey. Pretending that they had gone down to the water because of a bodily necessity, while their guards suspected nothing concerning it, they cast themselves into the current of the swift river.

Other virgins, for a similar reason, cast themselves into the waves of the sea at Antioch.

Eusebius relates these things. Under the common law this is in no way lawful, but they did this by the impulse of the Holy Spirit, as Augustine appears to mean in Book I of *The City of God*.

Peter. § XLVI

Peter, bishop of the city of Alexandria, distinguished in all things and perfect in all, a true priest and sacrifice of God, was suddenly seized and, as though by command of Maximinus, beheaded. Several other bishops from Egypt were slain together with him, as Vincent relates in Book XIV, chapter XV.

During the time of his episcopate, Peter never wished to sit in his chair, but sat upon a stool before his chair. Because of this the clergy and people frequently complained against him, but he by no means acquiesced.

For whenever he ascended, a fiery splendor coming forth from the seat itself appeared to him. At its sight the holy man was so enkindled that at times he did not know that he was in the body.

When, during a certain solemnity, the clergy and bishops complained of his so humble seat, he was constrained and, unable to conceal the matter, said: “Why do you afflict my heart? Do you not see the fiery power that flashes from the throne itself, and do you not discern the Spirit gleaming?”

When all heard so great a thing and fell silent with bowed heads, he added: “Believe me, little sons: if you saw what I see, you would now know what priestly power is and what grace dwells within it. Terrified before the presence of its majesty, I do not dare to sit in that chair.”

This bishop, therefore, outstanding among the foremost, spent twelve years in the episcopate of that city. He passed three of them before the persecution and the remaining nine amid diverse kinds of trials.

As he always placed himself in every contest of persecutions, bound himself with the tighter bonds of continence, and nobly persisted in the word of God for the Church’s profit and instruction, Maximinus directed a certain tribune to seize him.

Entering Alexandria, the tribune found Peter celebrating the commemoration of the holy apostles with a multitude of people. He seized him, bound him in chains, and placed him in the prison’s custody.

After several days Maximinus admonished the tribune to punish him as quickly as possible.

Meanwhile, while Peter was kept in prison and all the people of Alexandria watched the prison doors out of love for their shepherd, the unhappy Arius--excommunicated and deposed by blessed Peter because of his erroneous doctrine--learned of Maximinus’s sentence against Saint Peter.

Arius hastened to the church, begging that the clergy and people intercede for him with the bishop, thinking that after Peter’s departure he himself would be elevated as bishop.

Those who had been asked came and began to entreat the blessed bishop on Arius’s behalf.

With a great sigh, the holy bishop replied that Arius was already dead to God and cast from God’s face because he had gravely blasphemed against the essence of the deity, teaching that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit were not of one nature and essence.

Taking two priests, namely Achillas and Alexander, apart from the crowd, he said to them in secret: “Although I am a sinner, I nevertheless know by a heavenly calling that I have been summoned to this contest of martyrdom.

“It is therefore your pious duty to confess God’s mystery, which has been revealed to me: that after my martyrdom you will succeed to my see and episcopate--you first, Achillas, and afterward Alexander.

“At this hour of the night, so that I may disclose to you the whole matter concerning Arius, after I had completed the sacrifice of prayer to God according to solemn custom, behold, suddenly my Lord Christ appeared to me in the appearance of a boy.

“His countenance was so illuminated by the exceeding splendor of his majesty that I could not look upon him. He was clothed in an exceedingly white linen tunic, split from top to bottom. With both hands he drew it together around his breast, in this way somehow covering his nakedness.

“When I saw him, I was seized by excessive fear. At last, comforted, I said to him: ‘Lord, what is this that I see--your tunic split from top to bottom?’

“He answered me: ‘You *vides tractus* [read: *inde tractas*, discuss it] every day, and you do not know how it was torn. Arius did this. He separated from me the people of my inheritance, purchased by my blood.

“‘I command and warn you now not to receive him into communion and not to grant him pardon when those whom he will send come to you with their requests.

“‘You shall make these things I have revealed to you known to the two priests, so that after you they may cast him out by anathematizing him and the people may not be deceived by his error.’”

Peter therefore delivered an exhortation that they should remain in the unity of the catholic faith. Commending them to the Lord in whom they believed, he dismissed them in peace.

Because the people were held around the prison by their exceeding love for him and he could not suitably be brought out of the prison, at midnight the tribune, together with the soldiers, broke through the prison wall. Through an opening in its middle, he had Peter led to the place where he was to be beheaded.

Saint Peter therefore prayed at the tomb of blessed Mark and of his holy successors Anianus, Demetrius, and Theonas. Bending his knees and giving thanks to God for associating him with his martyrs, he extended his neck to the swordsman. Thus struck, he obtained the palm of martyrdom.

Under Licinius. § XLVII

Under Licinius, who ruled together with Constantine, as will be said below, forty soldiers suffered on the seventh day before the Ides of March at Sebaste in *Hermenia* [read: *Armeniae*, Lesser Armenia], under Governor Agricolaus. Their foremost men were Quirion and Candidus.

Candidus said to Agricolaus: “The name imposed upon you is fitting, for you are a rustic flatterer.”

Saint Quirion said to his companions: “Often we few have put many to flight. Now, however, there are three who attack us: Satan, Duke Lysias, and Governor Agricolaus. These three are one, namely in the malice of seduction. Far be it that this one should conquer forty.”

They were ordered pelted with stones, but the attendants, raising the stones, struck one another.

Burning with anger, Duke Lysias took up a stone to strike one of the saints. He brought the stone against the governor’s face and smashed his face.

As the saints stood before the governor’s face, the devil appeared to them holding a sword in his right hand and a dragon in his left. He said in the governor’s ear: “You are mine. Strive!”

[Running heads: Chapter One, Folio 266; Eighth Title.]

Eighth Title: On the Persecution of Diocletian and Maximian

Chapter One (continued)

At Sebaste there was a lake containing much water, which was then exceedingly cold in the winter season. The forty soldiers were placed naked in its midst.

Toward evening a bath was set beside the lake so that, if anyone wished to come to his senses, he might flee to the bath. Soldiers were stationed there as guards, together with the keeper of the keys.

One of the forty, becoming fainthearted, fled to the bath. As soon as he touched the warmth, he immediately died.

Seeing this, the others said as if with one voice: “Do not be angry in the rivers, O Lord.”

The keeper of the keys, however, kept watch and listened while the other guards slept. He saw thirty-nine crowns descending from heaven.

Rousing the guards, he threw his garments in their faces, leapt naked into the lake, and cried: “I too am a Christian.”

Satan, overcome and transforming himself into a man with bound hands upon his knees in everyone’s sight, said: “Woe to me! I have been conquered by these men and made ridiculous before all, because I did not have ministers of one mind.”

The mother of one of them remained with them. Her son, whose name was Melichon, was younger than the others. Fearing for her son, she continually strengthened him.

It was therefore ordered that the legs of all of them be broken. All except the younger one rendered their spirits at the same time.

Their bodies were ordered placed upon two-wheeled carts to be burned. The younger man, however, was left upon the riverbank. His mother took him upon her shoulders and carried him after the others.

While he was being carried, he gave up his spirit. His mother cast his body among the saints.

They were all burned, and their ashes were cast into the river. But they remained and gathered in a steep and rugged place, and the river diminished none of them.

After three days the saints themselves revealed the ashes to the city’s bishop. Taking the clergy and people, the bishop proceeded there. They saw the relics shining in the water like lamps. Water flowed over them without carrying any of them away, and if anything had been left anywhere, it was revealed by its splendor.

All these martyrs were Cappadocians and soldiers, as is written in their passion.

Although they suffered on the fifth day before the Ides of March, their passion is nevertheless announced in the martyrology on the seventh day before the Ides of March.

Concerning these martyrs, who were tormented by diverse tortures, and also concerning the passions of others related above, one must diligently note what Pope Gelasius says in Distinction XV, *Sancta Romana*:

“The deeds of the holy martyrs, which shine with marvelous triumphs of confessions amid the manifold torments of tortures--what Catholic doubts that they endured still greater things in their contests and tolerated them not by their own strength but by God’s grace and assistance?

“Yet, according to ancient authority and custom, they are not read in the holy Roman Church, by reason of a singular caution. For the names of those who wrote them are entirely unknown, and it is thought that either unbelievers or *dictis* [read: *idiotis*, uneducated persons] wrote things superfluous or less fitting than the order of the matter was, as in the acts of Quiricus, Julitta, George, and others of this kind.

“Lest even a slight occasion for mockery arise, they are not read in the holy Roman Church. Nevertheless, together with the aforementioned Church, we venerate with every devotion all the martyrs and their most glorious contests, which are better known to God than to human beings.” Thus far Gelasius.

Chapter Two

After the narration of the passions of very many martyrs that occurred under Diocletian and Maximian and their successors--namely Maximinus, Licinius, and Maxentius--we return to the history of those emperors.

Eusebius speaks thus in Book VIII of the *Ecclesiastical History* concerning Diocletian and Maximian:

When at length, satiated not by reason or humanity but by the very great excess of their cruelty, they began to look back upon the enormity of their crime--cities desolated of citizens, the rights of towns stripped of their inhabitants, fathers bereaved of sons, and parents of children--they turned themselves toward clemency and humanity.

They published an imperial edict that, because it was not right for so many citizens in whom there was an obstinate persuasion of their faith to be delivered to death, it was resolved that thereafter this race of people should by no means be subjected to destruction.

Nevertheless, all who retained this hope of confession had their right eyes dug out with iron and the sinews at the left knee burned. Disabled in those sinews, they were transported through the several provinces to mines of bronze and iron, or to works of the utmost labor.

This was the imperial clemency by which the best citizens were provided for.

Because the Lord had indeed delivered his household to be chastised by a few, but the ministers of bloody savagery raged against many, God’s avenging right hand was immediately present.

It brought those who had formerly governed the empire and the Church in peace with every prosperity into so great a reversal of affairs that the Augustus Diocletian arrived at such vanity and madness that, after laying down the insignia of the kingdom together with his colleague, the Augustus Maximian Herculius, they afterward lived as private persons and plebeians.

Hugh, however, says that Diocletian forced the unwilling Maximian to lay aside the purple and the empire with him, so that, after younger men had been placed over the republic, they themselves might grow old in private dress.

Thus on one day Diocletian at Nicomedia and Maximian at Milan laid down the empire.

Then Galerius Maximinus and Constantius, father of Constantine, who previously had been Caesars, were created Augusti. In two administrations, namely East and West, they divided the Roman Empire.

Galerius Maximinus held Illyricum, Asia, and the East. Constantius, however, a man of the greatest mildness and civility, was content with Gaul and Spain alone and ceded the remaining regions to Galerius.

Galerius Maximinus then chose two Caesars after himself: Maximinus, whom he placed in the East, and Severus, whom he established in Italy; he himself was established in Illyricum.

Eusebius nevertheless says in his *Chronicle* that Galerius began to rule in the year of the Lord 300 and in the year of the world 4,270, and that he held the empire alone for two years.

In the *Ecclesiastical History* he likewise says that the one who was second to the Augustus in honor and afterward also first among his successors was the instigator and standard-bearer of our persecution, namely Galerius.

In the Western Regions. § I

In the western regions Constantius, father of Constantine, governed the empire. He used much clemency toward human beings and the greatest religious devotion toward God.

As Sozomen relates in the *Tripartite History*, this Constantius wished to test certain men in his palace to learn whether they were good and steadfast men.

He commanded that those who would come to sacrifice and worship his gods should remain about him and in his military service. But if they refused, they should depart from the palace, giving thanks that they were by no means punished.

When men of both kinds therefore appeared--some deserters of religion and others preferring divine things to present things--he decided to use as friends and counselors those who had remained faithful and steadfast in the better things.

He expelled the others from his company as effeminate men, believing that those who were such shameful traitors to their own God would never be devoted to a prince.

Thus, as Eusebius says in the place cited above, this Constantius neither stained his kingdom with the blood of the pious through the rage of his colleagues nor, imitating the greatest madness, destroyed our houses of prayer and meeting places by hostile devastation. Rather, he held God's worshipers in veneration and honor.

Therefore, as a religious father, he deservedly left his more religious son Constantine as heir to his allotted kingdom.

As Hugh says, Constantine was established emperor in Britain by God's will while Maximian Galerius was still ruling in the regions of the East.

Licinius, who was Constantine's kinsman, having Constantine's sister as his wife, was by the common decision of all summoned to the empire and proclaimed Augustus, as Eusebius attests in Book VIII of the *Ecclesiastical History*.

This event gravely offended Maximinus, because he was then still regarded merely as Caesar in the regions of the East. Unable to endure it any longer, he violently assumed for himself the name of Augustus.

This Maximinus later advanced to war against Licinius for several years and at last was overcome and killed by Licinius.

Maximian, however--Herculius, according to Eusebius in the place cited above--whom we recorded a little earlier as having been Diocletian's colleague and having laid down the insignia of the empire with him, had usurped the name and dominion of Augustus with the favor of certain men while his son Maxentius held a tyranny in the city of Rome.

After being expelled, he fled to Constantine as to his son-in-law, seeking mercy. Although Constantine received him honorably, Maximian contrived plots against him. Shamefully detected in them, he perished still more shamefully, so that after his death his statues and images were removed and the titles bearing his name were changed in public buildings.

Hugh agrees with this, though he speaks more briefly. He says that the persecutor Maximian Herculius, wishing again to seize the empire he had cast aside, was crushed and extinguished at Massilia by Constantine, who was not yet sole emperor.

Hugh also adds that Galerius--namely the Augustus Maximinus--sent Caesar Severus, whom he had created, to Italy with an army. When Severus had already besieged the city, he was deserted and betrayed through the crime of his soldiers and was killed at Ravenna.

Diocletian, having laid aside the imperial dignity, died at Salona.

The Aforementioned Maxentius. § II

The aforementioned Maxentius, son of Maximian, was made emperor at Rome by the praetorian soldiers and exercised tyranny.

As Eusebius says in the *Ecclesiastical History*, at first, as though prompted by the people's favor toward him, he pretended to be a worshiper of our faith. On this account he ordered persecutions restrained and all injuries warded away from Christians.

But in all his other practices, in his life, or in his conduct, he displayed nothing that would at first appear Christian. He was entangled in so great a filth of shameful deeds and crimes that none of the worst offenses was foreign to his actions.

Finally, he commanded that the wives of senators and especially noble matrons be publicly dragged away and led to his lust. After violating them, he ordered them returned to their husbands; his lust had not so much been satisfied as shifted to another object.

So great a fear had oppressed the leading men and the people that they did not dare openly display even what they bore by force or fear. Groaning, they endured unaccustomed slavery, and fear kept them from thinking anything on behalf of liberty, while he was driven to slaughter not now by anger but by lust.

Finally, on a certain day he commanded his soldiers to go out through the public squares of the whole city and strike down with swords everyone they met, of whatever age and sex.

Innumerable multitudes of the Roman people were cut down by the weapons not of enemies but of citizens.

Senators, and especially those who appeared in the senate-house more distinguished by honors and riches, were punished and proscribed as criminals on fabricated charges.

He also added this summit to his crimes: he cultivated the practice of magic with the greatest zeal. Noble pregnant women were sought to perform its rites. Brought to the deadly ceremonies, they were split through the middle. Their little infants were seized, and their entrails, torn from their bodies, were examined.

Lions too were slaughtered, and by certain wicked contrivances and incantations composed through demonic art, wars were said to be warded off. It was believed that the right and divine sanction of his reign could be preserved through sacrilege.

To all these evils this was also added: all those who had been terrified by tyrannical cruelty throughout the other cities or the countryside, thinking that nothing was safe for their lives, abandoned their farms and went through hidden places and hiding holes.

Under him Catherine suffered, as was said above. It is no objection that he was made emperor at Rome, because afterward he went to the regions of the East. Constantine went against him, overcame and conquered him in war, and killed him.

Maximinus Galerius. § III

In the East and the regions of Egypt, Maximinus Galerius exercised tyranny with similar cruelty and madness in every respect. Each seemed to imitate the other in crimes, and it was uncertain to which one you ought more particularly to award the palms of shameful deeds.

Thus Maximinus, overflowing with pleasures, luxury, and every kind of dissipation, offered the most shameful examples to his soldiers. No town, however small, passed without adultery with noble matrons found in those places or the corruption of virgins.

Such and so great was this man, a public enemy of modesty, honor, justice, and all equity.

He also showed himself an enemy and persecutor of Christians, against whom he exercised such cruelty that he hastened to surpass his predecessors in crime.

He delighted to inflict fires, plates of metal, savage beasts, the depth of the sea, the cutting off of limbs, the digging out of eyes, and particular punishments upon individual members, although they were found more steadfast and strong in enduring than he was ingenious and crafty in devising.

Truly, because he was driven headlong by two most oppressive masters, lust and cruelty, there was at Alexandria a certain virgin named Dorothea. Born of a sufficiently noble family, abounding in immense riches and noble relatives, and possessing such glory of beauty and comeliness that she was believed to be a marvelous and special creation of God, she nevertheless strove to be more beautiful in the religion of her soul and the honor of her life, so that she might persevere as a virgin consecrated to God.

When Maximinus learned that she was a Christian and, according to his decrees, appeared more fit to be subjected to his lust than to punishment, he solicited the virgin for sexual violation through secret messengers.

[Running heads: Chapter Two, Folio 267; Eighth Title.]

Eighth Title: On the Persecution of Diocletian and Maximian

Chapter Two (continued)

Dorothea replied that it was an abomination for her to pollute the temple of her body, which she had consecrated to God, by the worship of idols or by the contagion of lust. She was prepared for death, and it was not fitting for a cruel tyrant to offer anything flattering or gentle.

When he burned with *libidines* [read: *libidine*, lust] for her still more fiercely and, because she had not yielded to words, decided to act by force, the most chaste virgin abandoned all her resources, house, and household. By night she secretly departed with a few most faithful servants and with chastity, her dearest friend, leaving behind the deluded tyrant, vain and mad.

He had attacked very many other noble women and virgins at the same time. Nevertheless, made readier by Dorothea's example for death than for the servitude of lust, he ordered them afflicted with cruel torments.

In this manner Maximinus and Maxentius, in East and West alike, armed as though by one demonic spirit and inflamed by the same vices in equal measure, raged as tyrants.

Eusebius likewise adds in the *Ecclesiastical History*:

After Maximinus's cruelty--*crassata* [read: *grassata*, having raged]--had attacked the Christians for ten years, divine vengeance seized the very author of the crimes.

He who had walked proudly with fat and well-fed flesh was suddenly distended by swollen and suppurating bowels. Then, because a wound arose in the deeper parts of his breast, his entire inward recess of entrails was devoured by a spreading corruption.

Afterward an innumerable multitude of worms also began to boil forth through certain fistulas with *prurulentis* [read: *purulentis*, purulent] passages upon the surface. The stench was so intolerable that absolutely no one, not even any of the physicians, could approach nearer.

Finally, he ordered most of the physicians killed because they could neither cure the disease nor endure the force of the stench.

When one of them stood by, more likely to be slaughtered than to practice medicine, he was inspired by God and said: "Why do you err, emperor, and think that what God inflicts can be withdrawn by human beings?

"This is not a human disease, nor is it cured by physicians. Remember how many things you have done against God's servants and how impious and profane you have shown yourself toward the divine religion, and you will understand whence remedies must be sought for you.

"I indeed can die with the others, but you will not be cured by physicians."

Then Maximinus first understood that he was a mere man. Remembering the enormity of his crimes, he confessed first of all that he had erred and acted impiously, and, as though penitent, began to make satisfaction to God.

He summoned those who obeyed him in their offices, wrote a law, and ordered it issued immediately: not only should persecution against the Christians cease and every injury be restrained, but they should also be permitted to rebuild their churches, so that, attending to their customary worship and entreaties, they might also beseech the Most High God for his health.

Then, as though after a very great storm the sun's splendor had been restored to the lands, the leaders of our people began to frequent assemblies throughout each city, restore churches, hold councils, and renew priestly offices.

Hence there arose immense wonder among the gentiles at so great and sudden a reversal of affairs, so that wonder itself compelled them to confess that the Christians' God was great and the only true God.

But Maximinus allowed our people to persist in peace for six months and no longer. He immediately contrived whatever he could obtain for disturbing it.

First, therefore, he attempted under certain pretexts to prohibit our people from gathering at the cemeteries.

Meanwhile, he believed that he had found the greatest possible occasion in this: at Antioch a certain newly consecrated image of Jupiter had been fashioned through certain magical arts and impure consecrations so as to deceive the eyes of those looking upon it, to appear to display certain wonders, and to utter responses.

This was asserted as certain to everyone and to the emperors themselves, and afterward it was affirmed that everyone had believed it.

That same god was said to have given responses that Christians should not dwell in the cities.

Then the rage of persecution against us was renewed once more. Meanwhile Maximinus, with the greatest urgency, established priests of the images and pontiffs throughout the individual cities and provinces. He enriched them with many honors and gifts and did absolutely everything diligently so as to anticipate everyone with his benefits and thereby make them more eager for the hatred and slaughter of Christians.

Certain acts were fabricated as though they had been conducted before Pilate concerning our Savior. In them every blasphemy against Christ was written down.

He ordered these acts sent by published edict throughout all the provinces of his kingdom and posted in individual cities, villages, and even rural districts. He also commanded that they be handed to the teachers of boys, so that, in place of the things they customarily dictated for meditation or memorization, they should deliver these things to the boys to be committed to memory.

Concerning the Impious Edicts of the Aforementioned Galerius Maximinus. § IV

Concerning the impious edicts of the aforementioned Galerius Maximinus, through whom the Lord inflicted many scourges upon the persecutors of the Christians, the same Eusebius says in Book IX of the *Ecclesiastical History*:

In a short time the most cruel tyrant stirred up so much against us that we suffered things far more savage and harsher than those before.

For when had the embassies of provinces and cities come against us? When had so many and such great imperial edicts arrived that the laws issued against us were even ordered cut into bronze tablets? When had schoolboys been ordered, for our reproach, to practice a composition concerning Pilate and Jesus, full of insults and blasphemies, and to recite it throughout the whole day?

In these laws, which he boasted would remain forever and had arrogantly inscribed in bronze against us, he declared that since the Christians had been expelled from the cities, the climate of the air had become favorable and the fertility of the earth more abundant.

Therefore, he said, it was rightly resolved, in gratitude to the immortal gods, that this hateful race of people be expelled from every place in which their majesty was worshiped.

God's providence did not delay. While the impious edicts were still being sent throughout certain more distant cities, it curbed the arrogance of the tyrannical declaration, which had described joyful harvests and fields rich in fruit because the Christians had fled.

It restrained the rain in the clouds and left the crops arid and rendered sterile. The grass of the fields also withered, and not only did it deny fruit to human beings but fodder also to livestock. A foul and loathsome famine raged everywhere.

The climate of the air, which he had described as serving his impious actions, was changed into such corruption that human bodies were filled with the worst sores, which are called sacred fire, and also with those called carbuncles. They occupied people's faces and eyes, so that if anyone escaped death from them, he was deprived of his sight.

Immense multitudes of men and women, and especially of children, also fell in heaps from other pestilential diseases.

The same Eusebius adds another thing to these evils: the Armenian people, formerly most useful and most friendly to the Roman people, was compelled by him to change the rite of the Christian religion, to which it was most devoted, into the worship of idols and to venerate demons in place of God.

Friends became enemies and allies became adversaries. They prepared to defend themselves by force against his wicked edicts and voluntarily to make war.

All these things, heaped up together, foolishly demanded from him the penalties of his arrogance, because he had boasted that, through the flight and persecution of the Christians, peace, an abundance of all things, and even a temperate climate served him.

Therefore, while he and his army were pressed violently and sharply in the Armenian war, a dreadful famine pitilessly ravaged the people throughout cities and villages.

In the cities such great multitudes fell each day that not even places for burial could be found.

Very many walked about so exhausted that they were thought more like images lacking flesh than human beings. With a hideous color and eyes sunken deep, they *mutabundi* [read: *nutabundi*, tottered] here and there in body and walked as though about to fall at any moment.

Meanwhile, throughout all public squares and narrow streets everything was filled with the corpses of the dead. There was no one at all to bury them, since even those who seemed still to survive were weakened by disease and as though about to die immediately.

From this arose a pitiable spectacle, so that very many were devoured by dogs.

This was the reward for Maximinus's laws, for his arrogance and pride, and for his judgment concerning the Christians. This was the majesty of his piety toward God and of the religion he asserted had been delivered from heaven.

Those who seemed to survive, pressed by need, all began to cry out and voluntarily to invoke the piety and mercy of the Christians. Those whom a little earlier they had driven as exiles from country and home they now humbly entreated, according to their usual practice, to bring them assistance and food.

The peoples on our side, over whom--what was most marvelous to everyone--by God's grace neither famine nor plague had held dominion in any respect, were mindful of no injury at all.

Instructed by the Lord's precepts to show their accustomed mercy toward enemies, each strove to contribute food according to his ability and to support and refresh those who were perishing.

They began not only to share food with them but also to share their affection. From this even small things seemed sufficient to the needy, because they were offered with great loving piety.

They also cared, by diligent and frequent visitation, for those who labored under the contagion of disease, whom none of the gentiles or even their relatives visited. They suffered no harm at all through the contagion, since divine grace surrounded them.

They also furnished burial for the corpses of the dead and fulfilled the dues that belong to nature.

Thus, in a short time, by the mere entry of the Christians through villages and cities, the appearance of the evils was changed. By facts and deeds themselves, it wrote in everyone's hearts that the Christians' religion was true and pious, much more tenaciously than the tyrant had cut into bronze tablets that it was false.

Then, therefore, that which is written in Exodus appeared to be fulfilled: namely, that the Egyptians had palpable and thick darkness, but the children of Israel had light in all their dwellings.

Concerning Constantine's Victory over Maxentius, Who Had Usurped the Empire for Himself. § V

Hugh of Fleury speaks thus concerning Constantine's victory against Maxentius, who had usurped the empire for himself:

When Constantine was passing the seventh year of his reign, he prepared for war against Maxentius, who, as was said, was adorned with the worst conduct. Constantine was not yet baptized, and his colleague Licinius cooperated with him.

As he proceeded there and considered many things within himself concerning the necessity of the impending war and the approaching battle, he saw in sleep the sign of the holy cross shining in heaven with a fiery radiance, and angels standing beside him and saying: "Constantine, in this sign you shall conquer."

Cassiodorus relates this more fully in Book I of the *Tripartite History*, saying:

Eusebius Pamphilus relates that he heard the emperor himself say with an oath that, around midday, when the sun was now declining, he saw the sign of the cross made from light and an inscription joined to it saying, "Conquer in this."

The emperor himself and the soldiers who were then with him saw it. For, he says, when he was going somewhere with the army, this miracle was shown to him and to them alike.

While he considered what he should do, night came on. As he slept, Christ appeared to him with the sign he had seen in heaven and ordered that an image of that sign be made, which would be an aid in the encounters of battles.

When there was now no need for an interpreter, but it had been openly shown to the emperor what it was fitting to believe concerning God, as soon as day came he summoned Christ's priests and consulted them concerning the doctrine.

They brought forward the sacred books, spoke concerning Christ, and confirmed their statements from the prophets.

They said that the sign which had appeared to him was the trophy of Christ's victory against hell.

Therefore Constantine, as Hugh says, painted the sign he had seen upon the military standards. He then transformed the standard they call the *labatum* [read: *labarum*] into the shape of a cross. Thus instructed and armed, with great hope of victory he hastened on his way to fight against Maxentius.

Maxentius came out against him in hostility across a bridge composed of boats. He had ordered the river covered with boats arranged as a *discipulam* [read: *decipulam*, trap] and leveled by planks placed upon them.

But while each side fought and Maxentius's armies were laid low by the power of the holy cross, Maxentius, wishing to return to the city in flight, mounted the bridge composed of boats, as we said.

Suddenly the boats sank, and he, by the fall of his horse, was submerged in the depth of the riverbed.

Thus, by the death of his wicked head, he redeemed the slaughter the war was going to bring.

Constantine then entered the city of Rome in triumph. Thus the empire of the whole West as far as the ocean came to Constantine and Licinius.

When Constantine had been received in the city, the senate immediately erected images in honor of his triumph. Constantine had the standard of the holy cross depicted in his right hand and an inscription beneath it declaring this to be the *vincibile* [read: *invincibile*, invincible] sign of the living God.

At the Same Time. § VI

At the same time, as Eusebius says in the *Ecclesiastical History*, Licinius also cooperated with Constantine, for he had not yet fallen into that madness into which he later slipped.

Knowing and professing that God was the author of all good things for them, they established a law by one and the same decree. In it they extolled the Christians' God with the fullest praises, professed him to be the author of every virtue and work, and confessed that he had granted them victory over the tyrant and therefore that veneration and worship ought to be offered to him by all.

They also sent this law to Maximinus, who then ruled in the regions of the East and seemed to seek their friendship.

[Running heads: Chapter Two, Folio 268; Eighth Title.]

Eighth Title: On the Persecution of Diocletian and Maximian

Chapter Two (continued)

Terrified by the emperors' great deeds, Maximinus did not dare resist, even if the things being written seemed contrary to him and foreign to the purpose of his mind.

Yet, yielding unwillingly to another's authority, he was ashamed to appear to have come to this position. Therefore, at first still fierce in mind, he granted only what fear extorted and changed his disposition in no respect, until divine vengeance brought fitting blows upon him.

For, although he had presumed upon the name of Augustus or the empire contrary to his merit, he was also exalted against his partners in the kingdom, in whom royal training shone with integrity of conduct and the grace of religion.

He therefore first dared to set himself before them in honor. Not long afterward, breaking the treaty, he attempted to make war upon Licinius.

Concerning Licinius's Victory over Maximinus

As Hugh of Fleury says, Licinius therefore departed from Rome and prepared to defeat him.

When Maximinus's army had now fallen by Licinius's sword, the part that survived saw its emperor stripped of divine favor and submitted itself to Licinius.

Maximinus himself, Galerius, when he saw that he had been deceived by his gods and abandoned by human beings, fled shamefully and faithlessly.

But while he was restoring his army and wished to engage a second time with the enemy, he was seized by pains in his internal organs and began to be so violently tormented that he could not even lie upon a bed.

"Then," says Eusebius in the place cited above, "the gluttonous man who was always filled with wine could not now receive even food to taste with the tips of his lips, or take wine so far as its odor.

"Thus, when his flesh had been consumed by hunger and dryness, the unhappy man accomplished only this: placed at the end of his life, he confessed that God's judgment was just and that he deservedly paid the penalties of his crimes."

At last, after first losing his sight through the disease, and then pondering still more what impiety he had committed against Christ, he made an end of living.

After the death of the man who had exercised unheard-of cruelty against the Christians and now practiced a feigned pardon, the condition of the churches began to be restored under the open permission of lawful princes, more splendid even than it had been before.

Then repentance for their final savagery came upon the enemies of the faith, so that their very appearance in public shamed them.

For first Maximinus himself was pronounced a tyrant and impious man, hateful to God and human beings, by imperial edicts.

His painted panels or bronze images were also ordered destroyed and cast down; some were effaced after being daubed with black colors.

His judges, whom he had used as ministers of crimes under tyrannical rule, were ordered killed by the lawful princes as high priests of his impiety and cruelty.

To these were also added his sons, whom he had already assumed as partners in the empire. Licinius likewise afflicted with equal punishments his relatives and those who, on account of kinship of this kind, had polluted themselves as most oppressive men toward citizens and provincials.

Concerning Licinius's Envy of Constantine's Glory, His Persecution of the Christians, and the War He Began against Constantine, in Which Constantine Defeated and Killed Him. § VII

Finally, says Hugh of Fleury, it is incredible to relate how broadly throughout the whole world the Church grew in a short time through Constantine's zeal, and with how great a concern he burned for the expense of churches that were to be built.

For while churches were being built throughout his whole empire by public edict, he himself contributed money most abundantly from the royal treasuries for carrying this out.

Thus, while by such simplicity, as Eusebius says in the *Ecclesiastical History*, the glory of the churches advanced before God and human beings, and a certain image of heavenly things was held upon earth, the religious prince Constantine, growing each day in faith and religion, was filled with ineffable joy at the churches' advancement, as will be said more fully in the following title.

Because of all these things he was now honored by everyone not as an emperor but as a father.

Unhappy envy did not endure either that our people's peace should increase through joyful successes or that his concern for us should continue undisturbed.

For Licinius, who at first, as though because of the integrity of his conduct, had not only been summoned by Constantine as though into partnership in the kingdom but also received into kinship through union--for he had taken Constantine's sister in marriage--saw that Emperor Constantine ruled everyone not so much by force and fear as by love and religion, and that he was held in the highest veneration by all mortals, especially Christians.

Struck with envy, Licinius prepared to deceive him by secret plots. But Constantine, wholly trusting in God, protected himself against everything with that sign which had been shown to him from heaven. Through it he could be made subject to no plots.

Licinius, angered because Constantine was aided by the Christians' prayers and therefore remained safe, was moved by foolish wrath. He declared open war upon the emperor, polluted the faith and fellowship of the kingdom, and prepared to persecute our people with a private and particular hatred.

Marking this as a grievance, he said that the Christians kept vigil in their solemnities and in the prayers handed down to them by command not so much for him as for Constantine.

Thus the situation was reversed. The man who a little earlier had punished most sharply those who in the time of the tyrants attempted anything cruel against the Christians now turned his weapons against our people.

First of all, he ordered any Christian to depart from his palace and be stripped of every military office.

After this the plague advanced, and by tyrannical edicts he decreed that all who professed themselves Christians should be cast into prison. Yet he immediately found something in which he might surpass the earlier cruelty.

He added to the edict that no one should bring food or drink to anyone sent into prison.

Finally, all who refused to acquiesce in polluted sacrifices were to be delivered not to torturers but to butchers, so that, suspended after the manner of pigs, they might cut them in pieces and cast the divided parts into the sea as food for fishes.

He also ordered that the churches which he himself had already caused to be built in his time by common edicts should in turn be overthrown.

Moreover, if any laws had been enacted well and honorably among the Romans by their ancestors, he overturned them into a barbarous practice.

He began to pursue avarice insatiably, renew property assessments, and fill with taxes lands empty of cultivators.

If he had sent any men into exile after they had been beset by hostile factions, he tore their wives from lawful marriages and joined them to his slaves and attendants.

He himself also, contrary to the powers of his age, began to delight in adulteries and the corruption of virgins.

After Licinius, says Hugh of Fleury, girded with arms of this kind, began to exercise tyranny, Constantine, adorned with true virtues, prepared to go against so many and such great shameful deeds.

There was no difficulty in the victory where the cause was more just, the faith purer, and the courage more eminent.

After battle was therefore joined in Bithynia [read: Thrace, near Tzirallum], Licinius was beheaded at Thessalonica.

Thus, when Licinius had been cast down and extinguished, Constantine, with marvelous success in wars, alone obtained the solidity of the Roman Empire.

Licinius died in the fourteenth year of his reign and about the sixtieth year of his life, a man of very severe spirit and a forceful tamer of eunuchs and courtiers. He called them the moths and mice of the palace.

Concerning the Contradictions That Appear about Constantine's Deeds and Times. § VIII

First concerning Constantine himself, diverse writers hold various opinions about his faith and baptism.

Jerome, in the addition to the chronicles of Eusebius of Caesarea, says that at the end of his life Constantine had himself baptized by Eusebius, the Arian bishop of Nicomedia, and that he himself fell into the heresy of the Arians.

Ambrose speaks thus in his book *On the Death of Theodosius*: "Although the grace of baptism, given to Constantine at the end, remitted all his sins, nevertheless, because he was the first of the emperors to believe and afterward left the inheritance of faith to the rulers, he merited a place of great merit before God."

From the deeds or legend of blessed Pope Sylvester, which is very widely known and regarded as authentic, it is held that, when Constantine had been infected with leprosy and could not be healed by the art of medicine, he was baptized at Rome by Pope Sylvester and thereby cleansed of the leprosy, as had been shown to him in a vision.

This third opinion is commonly held as the more pious one.

For Ambrose, who says that Constantine was of great merit before God, contradicts the first writers' claim that he fell into heresy. A heretic is of no merit but is assigned to eternal damnation.

Therefore Pope Nicholas, writing to Emperor Louis, exhorts him to imitate Constantine, saying: "Just as you appear to be made equal to him in faith, religion, and equality of honor, so strive to be equaled to him in humility and devotion," Distinction XCVI, chapter *In Scripturis*.

Gregory also calls him "of pious memory," which is not said of a heretic, Cause XI, Question I, chapter *Sacerdotibus*.

Emperor Marcian also says: "We wish to attend the synod, following the example of the most religious prince Constantine, to confirm the faith, not to display power, so that, when the truth has been found, the multitude drawn by depraved doctrines may no longer be at variance," Distinction XCVI, chapter *Nos ad Fidem*.

One who believes against the Christian religion cannot be called religious.

Eusebius also asserts in the *Ecclesiastical History*, as Vincent reports in Book XIV of the *Speculum Historiale*, that Emperor Constantine was baptized by Sylvester and cleansed of leprosy.

Marianus also says in his *Chronicle* that the Greeks call him a saint, have assumed him into the catalogue of saints, and celebrate a feast concerning him.

Isidore also says this.

Therefore, through a fault of writers or falsifiers--which is worse--it came about that this was said concerning Constantine which is most certain concerning his son Constantius: that he was an Arian, as will be said below.

The second doubt or second contradiction concerns the discovery of the cross.

In *On Consecration*, Distinction III, chapter *Crucis*, Pope Eusebius says that it was found while he presided in the See of Peter. Hence he commands that the very day on which it was found, namely the third day of May, be celebrated.

But in the legend of blessed Sylvester it is read that Helena, Constantine's mother, went to Jerusalem after her son Constantine obtained the empire and was baptized by Sylvester.

Pope Eusebius was immediately before Pope Melchiades, who was immediately followed by Sylvester in the supreme pontificate.

Nevertheless, the common opinion is that Helena, Constantine's mother, found the cross and that she went to Jerusalem for this reason, as the Church also sings and as will be said below.

If this is so, as appears, then what is said in *On Consecration*, Distinction III, chapter *Crucis*, erred in the name Eusebius.

Rufinus also, in Book X, which he added to Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History*, says that the cross was found by Constantine's mother Helena at Jerusalem, where she had gone to find it.

It could be said that after Constantine gained victory through the power of the cross against the tyrant Maximinus [read: Maxentius], although he had not then been converted to the faith, his mother Helena nevertheless went to Jerusalem to seek the cross.

This discovery occurred in the time of Pope Eusebius, a short time before Sylvester and Constantine's conversion. For Eusebius immediately preceded Pope Melchiades, whom Sylvester succeeded, and those two, namely Eusebius and Melchiades, held the papacy for only a short time.

Vincent says in Book XIV, chapter XXIII, of the *Speculum Historiale*: "It is marvelous how the book of the deeds of the Roman pontiffs composed by Pope Damasus disagrees in many respects with other historians.

"For Eusebius of Caesarea, who was a writer of those things which he saw and heard--for he lived in Constantine's time--says in his chronicles that Pope Eusebius lived in the time of Galerius and sat only six months, and after him Melchiades three years.

"Hence it does not appear that the cross was found under the private Eusebius but under Constantine."

Rufinus also, in Book X of the *Ecclesiastical History*, after the Council of Nicaea celebrated under Constantine, relates that the holy cross of the Lord was sought and found by Saint Helena.

The third doubt concerns the donation made to the Church by Constantine, concerning which Distinction XCVI, chapter *Constantinus*, speaks. But that chapter is not contained in the ancient Decretals.

Therefore, what and how much he donated is not well established.

It nevertheless appears that at least that which Louis, king of the Franks and emperor, promised under oath to Pope Paschal and his successors was donated. This is treated in Distinction LXIII, chapter *Ego Ludovicus*.

Otto, the first emperor of the Germans, confirms it to Pope John in the same distinction, chapter *Tibi*.

But a question is still debated among canonists and jurists whether that donation had effect. The canonists affirm it altogether, and the theologians affirm it still more.

They also say that it was not simply a donation but rather a restitution to the Church of its own right, since all things belong to Christ's dominion, whose vicar upon earth is the pope; the pope left the remaining things to temporal lords.

Flourishing in Those Times. § IX

In those times Pamphilus, a priest of Caesarea, flourished, outstanding in sanctity and conduct as well as in learning.

He had gathered such a quantity of books in his library that he surpassed all who had preceded him in this labor. Indeed, nearly thirty thousand volumes are said to have been gathered in it, as Jacobus de Columna relates.

Jerome speaks thus of him in his book *On Illustrious Men*: "Pamphilus, priest and intimate friend of Eusebius of Caesarea, burned with such divine love for a library that he copied with his own hand the greater part of Origen's volumes, which are held to this day in the library at Caesarea.

"Among the Twelve Prophets I found twenty-five volumes written by his hand. I embrace and preserve them with such joy that I think I possess the *Cresi* [read: *Croesi*, riches of Croesus]."

Pamphilus also wrote an apology for Origen and was crowned with martyrdom at Caesarea under Emperor Maximinus.

[Running heads: Chapter Two, Folio 269; Eighth Title.]

Eighth Title: On the Persecution of Diocletian and Maximian

Chapter Two (continued)

After Sigebert, Vincent of Beauvais of the Order of Preachers continued the history as far as the year of the Lord 1242, while relating past deeds more fully in the *Speculum Historiale*. After him Jacobus de Columna of the same Order continued it as far as the year of the Lord 1340.

Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea in Palestine, flourished in Constantine's time. As Jerome says in his book *On Illustrious Men*, he was a most zealous student of the divine Scriptures and, together with the martyr Pamphilus, a most diligent investigator of the divine library. He published innumerable volumes.

Among them are ten books on Isaiah. Against Porphyry, who, as some think, was writing in Sicily at the same time, he wrote twenty-five [read: thirty] books; six in defense of Origen; most learned commentaries upon the one hundred and fifty Psalms; three books on the life of Pamphilus; the books of the *Ecclesiastical History*; the canons of the chronicles; and a history of every kind.

Vincent adds in Book XIV, chapter XC, of the *Speculum Historiale*:

The aforementioned Eusebius wrote a history of the chronicles from the first year of Abraham as far as the year of the Lord 300.

Jerome, translating it from Greek into Latin, continued it farther, as far as the year of the Lord 380. Sigebert of Gembloux later continued it as far as the year of the Lord 1113.

Eusebius himself composed the *Ecclesiastical History* in ten books, from the Ascension of the Lord to Constantine's victory against Maxentius.

Rufinus, priest of Aquileia, translated those books of the *Ecclesiastical History* from Greek into Latin. Because the tenth contained very little in narrated deeds, he omitted those things that seemed superfluous, joined whatever history it contained to the ninth book, and himself wrote and added the following two books, namely Books X and XI.

He continued the history from Constantine's times after the persecution as far as the times of the Augustus Theodosius.

Moreover, as is read, the same Eusebius included in twenty books the passions of martyrs, bishops, confessors, and sacred virgins from almost all provinces.

Among the number of those pontiffs was Saint Sylvester, bishop of the city of Rome, whose life was translated from Greek into Latin by someone unknown to me. Thus far Vincent.

Jerome, writing to Chromatius and Heliodorus, relates that when the Augustus Constantine had entered Caesarea and the bishop of that city was told to request some benefits that would profit the church of Caesarea, Bishop Eusebius is read to have replied that the church, enriched by its own resources, was compelled by no necessity to request benefits for the church of Caesarea.

He nevertheless had one immovable desire: that, concerning whatever human acts had been done anywhere in the republic against God's saints, successive judges throughout the whole Roman world should, by diligent investigation, examine the public records.

They should extract from the archives themselves which martyr, under which judge, in which province or city, on what day, and by what passion had obtained the palm of perseverance, and by royal command send the material to Eusebius himself.

Hence it came about that, proving himself a suitable reporter, he composed the ecclesiastical history of almost all the martyrs.

Concerning this Eusebius, Distinction XX, *Sancta Romana*, says thus:

"Although Eusebius of Caesarea was lukewarm in the first book of his narrative, and afterward he composed one book in praise and defense of Origen the schismatic, nevertheless, on account of their singular knowledge of matters that pertain to instruction, we do not say that they should be rejected altogether."

In the same place it also says: "We bring forward with distinguished praise the paschal work of the venerable man Sedulius, who described the Gospel in heroic verse. Likewise, we do not reject the laborious work of Juvencus, but marvel at it."

Around Those Times. § X

Around those times Lactantius shone forth. Jerome writes concerning him in his book *On Illustrious Men*:

Firmianus, who is also called Lactantius, a disciple of Arnobius, was summoned with Flavius the grammarian, whose book concerning medicine composed in verse survives. He taught rhetoric at Nicomedia and, because of a lack of pupils in a Greek city, devoted himself to writing.

We have his *Symposium*, which he wrote as a young man in Africa; an *Adeporicum* [read: *Hodoeporicum*, travel poem] from Africa as far as Nicomedia, written in *exametris* [read: *hexametris*, hexameter] verse; another book entitled *The Grammarian*; and the most beautiful book *On the Wrath of God*.

To his student Demetrius he wrote a book *On the Workmanship of God*, or *On the Formation of the Human Being*, and to the same man two books of letters. To Probus he wrote three books of letters; to Severus two books of letters; one book *On the Persecution*; and likewise seven books of the *Divine Institutes against the Gentiles*. Thus far Jerome.

In the aforementioned book of the *Institutes*, Lactantius most beautifully refutes the gentiles' errors concerning the plurality of gods. He most lucidly proves the immortality of the soul and God's providence against the Epicureans. He treats at length of the Father and of his incarnate Son.

He says nothing concerning the Holy Spirit, whence it appears that he did not know the Holy Spirit to exist.

In the final book of those *Institutes*, he shows himself to be among those who said that Christ, with his saints after the resurrection, would rejoice in bodily pleasures for a thousand years. This is determined to be a heresy in Cause XXIV, Question III, the penultimate chapter.

But because in that time this had not yet been determined by the Church, perhaps in this matter he and the others who held this opinion, drawing it from the authority of John's *Apocalypse* but not understanding it correctly, were for that time excused from heresy.

Jerome says that in extreme old age this Lactantius was the teacher in Gaul of Caesar Cripsus [read: Crispus], Constantine's son, who afterward was killed by his father.

In that time also, as Vincent attests at the end of Book XIV of the *Speculum Historiale*, there was the philosopher Porphyry. At first a gentile, he afterward became a Christian and then apostatized from the faith.

For, having been beaten by certain Christians at Caesarea in Palestine and not bearing the injury, he abandoned Christianity.

Thus Eusebius reproved him when he destroyed his arguments. For this Porphyry wrote against us, and Eusebius and Apollinaris replied to him, refuting his errors.

After a distinguished volume had been sent to Constantine, Publilius Optatianus Porfyrius--not the philosopher Porphyry--was recalled from exile.

Augustine, however, in his book *The City of God*, more forcefully destroys the falsehoods of his doctrine than the others. He also calls Porphyry the most learned of the philosophers but the Christians' most bitter enemy.

Jacobus, surnamed the Wise, bishop of the city of Nisibis in Persia, also illuminated the Church with the light of sanctity and learning.

Jerome commends him thus in his book *On Illustrious Men*: "Jacobus of Nisibis is acknowledged, at whose prayers the city was often delivered from danger."

He wrote many things: concerning the faith against all heresies; concerning charity; prayer; love toward one's neighbor; the resurrection; life after death; humility; penance; Christ, that he is God's Son and consubstantial with the Father; chastity; the kingdom of the Persians; and other subjects.

The source says that he was crowned with martyrdom under Maximian [read: he was a confessor under Maximinus and died under Constantius].

Colophon

The First Historical Part of Lord Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence, of the Order of Preachers, ends happily. Praise be to God.

[Running head: Eighth Title.]

Register of the First Historical Part of Lord Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence

A

Adam, raised up in the state of innocence, was corrupted after the fall and condemned to death. Part I, Title I, Chapter I, at the beginning and in the following section.

Noah's ark was built thus at God's command. Part I, Title I, Chapter II.

The ark is explained figuratively and morally. In the same place, section I.

Asia: whence it is named, and from what the provinces belonging to it took their origin. Part I, Title I, Chapter III, section I.

Africa, the third part of the world: whence it is named, and concerning its provinces. Part I, Title I, Chapter III, section III.

Aram died thus. Part I, Title I, Chapter III, section V.

Abraham journeyed at the Lord's command and left his native land. Part I, Title II, Chapter I.

Abraham was tested in the sacrifice of his son Isaac, whom he loved. In the same place, section VII.

Apis, son of Phoroneus, was the husband of Isis; according to others, Isis is said to have been the sister of Phoroneus. Part I, Title II, Chapter I, section IX.

When and how the Ark of the Covenant was made. Part I, Title II, Chapter IV, section IV.

Abdercis [read: Abderas], king of Crete, flourished. Part I, Title II, Chapter IV, section X.

Avidis, exposed and miraculously nourished, obtained the Cretan kingdom from King Gargaris. Part I, Title II, Chapter IV, section X.

The Athenian kingdom arose. Part I, Title II, Chapter IV, section X.

Archilogus [read: Archilochus] and [conjunction supplied] Simonides, poets [plural supplied], flourished. Part I, Title III, Chapter IX, section XVI.

A certain ring that was found made its possessor invisible. Part I, Title III, Chapter IX, section XVI.

Arion, the Lesbian lyre-player, was saved from shipwreck. Part I, Title III, Chapter IX, section XVII.

Artaxerxes began to reign. Part I, Title IV, Chapter I, section V.

Anaxagoras flourished. Part I, Title IV, Chapter I, section XI.

Artaxerxes, surnamed Longimanus, reigned. Part I, Title IV, Chapter I, section XVI.

Alcibiades, the disciple of Socrates, flourished. Part I, Title IV, Chapter I, section XXI.

Artaxerxes Mnemon, son of Darius, is called Ahasuerus in the Book of Esther. Part I, Title IV, Chapter I, section XXIII.

Archytas of Tarentum flourished. Part I, Title IV, Chapter I, section XXVI.

Alexander the Great reigns. Part I, Title IV, Chapter II, throughout; and concerning his death, in the same place, section XV.

Aristotle, Alexander's teacher, flourished. Part I, Title IV, Chapter III, in the main text.

Apuleius, a disciple of Plato. Part I, Title IV, Chapter III, section I.

Anaximenes the orator, composer of a history of Alexander, flourished. Part I, Title IV, Chapter III, section IV.

The temple of Apollo situated at Delphi is described. Part I, Title IV, Chapter III, section V.

Arcesilaus the philosopher flourished. Part I, Title IV, Chapter IV, section VII.

Aratus the astrologer flourished. Part I, Title IV, Chapter IV, section VII.

Antiochus Theos reigned in Syria. Part I, Title IV, Chapter IV, section X.

Antiochus the Great, hostile to the Jews, reigned. Part I, Title IV, Chapter IV, section XI.

Antiochus Epiphanes reigned in Syria. Part I, Title IV, Chapter IV, section XII. He dies thus, section XV.

Aristobulus was appointed governor of Judea. Part I, Title IV, Chapter IV, section XIX.

Queen Alexandra reigns. Part I, Title IV, Chapter IV, section XX.

Antipater the Idumean, father of Herod the Ascalonite, reigns. Part I, Title IV, Chapter IV, section XXI.

At the cry of a goose, the Capitol at Rome is saved from its enemies. Part I, Title IV, Chapter V, section IX.

The apostles were first called thus by Jesus, in addition to the number of the disciples. Part I, Title V, Chapter I, sections VI and X.

The Apocalypse is expounded concerning the mystical body of the Church Militant. Part I, Title VI, Chapter I.

Anastasius, a heretical emperor, ruled. Part I, Title VI, Chapter I, section VII.

The Acts of the Apostles are recounted summarily in historical form. Part I, Title VI, Chapter II.

The altar of the unknown God is explained. Part I, Title VI, Chapter II, section XI.

Andrew the apostle lived in this manner and was crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VI, Chapter IX.

Apollinaris was sent to Ravenna by blessed Peter. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XXVI, section II.

Antonius, bishop of Meaux, a disciple of blessed Dionysius. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XXVIII, section I.

Hadrian, the Aelian emperor, reigned. Part I, Title VII, Chapter IV, in the main text.

Aquila the orator, the second translator of the Mosaic law after the Seventy, flourished. Part I, Title VII, Chapter IV, in the main text near the end.

Pope Alexander governed the Church thus. Part I, Title VII, Chapter V.

Pope Anicetus instituted these things to be done. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section I.

England first came to the faith. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section I, at the end.

Antoninus Pius, a tyrant, succeeded Hadrian in the empire. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section VII.

Apollonius the Stoic flourishes. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section VII; and in section XI he is consecrated by martyrdom.

Apollinaris of Asia, bishop of Hierapolis. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section X.

Aurelius Commodus, emperor. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, sections XI and XIII.

Antoninus, a butcher of the saints, is converted and publicly confesses Christ. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section XIII.

Antoninus Caracalla was made emperor. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section XIV.

Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem. Part I, Title XII [read: Title VII], Chapter VI, section XV.

Alexander the tyrant-emperor dies thus. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section XVII, at the end.

Pope Antherus is elected thus. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VII, section II.

Agatha is consecrated by martyrdom. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VII, section V.

Abdon and Sennen are crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VII, section VIII.

Apollonia the virgin is crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VIII, section X.

Astirius, or Asterius, is crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VIII, section XI.

Emperor Aurelian governed. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VIII, section XIII.

Agapitus is consecrated by martyrdom. Part I, Title VII, Chapter IX, section III.

Agricola and Vitalis are crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, section XII.

Anastasia, a noble Roman woman, writes to Chrysogonus, and so forth. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, section XIV.

Afra is converted and crowned with martyrdom together with her companions. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, section XVIII.

Hadrian is crowned with martyrdom together with Natalia his wife. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, section XXX.

Agnes the virgin is crowned with martyrdom at Rome. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, section XXXIX.

Antonius is crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, section XLII.

B

Babylon is besieged and destroyed. Part I, Title III, Chapter IV, section II.

The character of the Brahmans shines forth from the letter sent to Alexander. Part I, Title IV, Chapter II, section XIII.

The Bible is translated from the Hebrew language into Greek by seventy chosen men. Part I, Title IV, Chapter IV, section IV.

Brennus, leader of the Gauls, was defeated by the Greeks in a wretched disaster. Part I, Title IV, Chapter IV, section V.

The cruel Samnite war against the Romans. Part I, Title IV, Chapter V, section XI.

The war of the Tarentines against the Romans. Part I, Title IV, Chapter V, section XI.

The Punic wars, that is, those of the Carthaginians against the Romans. Part I, Title IV, Chapter V, section XIV and the following sections.

The Macedonian war waged by the Romans against King Philip. Part I, Title IV, Chapter V, section XVIII.

The threefold servile, otherwise called social, war of the Romans. Part I, Title IV, Chapter V, section XXI and the following sections.

The second Macedonian war. Part I, Title IV, Chapter V, section XXII.

The exceedingly tumultuous war of the Egyptians against the Romans. Part I, Title IV, Chapter V, section XXVI.

The Mithridatic war arose against the Romans. Part I, Title IV, Chapter V, section XXVII.

The civil wars of the Romans arose from this cause. Part I, Title IV, Chapter V, section XXVIII.

The wars of Pompey against Julius Caesar. Part I, Title IV, Chapter V, section XXXI.

Baldwin, brother of Godfrey, reigned triumphantly in the Holy Land. Part I, Title VI, Chapter I, section XV.

Barnabas, the companion of blessed Paul in preaching, was illustrious in this manner. Part I, Title VI, Chapter II, section IX, and Chapter XVIII.

Bartholomew lived thus and was crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XII.

Basilides, the heresiarch, dwelt at Alexandria. Part I, Title VII, Chapter IV, in the main text near the end.

Blandina, martyr. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section V.

Basilides the philosopher flourished. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section VII.

Basilla the virgin was converted by Eugenia. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section XX.

Beryllus, a heretical bishop, was corrected by Origen and came to his senses. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section XX.

Balbinus ruled the empire with Maximus Pupienus. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VII, in the main text at the end.

Benignus the priest ended his life in martyrdom. Part I, Title VII, Chapter IX, section II.

Babylas is crowned with martyrdom together with three boys. Part I, Title VII, Chapter IX, section IV.

Boniface, a Roman, was suddenly made a martyr. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, section VII.

Blasius the bishop is crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, section X.

Barbara the virgin is crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, section XV.

C

Codrus, king of the Athenians, underwent death alone so that his people might triumph. Part I, Title II, Chapter IV, section X.

Cyrus, king of the Persians, was exposed as a little child and saved. Part I, Title IV, Chapter I, section I.

Cambyses, who is also called Artaxerxes and Ahasuerus, began to reign. Part I, Title IV, Chapter I, section V.

Callisthenes the philosopher flourished. Part I, Title IV, Chapter II, section X.

Cassander reigned among the Macedonians. Part I, Title IV, Chapter IV, section I.

Crates the philosopher flourished. Part I, Title IV, Chapter IV, section VII.

Cleanthes the philosopher flourished. Part I, Title IV, Chapter IV, section VIII.

Chrysippus the philosopher flourished. Part I, Title IV, Chapter IV, section VIII.

Carneades the philosopher and hardworking soldier flourished. Part I, Title IV, Chapter IV, section VIII.

Consuls, not kings, ruled Rome after Tarquin the Proud. Part I, Title IV, Chapter V, section V.

The history of Camillus, and why he was driven from the city, is given. Part I, Title IV, Chapter V, section V.

The Capitol at Rome is saved from its enemies by the cry of a goose. Part I, Title IV, Chapter V, section IX.

A little boy concealed the secrets of a council by a clever lie. Part I, Title IV, Chapter V, section XI.

The Carthaginians and Romans clashed in a threefold Punic war. [Part I, Title IV, Chapter XIV and the following chapter [printed; read: Chapter V, section XIV and following]](#v1-register-ref-0115).

Carthage was destroyed thus. Part I, Title IV, Chapter V, section XVII.

A very large and luminous comet appeared. Part I, Title IV, Chapter V, section XXVII.

Catiline, against whom Sallust wrote, was of wicked lust. Part I, Title IV, Chapter V, section XXX.

Several men were called Cato. Part I, Title IV, Chapter V, section XXXIII.

The blind man sitting and begging beside the road is moralized. Part I, Title V, Chapter I, section XVIII.

The blind who were given sight by Christ are summarily recounted. Part I, Title V, Chapter I, section XVII.

Chosroes, king of the Persians, invaded the Church and was thus defeated by Heraclius. Part I, Title VI, Chapter I, section IX.

The first council celebrated by the apostles determined that circumcision was not necessary for converts. Part I, Title VI, Chapter II, section X.

Claudius obtained the Roman Empire thus, and died thus. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XXII, section III.

Clement of Metz, uncle of blessed Pope Clement, lived thus. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XXVI.

Caurannus, a disciple of blessed Dionysius. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XXVIII, section II.

The life of Crescens, disciple of blessed Paul the apostle, is described. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XXVIII, section VI.

Crispus and Gaius, disciples of blessed Paul. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XXVIII, section VI.

Cletus, the second pope after Peter, is crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VII, Chapter II.

Pope Clement, after Cletus, is crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VII, Chapter II, section I and the following section.

Corona the virgin is crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section IX.

Concordius of Spoleto is consecrated as a martyr. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section IX.

Commodus, tyrant-emperor. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section XIII.

Cecilia the virgin is crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section XVI.

The sanctity of Pope Callistus is miraculously disclosed. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section XVIII.

Pope Cornelius is sent into exile with his companions and at last crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VII, section XI.

Cyprian the African, bishop of Carthage, is crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VIII, section V.

Emperor Claudius reigned. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VIII, section XII.

Carus, Roman emperor. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VIII, section XV.

Carinus his son ruled. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VIII, section XV.

Caesarius is crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VII, Chapter IX.

The martyrdom of Charion together with his sons is recounted. Part I, Title VII, Chapter IX, section III.

Chrysanthus and Daria are crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VII, Chapter IX, section V.

Constantius Caesar did these things in Gaul. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, in the main text.

Chrysogonus, writing from his bonds, strengthens Anastasia. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, section XIV.

Christina the virgin is crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, section XVII.

Cyprian the magician is converted, and he and Justina are crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, section XXI.

Caprasius is crowned with martyrdom by the example of Faith. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, section XXIV.

Cucufatus is crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, section XXVIII.

Cyriacus is crowned with martyrdom together with Smaragdus and Largus his companions. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, section XXXI.

Christopher is crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, section XLI.

Constantius, father of Constantine the Great, was distinguished by these qualities. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter II, section I.

Constantine, when the sign of the cross had been shown to him, defeated Maxentius, persecutor of the Christians. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter II, section V.

Constantine defeated Licinius thus. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter II, section VII.

Constantine is cleared of the heresy that certain men impute to him. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter II, section VIII.

D

David is chosen as king, and how he reigned. Part I, Title III, Chapter I.

Daniel’s prophecy concerning the coming of Christ is expounded. Part I, Title III, Chapter VIII.

When Daniel prophesied. In the same place, section I.

Darius the Mede, Cyrus’s maternal uncle, and how he obtained the Persian monarchy. Part I, Title IV, Chapter I, section VIII and the following section.

Register of the First Historical Part of Lord Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence -- Continued

D

Democritus, a philosopher skilled also in magical art, flourished. Part I, Title IV, Chapter I, section X.

Darius Hystaspes, king of the Persians. Part I, Title IV, Chapter I, section XII.

Darius Nothus, king of the Persians. Part I, Title IV, Chapter I, section XXI.

Diogenes, chief of the Cynic philosophers, flourished. Part I, Title IV, Chapter I, section XXIV.

Dionysius, tyrant of Sicily. Part I, Title IV, Chapter I, section XXV.

Demosthenes the orator flourished. Part I, Title IV, Chapter I, section XXVII.

Demetrius, librarian of Ptolemy, flourished. Part I, Title IV, Chapter IV, section IV.

Diodorus the philosopher flourished. Part I, Title IV, Chapter IV, section VIII.

Demetrius, son of Seleucus, received the kingdom of Syria. Part I, Title IV, Chapter IV, section XVI.

The elder Decius and the younger Decius, another man, devoted themselves to the infernal gods for victory in war. Part I, Title IV, Chapter V, section X.

Marcus Curius, Roman consul, despiser of riches. Part I, Title IV, Chapter V, section X.

Those possessed by demons and delivered by Christ are summarily recounted. Part I, Title V, Chapter I, section XV.

The rich banqueter, when dead, was buried in hell. Part I, Title V, Chapter II, section XVI.

Riches are called unrighteous for many reasons according to different authors. Part I, Title V, Chapter II, section XVII.

The dedication of a church is instituted. Part I, Title VI, Chapter I, section VIII.

Dionysius the Areopagite is converted by the teaching of Paul the apostle. Part I, Title VI, Chapter II, section XI.

Demetrius stirred up a disturbance against Paul, and it was thus quieted by the town clerk. Part I, Title VI, Chapter II, section XII.

Seven deacons were chosen by the apostles for ministry. They are given in Part I, Title VI, Chapter XXV, section VI.

The disciples of blessed Peter are enumerated. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XXVI and the following chapter.

The disciples of blessed Paul are enumerated. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XXVIII.

Dionysius the Areopagite, disciple of blessed Paul, was converted thus. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XXVIII.

Domitian, the younger brother of Titus, succeeded him in the empire. Part I, Title VII, Chapter I, section VI.

Domitilla the virgin is crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VII, Chapter I, section VII.

Ten thousand martyrs crucified on a mountain. Part I, Title VII, Chapter V, section IV.

A deacon named Sanctus is crowned with martyrdom thus. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section V.

Dionysius, bishop of the Corinthians. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section X.

The gods of the Romans miraculously fall, and the God of the Christians is made manifest. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section XVIII.

The tyrant Emperor Decius carried out the seventh persecution of the Church. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VII, section V.

These are the Seven Sleepers, and they lived at this time. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VII, section VI.

Dionysia the virgin is crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VII, section VII.

It is understood thus that Decius carried out a persecution against the Christians. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VIII, section I.

Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, martyr. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VIII, section VI.

Pope Dionysius held the see of Peter. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VIII, section XVI.

Daria is converted thus by Chrysanthus. Part I, Title VII, Chapter IX, section V.

Diocletian persecuted the Church. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, in the main text.

Dorothea the virgin is crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, section XI.

Donatian and Rogatian, brothers, are crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, section XXIX.

Dorotheus and Gorgonius are consecrated as martyrs. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, section XXXV.

Diocletian and Maximian laid down the empire, appointing younger men in their place. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter II.

Dorothea the virgin is adorned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter II, section III.

E

The first and second ages of this world are recounted. Part I, Title I, Chapter I.

The second age in the time of Noah and after the flood. Part I, Title I, Chapter II.

Europe: whence it is named and where it is situated, together with its provinces. Part I, Title I, Chapter III, section II.

The deeds of Esau and Jacob. Part I, Title II, Chapter I, section IX.

When and where Ezekiel prophesied. Part I, Title III, Chapter VII, in the main text and the following section.

The third age takes its origin from Abraham and extends to David. Part I, Title II, Chapter I.

The fourth age extends from David to the transmigration. Part I, Title III, Chapter I.

The fifth age takes its origin from the Babylonian captivity and extends to the birth of Christ. Part I, Title IV, Chapter I.

The sixth age began with the birth of Christ and endures until the end of the world. Part I, Title V, Chapter I.

Euripides the poet flourished. Part I, Title IV, Chapter I, section XV.

Ezra restored the law that had been burned, and so forth. Part I, Title IV, Chapter I, section XVII.

Empedocles the philosopher flourished. Part I, Title IV, Chapter I, section XVII.

Aeschines the orator, disciple of Socrates. Part I, Title IV, Chapter I, section XXVII.

Epicurus, a common philosopher, flourished. Part I, Title IV, Chapter III, section IV.

The war of the Egyptians against the Romans was ended thus. Part I, Title IV, Chapter V, section XXVI.

Elizabeth, mother of John the Baptist and wife of Zacharias, was related to Mary in this manner. Part I, Title IV, Chapter VI, section X.

The sixth age takes its origin from the incarnation of Christ. Part I, Title V, Chapter I, in the main text.

The writings of the evangelists are presented in the sequence of history. Part I, Title V, Chapter I, section IV and the following sections.

Heraclius defeated Chosroes, king of the Persians, thus. Part I, Title VI, Chapter I, section IX.

Paul's epistles are summarily reviewed. Part I, Title VI, Chapter V, throughout.

Eutropius, a disciple of blessed Dionysius, was illustrious thus. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XXVIII, section III.

Eugenius, a disciple of blessed Dionysius. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XXVIII, section IV.

The life of Epaphras, disciple of blessed Paul, is recounted. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XXVIII, section VI.

Eutyches and Victorinus are crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VII, Chapter I, section VIII.

Eustace endured so much with his companions for Christ. Part I, Title VII, Chapter V, section III.

Hegesippus the historian flourished. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section X.

Eugenia the virgin is crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section XII.

Eusebius, Vincentius, and Potentianus are consecrated as martyrs. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section XIII.

Aemilianus usurped the empire against Gallienus. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VIII, section IV.

Pope Eutychianus. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VIII, section XVI.

Pope Eusebius. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VIII, section XVI.

Erasmus, bishop of Antioch, is crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, section VI.

Eulalia, a noble virgin, is crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, section XV.

Euphemia the virgin is adorned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, section XVI.

What and how much Eusebius of Caesarea wrote is related. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter II, section IX.

F

A remedy for a most severe famine in the city of Rome is exemplified. Part I, Title IV, Chapter V, section VIII.

The treaties of peace were concluded thus between the Romans and the Samnites and were again broken. Part I, Title IV, Chapter V, section XI.

The origin of Florence--when and by whom it was founded. Part I, Title IV, Chapter V, section XXXV.

Faustus and Faustinus, brothers of Pope Clement, martyrs of Christ. Part I, Title VII, Chapter II, section I.

Phocas is crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VII, Chapter III, in the main text.

Faustinus and Jovita are crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VII, Chapter V, section VII.

Pothinus, bishop of Lyons, is crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section V.

Felicitas with her seven sons. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section VI.

Fronto the orator flourished. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section XI.

Pope Fabian is crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VII, section XI.

The Christian faith is thus embraced by the philosophers Secundianus, Marcellianus, and Verianus. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VII, section IX.

Pope Felix I. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VIII, section XVI.

Faith the virgin is crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, section XXIV.

The Christian faith is made illustrious by the scourging of its persecutors. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter II, section IV.

G

Whence the giants arose and when they lived. Part I, Title I, Chapter II.

Gigas, king of the Lydians, reigned. Part I, Title III, Chapter IX, section XVI.

Gorgias of Leontini, the rhetorician, flourished. Part I, Title IV, Chapter I, section XIX.

What the Gracchi brothers, Roman tribunes, did. Part I, Title IV, Chapter V, section XIX.

Godfrey reigned triumphantly in the Holy Land. Part I, Title VI, Chapter I, section XIV and the following section.

Emperor Gaius lived and died thus after Tiberius. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XXI, sections IV and V and the following section.

Gervasius and Protasius attained the crown of martyrdom. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XXV, section I.

Galen the physician flourished. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section VII.

Emperor Gordian flourished. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VII, section I.

Gallus Hostilianus ruled with his son Volusianus. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VII, section X.

Gallienus, who is also called Decius, having obtained the empire, prohibited the persecution of the Church and defeated many usurpers of the empire. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VIII, section II.

Gregory, bishop of Pontus, renowned for many miracles. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VIII, section VII.

The Goths are defeated with very great slaughter by Claudius. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VIII, section XII.

Pope Gaius. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VIII, section XVI.

Gregory the priest was made a martyr. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, section XII.

Genesius the mime is converted and thus crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, section XIX.

George the soldier is crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, section XXIII.

Geminianus is crowned with martyrdom together with Lucia the widow. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, section XXXVII.

Galerius Maximinus, a cruel emperor. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter II, section III. He also experiences divine vengeance because of the persecution inflicted upon the Christians, in section IV and in his own person in section VI.

H

Hercules, son of Jupiter, subjected to the woman *Orphale* [read: Omphale], began to spin and to perform other womanly tasks. Part I, Title II, Chapter V, section I.

The deeds of Eli, priest of the Old Testament, are narrated. Part I, Title II, Chapter VI, in the main text.

Homer flourished among the Athenians and died in misery. Part I, Title II, Chapter VI, section I.

Aeschylus, writer of tragedies, flourished. Part I, Title IV, Chapter I, section XI.

The deeds of Esther according to the sequence of her book. Part I, Title IV, Chapter I, section XXIII.

Hermes Trismegistus, who is also called Mercury, flourished. Part I, Title IV, Chapter III, section II.

Erasistratus the physician flourished. Part I, Title IV, Chapter IV, section X.

Why Heliodorus attempted to plunder the temple and how he was repulsed. Part I, Title IV, Chapter IV, section XII.

Herod the Ascalonite reigned in Galilee and afterward also in Judea. Part I, Title IV, Chapter IV, section XXII.

Hyrcanus, desiring to reign against Aristobulus, suffered many things. Part I, Title IV, Chapter IV, section XXI.

A Roman chasm breathing out pestilence was closed thus by Curtius. Part I, Title IV, Chapter V, section IX.

Hannibal the Elder fought against the Romans in the Punic War. Part I, Title IV, Chapter V, section XIV.

What wars Hannibal the Younger waged against Saguntum and the Romans. Part I, Title IV, Chapter V, section XV.

Hannibal was defeated by Scipio Africanus. Part I, Title IV, Chapter V, section XVI.

Herod the Ascalonite, summoned before Caesar Augustus, postponed the slaughter of the innocents. Part I, Title V, Chapter I, section IV.

The seven heresiarchs and their sects are recounted. Part I, Title VI, Chapter I, section VII.

Heraclius defeated Chosroes, king of the Persians, thus. Part I, Title VI, Chapter I, section IX.

The good and bad fortune of Herod Agrippa, brother of Herodias. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XXI, section III.

Herod Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee, perished thus with Herodias. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XXI, section IV.

Herod Agrippa died thus. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XXII, section III.

Hermes, prefect of the city, is converted to the faith thus. Part I, Title VII, Chapter V, in the main text.

Helenus, father of monks, an illustrious holy man. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section XII.

The aged Helvius Pertinax is chosen as emperor. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section XIV.

The heresy of the Novatians is condemned thus. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VII, section XI.

I

Whence islands are so called, and how many there are. Part I, Title I, Chapter III, section IV.

Inachus, first king of the Argives, flourished. Part I, Title II, Chapter I, section IX.

Ilis [read: Isis], sister of Phoroneus, gave the Egyptians the forms of letters and agriculture. Part I, Title II, Chapter I, section IX.

The deeds of the patriarch Jacob. Part I, Title II, Chapter II.

The deeds of the patriarch Joseph. Part I, Title II, Chapter III.

Jupiter shamefully violated Europa, daughter of Phoenix, king of Tyre and Sidon. Part I, Title II, Chapter V, section I.

The deeds of Joshua and the other judges of the Old Testament are summarily recounted. Part I, Title II, Chapter V.

When Jeremiah the prophet flourished and prophesied. Part I, Title III, Chapter VI.

Who Job was in person, when he flourished, and what he wrote. Part I, Title III, Chapter IX, section XII.

Joash reigned. Part I, Title III, Chapter IX, section XV.

At what time and in what manner the history of Judith occurred. Part I, Title IV, Chapter I, section VI.

The seventy translators translated the Bible for Ptolemy from Hebrew into Greek. Part I, Title IV, Chapter IV, section IV.

The Jews were set at liberty and privileged by Ptolemy. Part I, Title IV, Chapter IV, sections III and IV.

Jesus son of Sirach, author of the Book of Ecclesiasticus, flourished. Part I, Title IV, Chapter IV, section XI.

Judas Maccabeus defended the law of God with his brothers. Part I, Title IV, Chapter IV, section XIV.

The triumph of Jonathan Maccabeus. Part I, Title IV, Chapter IV, section XVII.

John Hyrcanus, high priest, succeeded the Maccabees. Part I, Title IV, Chapter IV, section XIX.

Jannaeus, a most wicked ruler set over the Jews, exercised tyranny. Part I, Title IV, Chapter IV, section XIX, at the end.

The Roman Empire began under Julius Caesar. Part I, Title IV, Chapter V, in the main text.

Judas Maccabeus obtained the friendship of the Romans thus. Part I, Title IV, Chapter V, section XXV.

Julius Caesar, a most vigorous man, waged wars against Pompey. Part I, Title IV, Chapter V, section XXXII.

The character, bodily qualities, and death of Julius Caesar are recounted. Part I, Title IV, Chapter V, section XXXIV.

John the Baptist is praised by Christ and beheaded at Herod's command. Part I, Title V, Chapter I, section XIII.

The vice of ingratitude is reproved. Part I, Title V, Chapter II, section XII.

The preceding, impending, and concurrent signs of the Last Judgment are recounted. Part I, Title V, Chapter IV, section III.

The beginning of John's Gospel, "In the beginning was the Word," is expounded at length. Part I, Title V, Chapter VIII, throughout.

Emperor Justinian authenticated the codes. Part I, Title VI, Chapter I, section VIII.

Emperor Justin the Younger reigned. Part I, Title VI, Chapter I, section IX.

The life of John the Evangelist is recounted. Part I, Title VI, Chapter VI, throughout, and Title VII, Chapter I, section VIII.

Opinions concerning where the body of John the Evangelist is are recounted. Part I, Title VI, Chapter VI, section III.

James the Greater, brother of John the Evangelist, lived thus and was crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VI, Chapter VII.

James the Less, called the brother of the Lord, lived thus and was crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VI, Chapter VIII.

Selections from Juvenal. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XXIV, section II.

Four saints are found to have borne the name Julian. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XXV, section IV.

Jonius, a disciple of blessed Dionysius, who also carried his own severed head with him. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XXVIII, section II.

The destruction of Jerusalem is recounted. Part I, Title VII, Chapter I, section I and the following section.

Josephus the historian flourished. Part I, Title VII, Chapter I, section IV.

Ignatius, disciple of blessed John the Evangelist, is crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VII, Chapter I, section XI.

Justin the philosopher flourished and wrote these works. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section IV.

Justus, bishop of Vienne, was illustrious in martyrdom. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section V.

Julius the senator is converted with his household. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section XIII.

How long Emperor Julian reigned. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section XIV.

Julitta, mother of Quiricus, is crowned with martyrdom together with her son. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section XX.

Hippolytus the bishop was renowned among illustrious men. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section XX.

Julius Africanus, highly celebrated among ecclesiastical writers, flourished. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VII, in the main text at the end.

Hippolytus is converted with his household and crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VIII, section IX.

Julianus is crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VIII, section X.

Register of the First Historical Part of Lord Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence -- Continued

I

Jovilla offered herself willingly for martyrdom. Part I, Title VII, Chapter IX, section II.

Juliana the virgin is crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, section VIII.

Januarius, bishop and martyr. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, section XIII.

What great things Julianus, who was to be joined to Basilissa in marriage, accomplished. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, section XX.

Justina the virgin converts Cyprian the magician and brings him with her to martyrdom. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, section XXI.

K

Charlemagne protected the Catholic Church thus. Part I, Title VI, Chapter I, section XI.

Charlemagne's victories and triumphs on behalf of the Church against the infidels. Part I, Title VI, Chapter I, section XII and the following section.

Catherine the virgin is adorned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, section XXXVIII.

L

Lot was rescued from the destruction of Sodom. Part I, Title II, Chapter I, section V.

Which books are Solomon's. Part I, Title III, Chapter IV, in the main text.

The Old Law was given on tablets of stone, but the New Law was written in human hearts. Part I, Title III, Chapter VI, section II.

When and how Lycurgus flourished. Part I, Title III, Chapter IX, section XV.

Lysimachus the philosopher flourished. Part I, Title IV, Chapter II, section X.

The praise of Lucretia excels among Roman women. Part I, Title IV, Chapter V, section IV.

The Romans took their laws from Athens. Part I, Title IV, Chapter V, section VII.

The killing of Lucius Saturninus was the occasion of a sedition in the city. Part I, Title IV, Chapter V, section XX.

Lazarus, Martha's brother, is raised from death. Part I, Title V, Chapter I, section XXI.

Lazarus the beggar at the door of the rich banqueter was saved. Part I, Title V, Chapter II, section XVI.

Luke the Evangelist lived thus and was martyred. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XVII.

The life of Lazarus after he was raised by Christ. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XIX.

The life of the converted soldier Longinus. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XXV, section VI, at the end.

Lucian of Beauvais, disciple of blessed Peter. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XXVI, section III.

Linus, the first pope after Peter. Part I, Title VII, Chapter II, in the main text.

Lucius Commodus, emperor. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section VIII.

Leonides, father of Origen, is crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section XIV.

Pope Lucius is crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VII, section XII.

When Laurentius suffered and under which Decius. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VIII, sections I and VIII.

Leonilla is crowned with martyrdom after her grandsons. Part I, Title VII, Chapter IX, section II.

Lucia the virgin is crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, section XXXVI.

Lucia the widow is crowned with martyrdom together with Geminianus. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, section XXXVII.

Lucia, a Roman virgin, is crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, section XXXVII.

Lucian the priest is crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, section XLV.

Licinius, a persecutor of the Christians and envious of Constantine, is defeated thus. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter II, section VII.

Lactantius Firmianus flourished. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter II.

M

How the monstrous races of men are to be regarded. Part I, Title I, Chapter II, section II.

Minerva, otherwise called Pallas, invented wool-working. Part I, Title II, Chapter I, section IX.

How Moses was born and how, when exposed upon the waters in a little basket, he was saved. Part I, Title II, Chapter III.

The deeds and writings of Moses are summarily recounted. Part I, Title II, Chapter IV.

Who the Messiah is in the Law and when he will come. Part I, Title III, Chapter VI, section I.

The coming of the true Messiah is prophesied most clearly by Daniel. Part I, Title III, Chapter VIII.

Manasseh reigned in Judah. Part I, Title III, Chapter IX, section XVI.

The city of Massilia is founded. Part I, Title III, Chapter IX, section XVII.

Mercury, who is also called Hermes Trismegistus, flourished. Part I, Title IV, Chapter III, section II.

Menander the philosopher flourished. Part I, Title IV, Chapter IV, section I.

The books of the Maccabees are summarily recounted. Part I, Title IV, Chapter IV, section XIII and the following section.

Manlius Torquatus killed his own son because, although victorious, he had broken his command. Part I, Title IV, Chapter V, section XIII.

The Mithridatic war arose against the Romans. Part I, Title IV, Chapter V, section XXVII.

Gaius Marius, called the first, began civil war at Rome against Sulla. Part I, Title IV, Chapter V, section XXVIII.

Marcus Varro the historian flourished. Part I, Title IV, Chapter VI, section III.

Marcus Tullius Cicero flourished. Part I, Title IV, Chapter VI, section V.

The Virgin Mary sprang from royal stock and was born at this time. Part I, Title IV, Chapter VI, section X.

The life of the Virgin Mary in the temple was such as is given in the same place, section XI.

The Magi coming from the East to Jerusalem offered gifts to the newborn Christ. Part I, Title V, Chapter I, section III.

Christ's miracles in the Gospels are summarily recounted. Part I, Title V, Chapter I, section XV.

The *Muti* [read: *Surdi*, deaf] restored or healed by Christ so that they might hear are recounted. Part I, Title V, Chapter I, section XVI.

The dead raised by Christ are summarily recounted. Part I, Title V, Chapter I, section XIX and the following section.

Mary Magdalene, a penitent, was mercifully received by Christ. Part I, Title V, Chapter II, section XIII; and whether she was a prostitute or a virgin, in the same place.

Mahomet, king of the Saracens, instituted such laws. Part I, Title VI, Chapter I, section X.

The life of the Virgin Mary, Mother of God, after Christ's ascension is recounted. Part I, Title VI, Chapter III, throughout.

Matthew, apostle and evangelist, lived thus and was martyred. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XIII.

Matthias the apostle lived thus and was crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XV.

The life and martyrdom of Mark the Evangelist are related. Part I, Title VI, Chapter VI.

The lives of Mary Magdalene and Martha are recounted. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XIX and the following chapter.

Martial suffered martyrdom under Nero. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XXV, section II.

The first monks were established by blessed Fronto, disciple of Saint Peter. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XXVI, section I.

The city of Metz in Germany came to the faith through Fronto, disciple of blessed Peter. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XXVI, section I.

Memmius, otherwise called Mennus, disciple of blessed Peter. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XXVII, section I.

A certain virgin named Mary is crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VII, Chapter V, section VII.

Marcus Antonius Verus, emperor. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section VIII; he died in section XI.

Marcellus is consecrated as a martyr. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section IX.

Martina, a Roman virgin, is crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section XVII.

Maximinus obtained the Roman Empire by fraud. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VII, in the main text.

Maximus Pupienus governed the empire with Balbinus. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VII, in the main text at the end.

Mellonus the Briton is converted and consecrated bishop. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VII, section XII.

Macrinus, otherwise called Macrianus, attempted to seize the empire against Gallienus. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VIII, sections II and III.

Marinus, a soldier of Jerusalem, offered himself for martyrdom. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VIII, section XI.

Minias of Florence is crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VIII, section IX.

Pope Marcellinus. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VIII, section XVI.

Pope Melchiades. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VIII, section XVI.

Marius is crowned with martyrdom together with his wife and sons. Part I, Title VII, Chapter IX, in the main text.

Maurus, martyr. Part I, Title VII, Chapter IX, section IV.

Manichaeus was a heretic at that time. Part I, Title VII, Chapter IX, section VI, at the end.

Maurice is crowned with martyrdom together with his companions. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, section I.

Marcus and Marcellianus, strengthened by blessed Sebastian, are crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, section IV.

Marcellinus, Peter, and Artemius are consecrated as martyrs. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, section XXXII.

Margaret the virgin is crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, section XL.

Marinus the boy is crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, section XLIV.

Maximian's cruelty is comprised under the persecution of Diocletian.

The tyrant Maxentius, son of Maximian, did these evil deeds. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter II, section II; and he is defeated thus by Constantine in section V.

Maximinus Galerius, a cruel tyrant-emperor. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter II, section III. He experiences God's vengeance in the same place, sections IV and VI.

N

Noah built the ark in the second age of the world so that he might be saved in the flood. Part I, Title I, Chapter II.

The drunken Noah was stripped naked and cursed Ham; this is morally interpreted in the same place, section III.

Ninus, king of Babylon, obtained Assyria and enlarged Nineveh, its metropolis. Part I, Title I, Chapter III, section VII.

Nebuchadnezzar besieged Jerusalem and carried the Jews away to Babylon. Part I, Title IV, Chapter I.

Nehemiah, cupbearer of Artaxerxes, became a helper in rebuilding the temple. Part I, Title IV, Chapter I, section XVIII.

Numa Pompilius, the first after Romulus, ruled Rome well. Part I, Title IV, Chapter V, section II.

King Nicomedes was defeated thus by Mithridates. Part I, Title IV, Chapter V, section XXVII.

When and with what signs the birth of Christ occurred. Part I, Title IV, Chapter VI, section X.

When the birth of the Virgin Mary occurred and from whom she sprang. Part I, Title IV, Chapter VI, section X.

The birth of Christ is threefold: eternal, spiritual, and temporal. Part I, Title V, Chapter VIII, throughout.

Nero's cruelty toward the apostles Peter and Paul is evident. Part I, Title VI, Chapters IV and V.

Nero obtained the Roman Empire thus and lived in such a manner. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XXIII.

Nero's most wicked conduct is narrated. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XXIII, sections I and II; his death is recounted there.

Nazarius, son of blessed Perpetua. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XXVII.

Nereus and Achilleus suffered under Domitian. Part I, Title VII, Chapter I, section VII.

Emperor Nerva governed thus. Part I, Title VII, Chapter I, section VIII.

Narcissus, bishop of Jerusalem. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section XV.

The Novatian heretics are condemned thus. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VII, section XI.

Numerianus, son of Emperor Carus, ruled thus. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VIII, section XV.

Narcissus converts Afra. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, section XVIII.

O

How Olympias conceived Alexander the Great. Part I, Title IV, Chapter II and Chapter IV, section I; and how she was condemned to death.

Octavian waged five civil wars. Part I, Title IV, Chapter VI, in the main text.

Octavian was very handsome in body and skilled in military affairs. Part I, Title IV, Chapter VI, section I.

Ovid Naso, the famous poet, flourished. Part I, Title IV, Chapter VI, section VII.

Horace the poet flourished. Part I, Title IV, Chapter VI, section IX.

The Lord's Prayer is summarily explained. Part I, Title V, Chapter IV, section II.

The Orders of Minors and Preachers were confirmed by Pope Innocent III, and when. Part I, Title VI, Chapter I, section XV.

The life of Onesimus, disciple of blessed Paul, is related. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XXVIII, section VI.

Origen flourished. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section XIV; and concerning his teaching, section XXI.

Odaenathus did many valiant deeds for the Roman Empire. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VIII, section III.

P

There are three general opinions concerning Paradise. Part I, Title I, Chapter I, section I.

Phoroneus first gave laws to Greece. Part I, Title II, Chapter I, section IX.

Pallas, otherwise called Minerva, invented wool-working. Part I, Title II, Chapter I, section IX.

How the moral, judicial, and ceremonial precepts differ. Part I, Title II, Chapter IV, section III.

The precepts of the Decalogue are expounded. Part I, Title II, Chapter IV.

A summary of the prophets is compressed. Part I, Title III, Chapter IV, section VI and the following chapter.

The Passion of Christ prophesied by Isaiah is beautifully explained. Part I, Title III, Chapter V, section IV.

When and what the major and minor prophets prophesied. Part I, Title III, Chapter IV and the five following chapters.

Polycrates flourished. Part I, Title IV, Chapter I, section VI.

Pythagoras the philosopher flourished. Part I, Title IV, Chapter I, section VII.

Pindar the poet flourished. Part I, Title IV, Chapter I, section XV.

Parmenides the philosopher invented logic on Mount Caucasus. Part I, Title IV, Chapter I, section XVII.

Plato is born and flourishes. Part I, Title IV, Chapter I, sections XXI and XXVI; his errors are given in the same place.

Philip, king of the Macedonians and father of Alexander the Great, reigned. Part I, Title IV, Chapter II, section I and the following section.

Porus, king of India, fought a duel with Alexander the Great. Part I, Title IV, Chapter II, section XI.

Plotinus the philosopher, a disciple of Plato, flourished. Part I, Title IV, Chapter III, section III.

Ptolemy Soter, first king of Egypt, flourished. Part I, Title IV, Chapter IV.

Philemon the philosopher flourished. Part I, Title IV, Chapter IV, section I.

Polemon the philosopher flourished. Part I, Title IV, Chapter IV, section I.

Pharos is a very large tower in the sea, founded upon cast crabs. Part I, Title IV, Chapter IV, section III.

Ptolemy Philadelphus reigned. Part I, Title IV, Chapter IV, section IV; he died by poison in the same place, section X.

Pyrrhus, victorious leader of the Gauls, is driven away by the women of Macedonia. Part I, Title IV, Chapter IV, section VI.

Ptolemy Euergetes reigned. Part I, Title IV, Chapter IV, section XI.

Ptolemy Physcon, eighth king of the Egyptians, reigned. Part I, Title IV, Chapter V, section XXVI.

Pompey the Great waged wars against Julius Caesar. Part I, Title IV, Chapter V, section XXXI.

The Gospel parables are very beautifully recounted in summary. Part I, Title V, Chapter II, in the main text and the following section.

The feast of Palms is recounted. Part I, Title V, Chapter V, section V.

King Pepin of the Franks protected the Church in this manner. Part I, Title VI, Chapter I, section XI.

Peter the Hermit did many things for the recovery of the Holy Land. Part I, Title VI, Chapter I, section XIV.

Peter the apostle healed a paralytic and raised the dead Tabitha. Part I, Title VI, Chapter II, section VII.

Paul was converted from Saul and was made a preacher from a persecutor. Part I, Title VI, Chapter II, section VI, section X, and the following sections.

Peter the apostle was thus freed from Herod's chains. Part I, Title VI, Chapter II, section VIII.

Paul raised a young man who had fallen dead from a window. Part I, Title VI, Chapter II, section XII.

How Paul was brought to Rome. Part I, Title VI, Chapter II, in the following section.

The preeminence of the apostles Peter and Paul is recounted. Part I, Title VI, Chapter IV, in the main text and the following section.

The life of Petronilla, daughter of blessed Peter. In the same place, section I.

Peter the apostle defeated Simon Magus in a twofold contest. Part I, Title VI, Chapter IV, section II.

Peter the apostle completed his course thus in martyrdom. Part I, Title VI, Chapter IV, section IV.

Paul the apostle completed the course of this life thus in martyrdom. Part I, Title VI, Chapter V, throughout.

Predestination and God's foreknowledge differ. Part I, Title VI, Chapter V, section I, around the middle.

Philip the apostle lived thus on earth and was crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XI.

The humiliation of Paulina, a noble Roman woman. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XXI, section II.

Pilate, surrounded by many adversities, killed himself. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XXI, section II, at the end.

Philo the philosopher flourished. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XXI, section VII.

Selections from the poet Persius are given. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XXIV, section II.

Peter the apostle had these disciples. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XXVI, by sections.

Potentiana was distinguished by these virtues. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XXVIII, section VI.

Praxedes, a holy virgin and Potentiana's sister, is extolled. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XXVIII, section VI.

The life of Paul the confessor, disciple of blessed Paul the apostle, is related. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XXVIII, section VI.

The first persecution of the Christians occurred under Nero. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XXIII.

The second persecution occurred under Domitian. Part I, Title VII, Chapter I, section VII.

Plutarch the philosopher flourished. Part I, Title VII, Chapter I, section X.

Pliny the Younger, historian, flourished. Part I, Title VII, Chapter III, section I.

Peregrinus, disciple of blessed Sixtus, is consecrated by martyrdom. Part I, Title VII, Chapter V, section I.

Pope Pius governed the Church thus. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section I.

Polycarp, disciple of blessed John the Evangelist, is crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section II.

Papias the bishop, a hearer of blessed John. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section III.

Register of the First Historical Part of Lord Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence -- Conclusion

P

Pontianus of Spoleto is consecrated as a martyr. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section VI.

The third persecution against the Church, under Antoninus Pius. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI.

The fourth persecution against the Church, under Antoninus Verus and Lucius Commodus. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section VIII.

Prothus and Hyacinthus are converted thus together with the virgin Eugenia. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section XII.

The fifth persecution against the Church. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section XIV.

Porphyry the philosopher flourished. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VII, in the main text at the end.

The sixth persecution occurred under Maximinus. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI.

Philip ruled. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VII, section I; and he is converted thus to Christianity in section IV.

Pope Pontianus is consecrated by martyrdom. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VII, section V.

Pontius is converted together with his mother Julia and father Marcus. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VII, section III.

The seventh persecution occurred under Emperor Decius. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VII, section V.

Peter the martyr encouraged others who were failing to proceed to martyrdom. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VII, section VII.

Poluronius [read: Polychronius] the bishop is martyred with his clergy. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VII, section VIII.

The eighth persecution occurred under Emperor Valerian. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VIII.

Paul of Samosata, a heretic, is condemned. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VIII, section XII, at the end.

Emperor Probus began to rule. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VIII, section XIV.

Pelagia, a beautiful sinful woman, is converted. Part I, Title VII, Chapter IX, section VI.

The ninth persecution under Aurelian. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VIII, section XIII.

The tenth persecution under Diocletian and Maximian. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, section I.

Pantaleon is crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, section XXVII.

Pancratius is sacrificed in martyrdom. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, section XXIX.

Primus and Felicianus, Romans, are crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, section XXXIII.

Peter, bishop of Alexandria. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, section XLVI.

The persecution carried out against the Christians by Galerius experiences God's vengeance in this manner. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter II, section IV.

Pamphilus the priest, a most diligent collector of books, was made a martyr. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter II, section IX.

Q

Selections from Quintilian the rhetorician. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XXIV, section III.

Quadratus, bishop of Athens. Part I, Title VII, Chapter IV, section II.

Quirinus came to the faith through a miracle. Part I, Title VII, Chapter V, in the main text.

The Four Crowned Martyrs. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, section III.

Quirion is crowned with martyrdom together with forty soldiers. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, section XLVII.

R

When the kingdom of the Scythians arose. Part I, Title I, Chapter III, section V.

When the kingdom of Egypt arose. In the same place, section VI.

When the kingdom of the Assyrians arose.

Rehoboam reigned in Judah and Jeroboam over the ten tribes of Israel. Part I, Title III, Chapter III.

The resurrection of the dead for the Last Judgment is proved. Part I, Title III, Chapter VII, section I.

How Romulus and Remus were born and raised is related. Part I, Title IV, Chapter V, section I.

When and by whom Rome was founded. Part I, Title IV, Chapter V, section I.

Who the kings of the Romans were and how they ruled. Part I, Title IV, Chapter V, section II and the following section.

The Romans took their laws from Athens by common agreement. Part I, Title IV, Chapter V, section VII.

The very great affliction of the Roman army by Hannibal is recounted. Part I, Title IV, Chapter V, section XV.

The time and manner of Christ's resurrection are approved by signs. Part I, Title V, Chapter VII and the following section.

Romulus, bishop of Fiesole, disciple of blessed Peter and martyr. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XXVI, section IV.

Regulus, bishop of Senlis, companion of blessed Dionysius and hearer of John the Evangelist. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XXVIII, section II.

Reparata the virgin is crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VII, section VII.

Romanus, a man of keen intelligence, is crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, section XLIII.

S

The deeds of Samuel are recounted. Part I, Title II, Chapter VI, in the main text.

How Saul was chosen as king, why he was rejected, and how he perished. Part I, Title II, Chapter VI.

Solomon's rule and deeds. Part I, Title III, Chapter II.

Which books Solomon composed. Part I, Title III, Chapter IV, in the main text.

How many Sibyls there were and what they wrote. Part I, Title III, Chapter IX, section XIV.

What kind of man Sardanapalus was. Part I, Title III, Chapter IX, section XV.

Symonides Archilogus poeta [read: Simonides and Archilochus, poets] flourished. Part I, Title III, Chapter IX, section XVI.

Who the Seven Sages of Greece are. Part I, Title IV, Chapter I, section III.

Sophocles the poet flourished. Part I, Title IV, Chapter I, section XV.

Socrates is born. Part I, Title IV, Chapter I, section XVI; he flourishes there in section XX and dies in section XXI.

Seleucus Nicanor, first king of Syria, reigned. Part I, Title IV, Chapter IV, section II.

Simon, son of Onias, high priest of the Jews, is held to have been illustrious. Part I, Title IV, Chapter IV, section III.

The opinions of the Stoics and Peripatetics differ. Part I, Title IV, Chapter IV, section IX.

Simon Maccabeus removed the yoke of the nations from Israel. Part I, Title IV, Chapter IV, section XVIII.

Solon gave excellent laws to the Athenians. Part I, Title IV, Chapter V, section VII.

How cruelly the city of Saguntum was taken by Hannibal. Part I, Title IV, Chapter V, section XV.

Scipio Africanus defeated Hannibal thus. Part I, Title IV, Chapter V, section XVI.

After Lucius Saturninus was killed, a sedition occurred in the city. Part I, Title IV, Chapter V, section XX.

Sulla, leader of the army of King Mithridates. Part I, Title IV, Chapter V, section XXVII.

Sulla, Roman consul, raged with cruelty and died thus. Part I, Title IV, Chapter V, section XXIX.

Sallust, a noble Roman orator, flourished. Part I, Title IV, Chapter VI, section VI.

The Lord's Sermon on the Mount is summarily reviewed. Part I, Title V, Chapter I, section VII.

When and how, by whom and for what purpose, the sacraments of the New Law were instituted. Part I, Title V, Chapter I, section XIV.

The schism between Symmachus and Laurentius. Part I, Title VI, Chapter I, section VII.

Pope Silverius is sent into exile. Part I, Title VI, Chapter I, section VIII.

How and when Stephen the protomartyr was martyred, when his relics were found, and why the feasts were transferred. Part I, Title VI, Chapter II, section IV.

Simon Magus received baptism from Philip the deacon and was condemned by Peter for simony. Part I, Title VI, Chapter II, section V.

Saul's conversion and Paul's preaching are recounted. Part I, Title VI, Chapter II, section VI.

Simon Magus was thus defeated by blessed Peter. Part I, Title VI, Chapter IV, section II.

Simon the apostle was thus crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XIV.

Choice passages from Seneca's various writings are recounted. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XXIV.

Seneca's death was thus decreed by Nero. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XXIV, section I.

Savinianus, Potentianus, and Altimus, from among Christ's seventy-two disciples. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XXV, section III.

Four saints named Saturninus. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XXV, section V.

Sanctininus, bishop of Meaux and disciple of blessed Dionysius. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XXVIII, section I.

Sisimius, husband of Saint Theodora, is converted thus. Part I, Title VII, Chapter II, section II.

Secundus the silent philosopher flourished in the Pythagorean life. Part I, Title VII, Chapter IV, section I.

Pope Sixtus I is crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VII, Chapter V, section I.

Sophia is crowned with martyrdom together with her three daughters, Faith, Hope, and Charity. Part I, Title VII, Chapter V, section V.

Serapia, a virgin of Antioch, is crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VII, Chapter V, section VI.

Sabina the virgin is crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VII, Chapter V, section VI.

Pope Soter instituted these things. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section I.

Sanctus by name, but a deacon by office, is crowned with martyrdom thus. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section V.

A marble statue seemed to move, and a bronze one to sweat. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section XI.

The tyrant Emperor Severus, author of the fifth persecution. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section XIV.

Secundianus, a persecutor of Christians under Decius, is converted. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VII, section IX.

The first schism, that of the heretic Novatian against Cornelius. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VII, section XI.

Stephen, archdeacon of Lucius, is appointed pope by him. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VII, section XII.

Pope Sixtus II is elected. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VII, section XII.

Pope Sixtus II is crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VIII, section VIII.

Savinus is crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VII, Chapter IX, section I.

Seosippus [read: Speosippus] is crowned with martyrdom together with his brothers. Part I, Title VII, Chapter IX, section II.

Symphorianus is crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VII, Chapter IX, section III.

Sebastian is crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, section IV.

Sabinus the bishop is crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, section XII.

Sergius and Bacchus are crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, section XXXIII.

T

The devastation of Troy is recounted. Part I, Title II, Chapter V, section III.

The form of Solomon's temple is described. Part I, Title III, Chapter II.

The temple and its city were thus seen by Ezekiel and expounded by Gregory. Part I, Title III, Chapter VII, section IV.

When Tobias flourished. Part I, Title III, Chapter IX, section XIII.

Thales of Miletus flourished. Part I, Title III, Chapter IX, section XVII, and Title IV, Chapter I, section III.

tyrus [read: Cyrus], king of the Persians, gave the Jews permission to rebuild the temple. Part I, Title IV, Chapter I, section IV; and notably Darius after him did so at Zerubbabel's prayers, and so forth, Part I, Title IV, Chapter I, section IX.

The glory of *Themistodis* [read: Themistocles]. Part I, Title IV, Chapter I, section XIV.

A wonderful theater in the city of Heraclea. Part I, Title IV, Chapter I, section XXII.

Trismegistus Hermes, who is also called Mercury, flourished. Part I, Title IV, Chapter III, section II.

Theophrastus the philosopher flourished. Part I, Title IV, Chapter IV, in the main text.

The temple of Apollo situated at Delphi is described. Part I, Title IV, Chapter IV, section V.

Tryphon killed Jonathan against good faith, and so forth. Part I, Title IV, Chapter IV, section XVII and the following section.

Tullus Hostilius ruled Rome after Romulus and Numa Pompilius. Part I, Title IV, Chapter V, section III.

Tarquin the Proud usurped the kingdom of the Romans and was expelled in this manner. Part I, Title IV, Chapter V, section IV and the following section.

Torquatus Monilius [read: Torquatus Manlius] killed his own son because he acted against his command, although with victory over the enemy. Part I, Title IV, Chapter V, section XIII.

Terence, writer of comedies, flourished. Part I, Title IV, Chapter V, section XXIV.

How much Tiberius accomplished in the time of Octavian. Part I, Title IV, Chapter VI, section II.

Tullius Cicero, the most eloquent orator, flourished. Part I, Title IV, Chapter VI, section V.

Christ was tempted thus by the devil. Part I, Title V, Chapter II, section XVIII.

Christ's Transfiguration is summarily recounted. Part I, Title V, Chapter V, section III.

Theodoric, the heretical king of Italy, persecuted the Church thus. Part I, Title VI, Chapter I, section VII.

Totila, king of the Goths, invaded the Roman Empire. Part I, Title VI, Chapter I, section VIII.

Timothy was joined to Paul as he traveled about preaching, after Barnabas had been dismissed. Part I, Title VI, Chapter II, section XI.

Thomas the apostle lived thus and was crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VI, Chapter X, throughout.

The praises and reproaches of Emperor Tiberius are recounted. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XXI, section I and the following section.

Trier in Germany first came to the faith. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XXVII, in the main text.

Taurinus, bishop of Évreux. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XXVIII, section IV.

Thecla, disciple of blessed Paul the apostle. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XXVIII, section V.

Timothy, a disciple of Paul, is thus extolled by Polycrates. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XXVIII, section VI.

Trophinus [read: Trophimus], disciple of blessed Paul, was illustrious thus. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XXVIII, section VI.

Titus, disciple of blessed Paul. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XXVIII, section VI.

Titus, son of Vespasian, was illustrious in the empire thus. Part I, Title VII, Chapter I, section V.

Tyrannus [read: *Traianus*, Trajan] governed. Part I, Title VII, Chapter I, section IX; and he died thus, Chapter III, section II.

Theodora, disciple of Clement, converts her husband Sisimius. Part I, Title VII, Chapter II, section II.

Taurinus, bishop of Évreux, is martyred thus. Part I, Title VII, Chapter V, section II.

Pope Telesphorus is taken from among the anchorites. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, in the main text.

Ptolemy the astrologer flourished. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section VII.

Theophilus, bishop of Antioch. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section X.

Theodotion the translator flourished. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section XI.

The conversion of the brothers Tiburtius and Valerianus. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section XVI.

Theopompus the historian, whose writings Justin Martyr abridged. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VII, in the main text at the end.

Tryphon was distinguished by many miracles. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VII, section VII.

The triumph splendidly presented to Valerian at Rome is described. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VII, section XIII.

Tiburtius is crowned with martyrdom together with his companions. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, section V.

Theodore is crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, section XXVI.

U-V

The anointing by which priests were consecrated, and the material from which the sacred things in the Old Testament were made. Part I, Title II, Chapter IV, section IV.

Marcus Varro the historian flourished. Part I, Title IV, Chapter VI, section III.

Valerius Maximus flourished. Part I, Title IV, Chapter VI, section IV.

Virgil Maro, greatest of poets, flourished. Part I, Title IV, Chapter VI, section VII.

The steward who had been accused was called to account. Part I, Title V, Chapter II, section XVII.

Various vices are reproved by Christ in the Gospel histories. Part I, Title V, Chapter III, throughout.

Pope Vigilius was martyred thus at Constantinople. Part I, Title VI, Chapter I, section VIII.

Vitalis suffered martyrdom. Part I, Title VI, Chapter XXV, section III.

Vespasian obtained the Roman Empire thus. Part I, Title VII, Chapter I.

Victorinus and Eutyches are crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VII, Chapter I, section VIII.

Victor is consecrated by martyrdom. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section IX.

The city of Verona is founded. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section XI.

Vincentius, Eusebius, and Potentianus are crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section XIII.

Pope Urban, a Roman citizen, ruled thus. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section XIX.

Ulpian the jurist flourished. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VI, section XX.

Victor the sophist flourished at Athens. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VII, in the main text at the end.

Opinions concerning when Ursula suffered are recounted. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VII, section II.

Emperor Valerian was at first worthy of great praise and afterward of reproach. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VIII, in the main text and the following section.

Valentinus the priest is consecrated by martyrdom. Part I, Title VII, Chapter IX, in the main text.

Victor is consecrated by martyrdom. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, section II.

Vitalis and Agricola suffered. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, section XII.

Vincentius the deacon and Valerius his bishop triumph in martyrdom. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, section XXII.

Vitus, Modestus, and Crescentia are crowned with martyrdom. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter I, section XXIV.

Divine vengeance is experienced by those who persecute the Christian faith. Part I, Title VIII, Chapter II, section IV.

X

When and how Xerxes, king of the Persians, reigned. Part I, Title IV, Chapter I, section XIII.

When and with what signs the birth of Christ occurred. Part I, Title IV, Chapter VI, section X.

Y

Idols take their origin from King Ninus. Part I, Title I, Chapter III, section VII.

Isaac is born, and Ishmael's play with him is recounted. Part I, Title II, Chapter I, section VI.

The sacrifice of Isaac upon the mountain. In the same place, section VII.

What and when Isaiah proclaimed prophetically. Part I, Title III, Chapter V, section I and the following section.

Hippocrates the physician flourished. Part I, Title IV, Chapter I, section XIX.

Idols celebrated a triumph for themselves. Part I, Title IV, Chapter IV, section V.

Z

Zoroaster, astrologer and inventor of the liberal and magical arts: how he died. Part I, Title I, Chapter III, section VII.

Zaleucus fulfilled the law that he had established by first having one of his own eyes and then one of his son's eyes put out. Part I, Title III, Chapter IX, section XVI.

Zeno the philosopher flourished. Part I, Title III, Chapter IX, section XVII.

Xenophon, disciple of Plato [read: Socrates], flourished. Part I, Title IV, Chapter I, section XXIV.

Zeno the Stoic flourished. Part I, Title IV, Chapter IV, section VIII.

The conversion of Zacchaeus, chief of the publicans. Part I, Title V, Chapter II, section XIV.

Zenobia courageously avenged the murder of her husband. Part I, Title VII, Chapter VIII, section III.

End of the register. Praise be to God.